

WITHDRAWN FROM
A.N.T.S. LIBRARY



ANDOVER NEWTON THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

MDCCCCXXXI

NEWTON CENTRE, MASSACHUSETTS

B.C.

BS 1213 .C37 1900 v.2

**Bible. O.T. Hexateuch. English. 1900.
Revised.**

The Hexateuch according to the
Revised version arranged in its

THE HEXATEUCH

ACCORDING TO THE REVISED VERSION

Oxford

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE HEXATEUCH

ACCORDING TO THE REVISED VERSION

ARRANGED IN ITS CONSTITUENT DOCUMENTS

BY MEMBERS OF THE

SOCIETY OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY, OXFORD

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, MARGINAL REFERENCES
AND SYNOPTICAL TABLES*

BY

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. LOND.

AND

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, M.A. OXON.

IN TWO VOLUMES

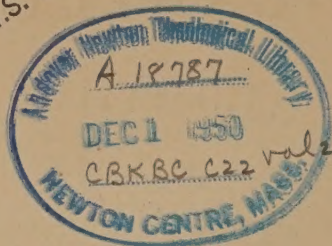
VOL. II: TEXT AND NOTES

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK AND BOMBAY

1900

WITHDRAWN FROM
A.N.T.S. LIBRARY



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Gen 2⁴ (text and note) read 2^{4a}.

Gen 13¹² read 12^a before 'Abraham' P.

Page 21 line 1 read 12^b before 'and moved his tent' J.

Gen 23¹ bracket [these were], for b 188^a read b 182.

Gen 32⁴ remove ^d from before 'sojourned.'

Ex 4^{6h} add cp Lev 14² 5.

Ex 8^{10N} line 2 for 7^{17b} read 7^{17a}.

Ex 13^{3e} for 12^{6b} read 12^{8b}.

Ex 22^{28o'} for 12⁶ read 131.

Ex 30²⁸ transfer 28 to follow 'and the altar of incense.'

Lev 16²¹ for p 45 read p 44.

Lev 20^{2ax} line 5 for 17⁷ read 17⁸ and add ('so that 2^a above may be P^h').

Lev 25⁸ margin for 8-18 read 8-17.

Lev 26⁴⁰ for q 45 read q 44.

Deut 1²¹ dele ^{e'} and ^{e'} 64.

Deut 10⁸ margin for 11^{11d} read c.

Deut 17⁹ margin for 11^{11g} read d.

Deut 22^{91N} for Num 17³² read 16³⁷.

Deut 25^{2d} add Neh 5⁸.

GENESIS

J

P

24¹ ^{Na}THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of the heaven and of the earth when they were ^bcreated.

1¹ ^sIn the beginning God ^bcreated the heaven and the earth. ² And the earth was "waste and void"^a; and darkness was upon the face of the ^bdeep: and the spirit of God ^{sc}moved upon the face of the waters. ³ And God ^ssaid, Let there be light: and there ^cwas light. ⁴ And God ^ssaw the light, that it was good: and God ^ddivided the light from the darkness. ⁵ And God ^ecalled

a 77^s
b 48

c 53

a Is 34¹¹ Jer 4²³
b 7¹¹ 8²
c Deut 32¹¹
d Cp 6 9 11 14 20 24
e Cp 7 9 11 15 24 50
f Cp 10 12 18 21 25 31
g Cp 8 10

24² It has long been recognized that the Book of Genesis is primarily based upon a document containing a series of sections introduced by the formula 'These are the generations of . . . ' cp 277 (Introd chap XIII 1 p 121). To this document Ewald gave the name of the 'Book of Origins,' and it was also occasionally designated the *Grundschrift*, the ground-work or foundation-document. Beginning with a survey of the creation of the heavens and the earth, it proceeds to trace the descendants of Adam through Seth to Noah 5¹. . . After narrating the Flood, it describes three great groups of nations, under the names Japheth, Ham, and Shem 10¹. . . and then follows a special line from Shem through Arphachshad to Terah. At this point the writer's view concentrates itself on Abraham, from whom are derived Ishmael and Isaac. A summary enumeration of the tribes of Ishmael prepares the way for the division of the posterity of Isaac under the names of Esau and Jacob. The recital of Esau's marriage-alliances with their results finally enables the author to dismiss Edom from view, and limit himself to the children of Israel. At each stage of advance towards the main crisis of the narrative—the revelation of El Shaddai to Moses by the name Yahweh—the historic connexion is effected by the method of genealogical filiation, which does not wholly disappear till the family history of the founder of the priesthood has been related Num 3¹. The *tol'dhoth* formula of Gen 24⁸ is not appropriate to the narrative which follows it in 24^b. . . for this says nothing about the creation of the heavens or the earth, but deals with the formation of the first man after they were made. On the other hand its form and substance are both congruous with the account of the creation of the universe in 1¹–2⁸. In other sections, however, the formula always precedes the matter which it designates. It is probable, therefore, that it originally stood before 1¹, and was transposed by the editor who combined the two documents, to serve as the link of combination. Bacon (*Genesis* 97) conjectures that the title originally read 'These are the generations of the heavens and the earth in the beginning of their creation. 1¹ God created,' &c. But the words 'when they were created' may have been added by the compiler, as other similar formulae do not present analogous expressions. Ball (in Haupt's *SBOT*) reads 'This is the book of the generations' with G here as at 5¹: but does not attempt to decide 'whether this formula originally stood also, or only, at the head of 1¹'.

1¹ The historical introduction to the Priestly Code fitly commences with a survey of the 'origins' of the world. The account of the creation of the heavens and the earth with all the multiplicity of their contents is marked by a stately order

and precision partially reflected in the careful descriptions, the detailed enumerations, and the numerous identities of phrase. Each step in the series of creative acts is preceded by a creative utterance 3 6 9 11 14 20 24 26 in which the divine Thought at once announces and executes its purpose. The entire process is distributed into eight stages, which apparently fall into two groups of four, having a certain harmony in their constituent members:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Light 3-4 | (5) The Heavenly bodies 14-18 |
| (2) The Firmament 6-7 | (6) Fishes and birds 20-22 |
| (3) The Earth 9-10 | (7) Land animals 24-25 |
| (4) Plants 11-12 | (8) Man 26-27 |

It has been often conjectured (cp Dillmann, *Genesis* i 49-50) that an earlier story presented these two series in clearer sequence, and that they were subsequently adapted to the scheme of the creative week with its six days of work, by throwing the related pairs (3-4) and (7-8) each into a single day. It may be surmised that originally each creative utterance was accompanied by the record of its execution and of the divine approval. The corresponding formulae, however, now appear only seven times 3 7 9 11 15 24 50 and 4 10 12 18 21 25 31. The source of this representation it is difficult to determine. In many other portions of his narrative P seems to be founded on prior materials: is he wholly fresh and independent in his presentation of the creation? Analogies with the Babylonian tablets have often been pointed out, and some eminent Assyriologists have recognized in Gen 1 distinct traces of the influence of Babylonian ideas (cp G Smith, *Chald Genesis* 73; Jensen, *Kosmos der Babylonier* 301-306; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* 114; Sayce, *Expos Times* vii 206 ff; cp Introd 135). Was that influence exerted direct, or did it pass through other channels on the way? The question belongs rather to a commentary than to analysis, and can only be answered here on grounds of general probability. It will be indicated hereafter that the narrative of the Flood assigned to J^s (cp Introd chap XI 6a p 108) cannot be derived from the author of the story of Eden and the first pair. Was it, however, an isolated fragment, or was it originally part of a primeval history, which had its own account of the origin of the world and its inhabitants? In the latter case may not this narrative (J^s) have served in its turn as the antecedent of P? The suggestion was first made by Budde, *Urgeschichte* 486, and has been widely adopted (cp Holzinger, *Gen* 23, and *Encyclopaedia Biblica* art 'Creation'). See Ex 20¹³.

² M Or, was brooding upon.

J

P

h Cp 8 19 19 23 31

the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. ^hAnd there was evening and there was morning, one day.

⁶ And God said, Let there be a ndfirmament in the midst of the waters, and let it ^cdivide the waters from the waters. ⁷ And God made the ^dfirmament, and ^cdivided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. ⁸ And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.

⁹ And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be ^cgathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. ¹⁰ And God called the dry land Earth; and the ^cgathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good. ¹¹ And God said, Let the earth ^cput forth grass, herb ^cyielding seed, [and] fruit tree bearing fruit ^cafter its kind, wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth: and it was so. ¹² And the earth brought forth grass, herb ^cyielding seed ^cafter its kind, and tree bearing fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after its kind: and God saw that it was good. ¹³ And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

¹⁴ And God said, Let there be ^alights in the ^dfirmament of the heaven to ^cdivide the day from the night; and let them ^bbe for ^csigns, and for ^cseasons, and for days and years: ¹⁵ and let them ^bbe for ^clights in the ^dfirmament of the heaven to ^cgive light upon the earth: and it was so. ¹⁶ And God made the two great ^alights; the greater light to ^crule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: [he made] the stars also. ¹⁷ And God set them in the ^dfirmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, ¹⁸ and to rule over the day and over the night, and to ^cdivide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good. ¹⁹ And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

²⁰ And God said, Let the waters ^{ak}bring forth abundantly the ^kmoving creature that hath life, and let fowl ^mfly above the earth ^{al}in the open ^dfirmament of heaven. ²¹ And God ^bcreated the great ⁿsea-monsters, and every living creature that ^mmoveth, which the waters ^bbrought forth abundantly, ^cafter their kinds, and every winged fowl after its kind: and God saw that it was good. ²² And God ^bblessed them, saying, ^cBe fruitful, and multiply, and ^cfill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. ²³ And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

²⁴ And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature ^cafter its kind, cattle, and ^mcreeping thing, and ^bbeast of the earth ^cafter its kind: and it was so. ²⁵ And God made the ^bbeast of the earth ^cafter its kind, and the cattle after their kind, and every thing that ^mcreepeth upon the ground after its kind: and God saw that it was good. ²⁶ And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our ^clikeness: and let them have ^ddominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every ^mcreeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. ²⁷ And God ^bcreated man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; ^cmale and female created he them. ²⁸ And God ^bblessed them: and God said unto them, Be ^cfruitful, and multiply, and ^creplenish the earth, and ^csubdue it; and have ^ddominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that ^{am}moveth upon the earth. ²⁹ And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb ^cyielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall ^bbe for ^cmeat: ³⁰ and to every ^bbeast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that ^mcreepeth upon the earth, wherein there is ^{al}life, [I have given] every ^cgreen

i 5†
j 12 Lev 12 5† cp
29

k Ex 23 97 Num 82
l 5* Ps 136 8

m Ct Deut 4 17 5*
n Ex 7 9. 12 Deut
32 38*

o Cp 28 5 = fill 91

p 5 13* Ezek (15)

q Num 32 22 29
Josh 18 1*

29 16a/

r 9†

1 6 M 5 expanse.

20a M 5 swarm with swarms of living creatures.

20b M 5 On the face of the expanse of the heaven.

28 M Or, creepeth

30 M 5 a living soul.

J	P	
e 6 ¹² cp Ex 2 ²⁵	herb for 'meat: and it was so. ³¹ And God 'saw every thing that he had made, and, 'behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.	
a Ct Dent 4 ¹⁹ 17 ³ 2. L ^{9b} b 17 ²² 49 ³³ Ex 34 ³³ 40 ³³ 5	2 ¹ And the heaven and the earth were finished, and all the 'host of them. ² And on the seventh day God ^b finished his 'work which he had made; and he ^b rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. ³ And God 'blessed the seventh day, and 'hallowed it: because that in it he ^b rested from all his 'work which God had 'created and made.	a 177 b 137 ^b c 33 d 86 ^e e 48
c Ct 12 d 21 ¹⁵ Job 30 ⁴ 71	... 2 ^{4b} ^N In the day that ^N Yahweh ^N God 'made earth and heaven. J ^a ⁵ And no 'plant of the field was 'yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had 'yet sprung up: for Yahweh God had not caused it to 'rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to 'till the ground'; ⁶ but there went up a 'mist from the earth, and 'watered the whole 'face of the ground. ⁷ And Yahweh God 'formed man of the ^b dust of the ground, and 'breathed into his nostrils the 'breath of life'; and man became a living soul. ⁸ And Yahweh God ^b planted a 'garden 'eastward, in Eden; and there he 'put the man whom he had 'formed. ⁹ And out of the ground made Yahweh God to 'grow every tree that is 'pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the 'tree of life also in the midst of the 'garden, and the tree of the knowledge of 'good and evil.	f 6 g 195 h 225 i 40 j 37 k 27 l 193 m 152
e 5 ³³ 42 12 ^a cp 21 ⁵ f Job 36 ⁹ 74 g 17 ¹⁹ 5 ^a h 3 ¹⁹ 23 18 ²⁷ i 5 ^a j 7 ²² 24 k 9 ²⁰ 21 ³³ Num l 3 ¹³	10 ^a ^N And a river went out of Eden to 'water the 'garden; and from thence it was 'parted, and became four heads. ¹¹ The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; ¹² and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the 'onyx stone. ¹³ And the name of the second river is Gihon:	n 165
m 13 ⁹ 14 25 ²³ cp 10 ⁵ 5		

2⁴ The story of the 'generations of the heaven and of the earth' is followed by a second narrative which cannot be ascribed to the same source, and is marked by striking differences both in substance and in style. The character of its opening is somewhat obscured by grammatical peculiarities which an English version cannot exactly reproduce. In 4^b the making of earth and heaven (this order occurs only in Ps 148¹³) is assumed without further description; the condition of an earth without vegetation or man is indicated in a series of dependent clauses 5^a, constituting really a long parenthesis which might be rendered 'when no plant . . . and the writer passes on to the first main fact 7, the formation of a man out of the dust of the ground. The beginning of the narrative has apparently, therefore, been removed by the compiler in favour of the *tol'dhoth* section of P, and at the junction some compression may have taken place to prevent needless repetition. In what follows, accordingly, there is no analysis of the parts of the universe, nor any determination of their several functions, and the order of production on the earth is quite different. Whereas in 1²⁶, the creation of man, male and female together, marks the climax of the series of divine acts, a single man is formed in 2⁷ before either trees or animals: none of the beasts proves a suitable mate for him; and finally a woman is 'built' 2²² out of one of his ribs 18²⁵. To these diversities of material fact correspond other varieties both in thought and phrase. The story is distinguished by the entry of a new divine name, Yahweh (on the combination 'Yahweh Elohim,' see below). No attempt is made to adapt the creative process to a week of six days' labour followed by a seventh day of rest. The recurring formulae defining the divisions of the divine acts, and recording the divine inspection and approval, are all absent. Fresh terms are employed to describe the modes of production: Yahweh *makes* earth and heaven 4^b, *forms* a man 7, with beast and bird 19, *breathes* into the man's nostrils 7, *plants* a garden 8, *takes* the man, and *puts* him into it 15 (cp the 'building' of the woman 21, and of the creation of male and female in God's image 12⁷). These divergences can only be explained by the assumption that a new document is here introduced. The assumption is justified by the narratives which follow, for corresponding groups of differences may be noted through the whole series of stories of the early history of mankind. Each document, J and P, had its account of the

origin of the race, and traced the connexion between the first Man and the ancestors of the people of Israel. Cp *Introduct* XI.

4^b M 5 *Jehovah*, as in other places where Loah is put in capitals.—See vol i preface.

4^c The juxtaposition of these two names, Yahweh and God (*Elohim*), is very rare in the Old Testament. In the Hexateuch, after Gen 2-3 where it appears twenty times, it occurs only in Ex 9³⁰: elsewhere it is found in 2 Sam 7²³ 25; 1 Chron 17¹⁶ 2 Chron 6⁴¹ Ps 84⁸ 11 Jonah 4⁶. The combination, begun in 2^{4b}, ceases at 3²³, and in 4¹ 'Yahweh' is read alone, though 5 employs 'the Lord God' down to 8²¹ and even in 9¹². It is commonly supposed to be due to the compiler, who desired thus to show that the 'Yahweh' of the second story was identical with the 'Elohim' of the first (cp Dillmann, *Genesis* i 97). Klostermann has suggested that it was an instruction to the reader, when 1³⁻²⁴ was regarded as one section, to pronounce the same divine name (*Elohim*) throughout, cp *der Pentateuch* 37.

9 Some difficulty attaches to the mention of two trees in this verse. In 3³ the divine prohibition appears limited to one tree, described as 'the tree which is in the midst of the garden.' From the sequel (cp 2¹⁷) it is plain that the words really designate the 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil,' and not (as in 9) the tree of life. The permission in 3³ (as in 2¹⁶) really extends to the tree of life, whereas in 3²² the danger that its fruit also may be eaten is only averted by the expulsion of the first pair from the garden. Budde, accordingly, has conjectured that the original Eden-story contained but one tree; a later hand incorporated the second from another source; and he thus accounts for the somewhat awkward order of 2¹⁶. This leads also to the suggestion that in 2⁷ the tree was originally distinguished as 'the tree that is in the midst of the garden.' See further on 3²².

10 It was surmised by Ewald that the Four Rivers 10-14 had no place in the ancient conception of Eden. At what time, and from what source, this passage was introduced into the text, it is not possible to determine. But it does not contribute to the development of the story: the account of the divine action in 9¹⁵ is somewhat suddenly interrupted to give it room: the geographical and antiquarian details which it contains have no connexion with anything else in the narrative: and it may be regarded with great probability as a secondary addition.

12 M Or, *beryl*.

J

J⁸

P

n 4¹⁰

the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. ¹⁴ And the name of the third river is "Hiddekel: that is it which goeth "in "front of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.

18-25 I rha

c 20 2¹⁴ ct r²⁴
p Ct 2²¹g 15¹²*r 7¹⁶ op 209g 29¹⁴
f 37²⁷n 34³v 37¹⁰
w 5[†]
a 5^{*}
b 2¹⁹c 27
d 5 7 21¹⁹c 225
f 5^{*}g 8¹⁰ 37²⁷ 5

¹⁵ And Yahweh God took the man, and put him into the "garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. ¹⁶ And Yahweh God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest "freely eat: ¹⁷ but of the tree of the knowledge of "good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt "surely die.

¹⁸ And Yahweh God said, It is not good that the man should be "alone; I will make him an help "meet for him. ¹⁹ And out of the ground Yahweh God "formed every "beast of the field", and every "fowl of the air; and brought them unto the man to see what he would call them: and whatsoever the man called "every living creature, that was the name thereof. ²⁰ And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every "beast of the field; but for "man there was not "found an help meet for him. ²¹ And Yahweh God caused a "deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and "closed up the flesh instead thereof: ²² and the rib, which Yahweh God had taken from the man, "made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. ²³ And the man said, This is "now "bone of my bones, and "flesh of my flesh: she shall be called "Woman, because she was taken out of "Man. ²⁴ Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall "cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh. ²⁵ And they were both "naked, the man and his wife, and were not "ashamed.

³¹ Now the "serpent was more "subtil than any "beast of the field which Yahweh God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of "any tree of the "garden? ² And the woman said unto the serpent, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat: ³ but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. ⁴ And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not "surely die: ⁵ for God doth know that "in the day ye eat thereof, then your "eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as "God, knowing "good and evil. ⁶ And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a "delight to the eyes, and that the tree was "to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and she gave "also unto her husband with her, and he did eat. ⁷ And the "eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were "naked; and they "sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves "aprons. ⁸ And they heard the "voice of Yahweh God walking in the garden in the "cool of the day: and the man and his wife "hid themselves from the presence of Yahweh God amongst the trees of the garden. ⁹ And Yahweh God "called unto the man, and said unto him, "Where art thou? ¹⁰ And he said, I heard thy "voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was "naked; and I "hid myself. ¹¹ And he said, Who "told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst "not eat? ¹² And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. ¹³ And Yahweh God said unto the woman, "What is this thou hast done? And the woman

o 237

p 125

q 157

r 62

n 206

b 37

c 237

d 165

e 152

f 126

g 139

h 90

i 218

j 61

k 146⁴2^{14a} M That is, *Tigris*.14^b M Or, *toward the east of*.18 M Or, *answering to*.—5[†]

19 The awkward order of 5 "and whatsoever the man called it, a living creature," suggests that the last words were a later addition for purposes of editorial definition.

20 M Or, *Adam*.—5 may be read "for (to) the man," which should perhaps be substituted for "Adam" in 3¹⁷ 21.22 M 5 *builted he into*.23^a M 5 *Ishah*.3 1 M Or, *all the trees*.5 M Or, *gods*.6 M Or, *desirable to look upon*.7 M Or, *girdles*.—5^{*}8^a M Or, *sound*.—Op 235.10 M Or, *sound*.22^b M 5 *Ish*.8^b M 5 *wind*.

J	J ¹	P
¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰	¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ^{383</}	

J

J^a P

... ^{2a} And 'again she bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a ^dkeeper of sheep.

^{2b} And Cain was a ^btiller of the ^eground.

³ And in ^cprocess of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ^eground an ^doffering unto Yahweh. ⁴ And Abel, he ^ealso brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And Yahweh ^fhad respect unto Abel and to his offering: ⁵ but unto Cain and to his offering he had not ^erespect. And Cain was very ^ewroth, and his countenance ^ffell. ⁶ And Yahweh said unto Cain, ^bWhy art thou ^ewroth? and why is thy countenance ^ffallen? ⁷ If thou ^ddoest well, ^eshalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin ^ccoucheth at the door: and unto thee ^eshall be his ^bdesire, and thou shalt ^erule over him. ⁸ And Cain ^etold Abel his brother. And ^eit came to pass, ^ewhen they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and ^eslew him. ⁹ And Yahweh said unto Cain, ^eWhere is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? ¹⁰ And he said, ^eWhat hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood ^ecrieth ^eunto me from the ground. ¹¹ And now ^ecursed art thou from the ground, which hath ^eopened her mouth¹ to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; ¹² ^ewhen thou ^btillest the ground, it shall not ^ehenceforth yield unto thee her strength; a ^mfugitive and a ^mwanderer shalt thou be in the earth. ¹³ And Cain said unto Yahweh, ^eMy punishment is greater ^ethan I can bear. ¹⁴ Behold, thou hast ^edriven me out ^ethis day from the ^eface of the ground; and from thy face shall I be

c 123
d 208

e 40

f 126

g 233^b

h 228

i 38

j 210

k 146^d

l 141

m 24

b 26
3 17^a
c ^g = at the end of days cp 24¹⁵
40⁴
4 18^{ca}
d ^h = present
32¹⁵ 43¹¹..
et 17¹⁸
e Ex 5⁹
f Cp Jer 31²
g 29² 49¹⁴ 25¹⁶ Ex
23⁶ Num 22²⁷
Deut 22⁶ 29²⁰
33¹³
h 16
i 11² 35¹⁷ 22 38²⁸
cp 127^b
j 3⁹
k 18²¹ 19¹⁸
l Num 16³⁰ 32
Deut 17⁶
m 14 Ex 20¹⁸ ^h
n ^h nad^a
o 3²⁴
p 24¹² 31⁴⁸ 41⁹

Abel. Moreover, the city-builder of ¹⁷ can hardly be the Cain already doomed to the nomad life; the founder of organized communities, the progenitor of the fathers of civilization, is quite a different type from the accursed and fugitive fratricide. Once more, why should the lineage begun in ^{2b}, be so abruptly closed? This question is partly answered by the extract from the 'Book of the Generations of Adam' in ⁵¹.. This opens with Seth and Enos in the same order as in ⁴.., but it further contains names found in the list of Cain's descendants—Enoch ⁵¹ 24 cp ⁴⁷, Lamech ⁵¹ 51 cp ⁴¹ 22—while Methuselah ⁵¹ 27 seems connected with Methuselah ⁴¹. The editor, however, inserts in ^{2b} a precious fragment from J's account of the descent of Noah, which justifies the belief that the Noachic line through Seth has been abruptly cut short at ⁴ to make room for P's fuller genealogy, compiled apparently from both Cainite and Sethite lists. There seem thus to be three sets of material, (1) the story of Cain and Abel, (2) the progress of the arts among the descendants of Cain, (3) the lineage of Noah from Adam through Seth. Among these, the main portions of (1) and (3) plainly belong to J, as they recognize the worship of Yahweh. It may, however, be doubted if they are altogether homogeneous, as the incongruity of ^{2b} with ¹.. points to distinct diversity of view: nor can this be overcome by the suggestion that ^{2b}, formerly stood before ¹.. in a simpler form (Dillmann, *Gen* i 182). 'The man' of ⁴ is converted in ²⁵ into the proper name Adam, and these passages are probably, therefore, from different hands, ¹ being derived from the same source as ³¹ 3—3. In ⁷ an independent use seems made of the language of ³¹ 6, and ¹⁵ appears to be founded on ²⁴ which would 'more readily' (Dillm.) read, 'If Cain takes vengeance sevenfold, then Lamech seventy-seven fold': ³ 16a would then be secondary in relation to ²⁴—⁴ and also to ⁴¹ 24, while ²⁵ 22 would be secondary in relation to both. To what source, then, is the Cainite line in ¹⁷ 24 to be ascribed, and why should a Sethite list have been needed at all? Dillmann is inclined to turn to E for the fragment on primitive civilization which he would like to connect with the 'Phenician circle of legend' (*Gen* i 181), but the usage of language (see the Margins) does not lend any support to the ascription in the midst of the numerous parallels with J. It will, however, be noticed that the account of the rise of the various crafts in ¹⁷ 22 is entirely independent of the catastrophe which subsequently submerged all the race but Noah and his family. Were all the arts then concentrated in the ark, or did any of them need rediscovery afterwards?

A clue to the answer to this query is found in the narrative in *Gen* 11¹⁻⁹. After a survey of the distribution of the nations according to their languages in 10, the earth is still of one speech 11. Who are the people that are there journeying in the East? May they not be the posterity of Cain ⁴ 18, still in possession of the builder's skill? In that case, one group of traditions traced the early history of mankind without a Flood. When the narrative of the Deluge was adopted into the cycle of Israel's ancestral beliefs, some modifications were inevitable in the process of welding together stories which were not based on the same conceptions of the past. The details of these changes, omissions, curtailments, cannot now be recovered with any certainty, and the indications of the text must be regarded as probabilities only. If ⁸ 5-16a and ¹⁷ 24 belong to different cycles grouped together by the redactor of J, it is possible that Abel (אָבֶל) and Jabal (יָבָל) who were both breeders of animals, had some original connexion. Cp the Introductions of Cornill and König, together with Stade's article *ZATW* (1894) especially, pp 254-83. Most readers will endorse a former remark of Dillmann's, that no theory has yet been propounded which satisfactorily solves all the difficulties arising out of *Gen* 4. On J's cp *Introd* i 108.

^{2a} The story of Abel has perhaps been fitted in with the idiom אָבֶל, or this may be the continuation of a previous narrative which has been eliminated. It is noticeable that Abel's name does not receive any explanation like Cain's in ¹.

^{2b} T *but*. The conjunction is the same as in ^{2a}. On the use of הִנֵּה here, see Budde, *Urgesch* 217, who compares ¹⁷ 20, ²² am 10⁹ 25²⁷ and adds ¹⁶ 12 ³ 5⁹ 20.

^{7a} M Or, *shall it not be lifted up*.

^{7b} M Or, *is its desire, but thou shouldst rule over it*.—The reminiscence of ³ 16 seems here unmistakable, but the difference in imagery and application rather suggests diversity of authorship.

⁸ M ^h said unto. Many ancient authorities have, *said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the field*.

¹² The critics who regard this section as part of a later stratum in J's early history of mankind, find in this passage a slightly different point of view compared with ³¹ 7-19. Cain's occupation as a tiller of the ground is not in any way connected with the primeval curse: and the refusal of its strength in the future rather implies that it had been bountiful to him in the past.

¹³ M Or, *mine iniquity*.—Cp 19¹⁵ 44¹⁶ Ex 34⁷ Num 14¹⁸ al.

^{13b} M Or, *than can be forgiven*.

J	J	P
q 31⁴⁰ § cp 16³⁸ ^{face = presence} r 15 24 Ex 21²¹ § Hoph†	hid; and I shall be a "fugitive and a "wanderer in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever "findeth me shall 'slay me. 15 And Yahweh said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, 'vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And Yahweh appointed a sign for Cain, 'lest any finding him should smite him. 16 And Cain went out from the presence [face 14] of Yahweh.	n 157 o 61
s 214[*] t coll 11⁴ Ex 11¹ cp 137 u 17 26 320 v Cp 26 101 al w 10⁸⁵	16b "And [he] dwelt in the land of "Nod, "on the 'east of Eden. 17 And Cain "knew his wife; and she "conceived, and bare Enoch: and he "built a city, and "called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch. 18 And "unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad "begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methushael: and Methushael begat Lamech. 19 And Lamech "took unto him two wives: the "name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. 20 And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in "tents and [have] "cattle. 21 And his "brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the "harp and "pipe. 22 And Zillah, she "also bare Tubal-cain, "the "forger of every cutting instrument of "brass and iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah. 23 "And Lamech said unto his wives:	p 7 q 82 r 220 s 18 t 14
x 31^{27*} y Job 21¹² 30²¹ z Ps 150^{4†} a 61 23. 2aha	Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my "speech: For "I have 'slain a man "for "b'wounding me, And a "young man for "bruising me: 24 If Cain shall be "avenged sevenfold, Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.	u 234
c' 61 102¹ 25 24¹³ al §.	25 And Adam "knew his wife "again; and she bare a son, and "called his name Seth [§ Sheth]: For [said she] God hath 'appointed [§ Shath] me another seed instead of Abel; "for Cain slew him. 26 And to Seth, to him 'also there was "born a son; and he called his name Enosh: then "began men to "call upon the name of Yahweh. . .	v 194 w 8 x 15
a Cp 127 b 128 c 124 d 24⁶ e 127	51 "THIS IS THE "BOOK OF THE "GENERATIONS of Adam. In the day that God "created "man, in the "likeness of God made he him; 2 "male and female "created he them; and "blessed them, and called their name Adam Man, in the day "when they were created. 3 And Adam lived an "hundred and thirty years, and "begat 'a son in his own "likeness, after his "image; and called his name Seth: 4 and the days of Adam after he "begat Seth were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters. 5 And all the "days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died. 6 And Seth lived an "hundred and five years, and "begat Enosh: 7 and	a 188^b b 77 c 48 d 107 e 93 f 30 g 181

416a The story which assigns to Cain a particular country east of Eden in which he married and built a city, does not seem homogeneous with that which represents him as doomed to a life of constant wandering. The traditional name Nod has apparently suggested the employment of the term *wid* (wanderer) in 414 by one of the assonances or word-plays characteristic especially of J.

16b M. That is, *Wandering*.
22a M. Or, an instructor of every artificer.
22b M. Or, copper, and so elsewhere.
23a M. Or, I will slay.
23b M. Or, to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt.
25a This word is perhaps due to the compiler who has linked the stories together, or even to still later editorial transcription. (§ omits it.)

25b An explanation by the annotator of the combined narratives. Other traces of the same hand may possibly be found in the clause 'another seed instead of Abel.' In reality, however, it was the line of Cain that was replaced by the Sethite genealogy, the ancestry of Israel being traced through Noah and Shem, while the progeny of Cain perished in the Flood.

51a The 'generations of man' form the obvious sequel to the narrative of the 'generations of the heaven and the earth' in 1-24a. A new subject, the line of ten patriarchs from Adam to

Noah, is marked by fresh phrases. Each step in the series is narrated in the same bare outline. Compared with the vivid presentments of J in 4, these abstractions seem only to have a numerical significance. On the coincidences of names, cp 417. The structure of the description 'And Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enosh: and Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died' recurs with rhythmic regularity. The interruptions are indicated in 24b and 25a. It will be observed that the age of Noah at the birth of Shem is much greater than the corresponding ages of his predecessors. A combination of the numbers in 26 28 32 and 76 indicates the reason. The chronological adjustments close the life of Methuselah with the year of the Flood (cp *Introd* XIII 28 i 122-3). On the differences of the numbers in Sam and § cp *Dillm Gen* i 217-21.

1b Holzinger observes that this is the title of a book rather than of a section, and suggests that P may once have begun without a creation-story. The lengthy phrases of 1-2, the double occurrence of 'in the day' (which Holzinger supposes to be borrowed from 24b), and the incongruities of the pronoun which vibrates from *sg* to *pl* (though this occurs also in 127), may be due to editorial expansion after the union of P and J.

J

P

Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters: ⁸ and all the ⁹days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.

⁹ And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan: ¹⁰ and Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: ¹¹ and all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years: and he died.

¹² And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalalel: ¹³ and Kenan lived after he begat Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters: ¹⁴ and all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.

¹⁵ And Mahalalel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared: ¹⁶ and Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters: ¹⁷ and all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.

¹⁸ And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and begat Enoch: ¹⁹ and Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: ²⁰ and all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died.

²¹ And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: ²² and Enoch ²³walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: ²³ and all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: ²⁴ and Enoch ²⁵walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

²⁵ And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech: ²⁶ and Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters: ²⁷ and all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.

²⁸ And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat . . .

. . . ²⁹a son: ²⁹ And he ³⁰called his name Noah, saying, This same shall ³¹comfort us for our work and for the 'toil of our hands,' because of the 'ground which Yahweh hath ³²cursed.

³⁰ And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters: ³¹ and all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.

³² And Noah was five hundred years ³³old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

⁶¹ And ⁶²it came to pass, when men ⁶³began to multiply on the 'face of the ground, and daughters ⁶⁴were born unto them, ⁶⁵that the ⁶⁶sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they ⁶⁷took them wives of all that they chose. ⁶⁸ And Yahweh said, My spirit shall not ⁶⁹strive with man for ever, ⁷⁰for that he ⁷¹also is flesh: ⁷²yet shall his days

^a 4²⁸
^b Job 1⁶ 2¹ 38⁷
^c Ps 29¹ 89⁷
^d.

h 20^a
i 79
j 40

k 119^a

a 3^a
b 3
c 40
d 82

e 126

⁵²² The recurrence of these words in ²⁴, the awkwardness of their introduction here, as if Enoch had not walked with God before Methuselah was begotten, and the indications in ³ that the original formula 'lived' still lingered on, all point to some editorial manipulation. Budde conjectures that in the source which **P** here employed, the story ran that Enoch 'walked before Yahweh' cp 24⁴⁰ 48¹⁵.

²⁸ The uniformity of **P**'s style leads us to expect here the name of Noah. The compiler, however, wishing apparently to utilize **J**'s explanation of it, has inserted it at this point, having no doubt found it in the list which traced Noah's descent through Seth 4²⁵. That pedigree has apparently been rejected by the editor in favour of the more highly systematized scheme of **P**, but the attempt to give significance to Noah's name is preserved: cp 3²⁰ 4¹. The prediction prepares the way for the account of the vine-culture in ⁹20, by which the ground under the curse is made to yield comfort.

^{20a} **M** ⁵nahem, to comfort.

^{20b} **M** Or, which cometh from the ground.

⁶¹⁻⁴ A passage of great obscurity, apparently designed to explain the origin of an ancient race of giant stature. The story, with its unusual terms, 'sons of Elohim,' 'Nephilim,' 'mighty men of old,' 'men of renown,' seems to have been drawn from some unknown cycle of antique legends, and incorporated into the **J** series.

^{8a} In a well-known conjecture Budde has suggested that this verse originally recorded Yahweh's sentence on 'the man' who was expelled from Eden lest he should eat of the tree of life, so that its proper place was after 3²¹. Its present position certainly seems to interrupt ² and ⁴. But difficulties both of text and interpretation render Budde's proposal in the highest degree precarious. Further discussion belongs rather to a commentary than to this analysis.

^{3b} **M** Or, rule in. Or, according to many ancient versions, abide in [involving a change of a letter].

^{3c} **M** Or, in their going astray they are flesh.

^{3d} **M** Or, therefore.

	J	J' P
c Num 13 ^{38†} d Ex 211	be an hundred and twenty years. ⁴ The ^{nc} Nephilim were in the earth ⁱⁿ those days, ⁿ and also after that, when the sons of God ^{'came} in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: ⁿ the same were ^{'the} mighty men which were ^{'of} old, the ^{'men} of renown.	f 163
e Cp 1 Sam 27 ⁶ f Cp Num 16 ⁴	... ⁵ And Yahweh saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every ^v imagination of the ^h thoughts of his heart was ^h only evil ^{'continually} . ⁶ And it ^{'repented} Yahweh that he had made man on the earth, and it ^{'grieved} him at his ^{'heart} . ⁷ And Yahweh said, I will ^{'blot} out man ⁿ whom I have ^{'created} from the ^{'face} of the ground; ^{both} man, and ^{'beast} , and ^m creeping thing, and ^{fowl} of the air; for it ^{'repenteth} me that I have made them. ⁸ But Noah ^{'found} grace in the eyes of Yahweh.	g 184
g 821 Deut 31 ^{21*} h Ct Ex 34 ³⁵³² . 35 5* i 5 = all the day Deut 28 ³² cp Pr 3 ⁸ j Cp 821 24 ⁴⁸ 27 ⁴¹ Ex 4 ¹⁴ k Cp 24 ⁸ l Cp = cattle 20 p 23 817 m Cp 24 ^{9b} n 71 o 171 Ex 12 ⁶ al p 5 ²⁴	... ⁹ THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS ^m of Noah. Noah was a ⁿ righteous man, [and] ^{no} perfect in his ⁿ generations: Noah ^p walked with God. ¹⁰ And Noah ^{'begat} three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. ¹¹ And the earth was	h 189 i 20b j 79 k 135 l 31 ^a
	Noah was a ⁿ righteous man, [and] ^{no} perfect in his ⁿ generations: Noah ^p walked with God. ¹⁰ And Noah ^{'begat} three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. ¹¹ And the earth was	m 188 n 76 o 30

6¹⁴ M Or, giants.

^{4b} A perplexing clause which may perhaps be regarded as a later note to explain the fact that the Nephilim reappear in the tradition of the Wanderings. They did not, therefore, all perish in the flood.

^{4c} Another addition, probably, to the original tale; but whether due to the compiler of the J series, or to a later redactor, can hardly be determined.

⁵ At this point the increase of human wickedness draws down on man the sentence that Yahweh will 'blot him out' from the face of the ground ⁷. In ¹¹ a similar condition of universal corruption is again portrayed with varying terminology. - 'All flesh' are guilty before Elohim ¹¹, ct ⁵. There is no parallel in P to Yahweh's repentance for having called man into being ⁶, but his destruction is solemnly announced ¹³. These duplicate explanations are really independent introductions to the narrative of the flood which follows, and they suggest that it may be woven out of two strands. This is really rendered certain by subsequent repetitions and inconsistencies. Some of these can perhaps be most readily apprehended by exhibiting them in parallel columns.

P

(1) ⁶¹⁰ Elohim commands Noah to take one pair of each kind of animal into the ark.

(In the record of the actual entry of the animals into the ark ⁷, the editor has combined J's distinction of clean and unclean with P's record of Noah's obedience to the divine instruction.)

(2) ¹⁷ Elohim announces that he will 'bring the flood.'

(3) ⁷¹¹ The fountains of the great deep are broken up, and the windows of heaven are opened, and the flood comes.

(4) No fixed duration is predicted for the flood by Elohim: but the waters increase for 150 days ²⁴, and a combination of the dates in ¹¹ 83. ¹³. makes it probable that the writer intended the flood and its consequences to occupy 365 days, or a solar year (cp ^{52b}).

(5) Elohim blesses Noah and his offspring, and covenants with the race never again to destroy all flesh with a flood ⁹¹⁻¹⁷.

These differences of substance are accompanied by corresponding differences in form and phrase: from among those indicated in the margins the following may be noted:—

J

⁷ Yahweh enjoins Noah to take seven pairs of clean beasts, and only one pair of the unclean.

⁴ Yahweh warns Noah that he will 'cause it to rain' ¹⁹⁵⁻¹³.

¹³ The catastrophe is brought about by forty days' rain.

⁴ 10 Seven days pass before the rain begins; this lasts forty days ⁴ 12 cp ⁸; and after two days ²⁴, and a combination of the dates in ¹¹ 83. ¹³. makes it probable that the writer intended the flood and its consequences to occupy 365 days, or a solar year (cp ^{52b}).

Yahweh receives from Noah a sacrifice of each kind of clean beast and bird, and declares that he will not again smite every living thing ⁸²⁰⁻²².

P

(1) Elohim throughout.
(2) ⁶¹² All flesh had corrupted his way.
(3) ¹³ 17 ⁶¹¹ 15 destroy.
(4) ⁶¹⁷ Behold, I bring the flood.
(5) ¹⁷ All flesh wherein is the breath of life.
(6) ¹⁷ From under heaven.

(7) ¹⁸ Thou and thy sons ... with thee.
(8) ¹⁹ Every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort.

(9) ¹⁹ Male and female.
(10) ²⁰ Fowl after their kind ... two of every sort.
(11) ²⁰ To keep them alive.
(12) ²² Thus did Noah ... so did he.

(13) ⁷¹¹. Fountains of the great deep broken up, windows of heaven opened.

(14) ¹⁸. ²⁴ The waters prevailed, ... prevailed exceedingly.

(15) ²¹ All flesh gave up the ghost (נָפְטוּ).

(16) ^{82a} The windows of heaven were stopped.

(17) ^{8b} The waters decreased.

(18) ¹⁴ The earth was dry.

J

Yahweh throughout.
⁶ Every imagination ... evil continually.

⁷ ²³ blot out.
⁷ I will cause it to rain.

⁴ Every living thing that I have made.

⁴ From off the face of the ground.

¹ Thou and all thy house.

² Of every clean beast seven and seven, and of the beasts that are not clean, two.

² Man and his wife 5.

³ Fowl of the air ... seven and seven.

³ To keep seed alive.

⁵ And Noah did accordingly.

¹³ Rain upon the earth.

17b The waters increased.

²² All in whose nostrils ... died (נָפְטוּ).

^{82b} The rain was restrained.

^{3a} The waters returned.

^{13b} The face of the ground was dry (5 different).

The Elohim document, connected by many links of conception and phrase with the creation story in 1-2^{4a} and the pedigree in 5, has been made the basis of the combined narrative and has been preserved with substantial completeness. When it is withdrawn it becomes apparent that the Yahweh passages must originally have themselves constituted a whole. They cannot be regarded as merely supplementary, for they sometimes relate the same incident, e.g. the directions about the animals, and their entry into the ark, in incompatible terms, that is, they contradict, instead of merely developing, the statements amid which they are inserted. They are derived, therefore, from an independent source which has not been fully retained. For instance in ⁷¹ the ark is evidently already made; but J's account of its construction has been set aside in favour of P's ⁶¹⁴., which was probably the more elaborate. Similarly the erection of the altar in ⁸²⁰ implies a previous description of the departure from the ark, which P's statement in ¹⁸. rendered superfluous.

^{7a} So 5 M. T destroy.

^{7b} This verse seems to show phraseological traces of redaction in the style of P.

⁹ M Or, blameless.

J

P

q 131

r Ezek 76

s 17 9⁹ 17⁴ 48⁴

t 17 911 15 ct 7

u Num 102 cp

v 21⁸ Josh 5²w 5⁺x Ex 25¹¹ 37²y Lev 14⁴¹ cp

z Num 187

a Ex 25¹⁰ 17b 3¹⁶ Num 31²c 188 8⁺d Ct 7⁴e Ct 7⁴

f 219 816 13

g Ct 7¹h Ct 7²i Ct 7²

j Cp 140

k Ct 7³l Ex 30²³ Ezekm 4⁹ 5⁺n Ct 7⁵

corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. ¹² And God ⁹saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for ¹⁰all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

¹³ And God said unto Noah, The ¹¹end of ¹²all flesh is ¹³come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, ¹⁴behold, I will ¹⁵destroy them with the earth. ¹⁶ Make thee an ark of ¹⁷gopher wood; ¹⁸rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt ¹⁹pitch it ²⁰within and without with pitch.

²¹ And this is how thou shalt make it: the ²²length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

²³ A ²⁴light shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou finish it ²⁵upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. ²⁶ And ²⁷I, ²⁸behold, I do ²⁹bring the ³⁰flood [of] waters upon the earth, to ³¹destroy ³²all flesh, ³³wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall ³⁴die. ³⁵ But I will ³⁶establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt ³⁷come into the ark, thou, and ³⁸thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives ³⁹with thee. ⁴⁰ And of ⁴¹every living thing of ⁴²all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be ⁴³male and ⁴⁴female. ⁴⁵ Of the ⁴⁶fowl after their ⁴⁷kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every ⁴⁸creeping thing of the ⁴⁹ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to ⁵⁰keep them alive. ⁵¹ And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for ⁵²food for thee, and for them. ⁵³ Thus did Noah; ⁵⁴according to all that God commanded him, so did he⁵⁵.

⁷¹ And Yahweh said unto Noah, Come ⁷²thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen ⁷³righteous before me in this ⁷⁴generation.

⁷⁵ Of every ⁷⁶clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the ⁷⁷male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the ⁷⁸male and his female; ⁷⁹ of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, ⁸⁰male and female: to ⁸¹keep seed alive⁸² upon the ⁸³face of all the earth. ⁸⁴ For yet ⁸⁵seven days, and I will ⁸⁶cause it to rain upon the earth ⁸⁷forty days and forty nights; and every ⁸⁸living thing that I have made will I ⁸⁹blot out from off the ⁹⁰face of the ground. ⁹¹ And Noah did according unto all that Yahweh commanded him.

⁹² And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives ⁹³with him,

a Ct 618

b Ex 16

c 16a2

d Ct 619 cp 142

e 5=man and his wife ct 619

f 102 347 cp 1212

g Ex 122 al

h 89 114 8 9

i 10 cp 810 12

j 25 ct 617

k 12 86

l 23 Dent 116+

m ct 617

n Ct 622

o 532 711

p 617

q 135

r 40

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

p 119

q 119

r 119

s 119

t 119

u 119

v 119

w 119

x 119

y 119

z 119

a 119

b 119

c 119

d 119

e 119

f 119

g 119

h 119

i 119

j 119

k 119

l 119

m 119

n 119

o 119

J

J^s

P

2¹⁰ ct 6¹⁷ but
cp 9¹¹

into the ark, because of the "waters of the flood. ⁸ Of ^cclean beasts, and of beasts that are not ^cclean, and of fowls, and of every thing that ^ccreepeth upon the ground, ⁹ there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as ^cGod commanded Noah;—^{16b} ⁿand Yahweh ²shut him in.—¹⁰ And it came to pass after the ⁷seven days, that the "waters of the flood were upon the earth.

c ²Sam 2 ²Yah-
weh

y ⁵=close 2²¹
19⁸ 10 ²Josh 2⁷

q Num 33³⁸ ⁵

r 8² cp Lev 11³⁶
²Josh 15⁹ 18¹⁵
s 12
t 8²

u Cp 4

v ⁵=went in ct 7

w 21 cp 1²⁴

x 61⁹ ct 2
y 61⁷

z Ct 'prevailed'
18-20 24

a' 20 24 ct
'increased' 17^b

b' 61⁸

1² And the "rain was upon the earth 'forty days and forty nights.

17^b And the waters "increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.

11 In the six hundredth ⁹year of Noah's life, in the "second month, on the seven-teenth day of the month, on the same day were all the "fountains of the great "deep broken up, and the "windows of heaven were opened.

13 In the "selfsame day "entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons "with them, into the ark; ¹⁴ they, and every "beast after its 'kind, and all the cattle after their 'kind, and every "creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every "sort. ¹⁵ And they went in unto Noah into the ark, "two and two of "all flesh "wherein is the breath of life. ^{16a} And they that went in, went in 'male and female of "all flesh, as God commanded him. ^{17a} And the flood was "forty days upon the earth;

18 And the waters ^{a'}prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. ¹⁹ And the waters ^{a'}prevailed "exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. ²⁰ "Fifteen cubits ^{b'}upward did the waters ^{a'}prevail; and the mountains were covered. ²¹ And "all flesh "died that 'moved upon the earth, "both fowl, and cattle, and "beast, and every "swarm-

derived by R^p from P are indicated in smaller type, ⁷ cp 61⁸ 8¹⁸ 18; ⁸ the distinction between clean and unclean belongs to J ⁷², but is accommodated to P 61⁹; ⁹ 'two and two,' i.e. one pair of each, as in P 61⁹ 7¹⁵. ⁹ 'male and female,' cp R in 3 and 61⁹.

^{716b} This clause must have preceded the arrival of the waters of the flood ¹⁰, and is the natural close of J's account of Noah's entry into the ark. But in combining J and P, the addition of P's version of the same incident ^{13-16a} necessitated the transposition of the recital of Yahweh's protecting care in fastening the aperture.

¹⁴ M. S. ¹⁴ing.

¹⁷ Regarded by some critics as an attempt to bring P's narrative into accord with J ¹², whereas P really makes the duration of the flood much longer 7²⁴ 8^{3b-5}. Others ascribe the whole of ¹⁷ to J. But J does not speak of 'the flood' by itself, and ^{17b} follows quite naturally on ¹⁰ ¹².

²⁰ This number seems related to the height of the ark, thirty cubits 61⁸. The ark was apparently regarded as immersed up to half its height: accordingly, when the waters begin to decrease, it can just touch the summit of the loftiest mountain ⁸⁴. Cp ¹Intro XIII 2c i 125.

²¹ T Or, creeping thing that creepeth.

J	J ^s	P	
e' 27	...²² all in whose 'nostrils was the ⁿbreath of the ^cspirit of life, of all that was in the 'dry land ^ddied. ²³ ⁿAnd every ^jliving thing was ^{tb}blotted out which was upon the 'face of the ground, ⁿboth man, and cattle, and ^jcreeping thing, and fowl of the heaven; and they were ^{tb}blotted out from the earth; and Noah only was 'left, and they that were with him in the ark.	ing thing that swarmeth upon the earth, and every man,	q 25
d' מוח ct גיע 21			
e' 42 ⁸⁸ Ex 10 ²⁰ cp 69		²⁴ And the waters ^a'prevailed upon the earth an 'hundred and fifty days. ⁸¹ And God ⁿremembered Noah, and every ^aliving thing, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters ^bassuaged; ^{2a} the 'fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were ^dstopped,	r 93 a 135
a 5=beast 7 ¹⁴			
b Cp Num 17 ⁵ 5* c 7 ¹¹ ct 2 ^b	—^{6a} ⁿAnd it came to pass ^cat the end of ^jforty days—^{2b} that the ^jrain from heaven was restrained; ^{3a} and the waters returned from off the earth ^dcontinually.		
d 5* e Cp 4 ³ 41 ¹ Num f 7 ¹²		^{3b} and after the end of ^han ^bhundred and fifty days the waters decreased. ⁴ And the ark rested in the ^cseventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. ⁵ And the waters decreased continually until the 'tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.	b 93 c 183
g 5 ³ 7 12 ⁹ 26 ¹³ h 7 ²⁴			
i 26 ⁸ Josh 2 ¹⁵ 18 21*	^{6b} And Noah opened the 'window of the ark which he had made: ⁷ and he ^dsent forth a raven, and it went forth ^oto and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. ⁸ ⁿAnd he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were ^dabated from off the 'face of the ground; ⁹ but the dove ^ffound no ^krest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark, for the waters were on the 'face of the whole earth: and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought		d 205 e 40 f 157
j 11 cp 16 ⁴ . 5*			
k Deut 28 ⁵⁵ *			
l 7 ³			

7²² A composite phrase occurring nowhere else. R^p has apparently tried to unite J's terminology 'all in whose nostrils was the *nishmath* of life' with P's 'all in whom was the *ruah* of life,' cp 6¹⁷. The process results in the unique combination 'the *nishmath* of the *ruah* of life.'

^{21a} M Or, and he blotted out every living thing.—Cp 6⁷.
^{21b} R^p following 6²⁰ 7¹⁴ 21. The idiom 'both... and' is the same as in 6⁷, ct 7²¹.

⁸^{8a} This clause, standing in the text at the opening of 8, probably preceded ^{2b}, fixing the date of the cessation of the

rain 7¹². In combining this passage with P's longer duration of the flood, R has transposed the clause, but in doing so deprived it of its meaning, for after ^c what is the starting-point of the reckoning?

⁸ The formula at the opening of 10 12 implies a preceding period of seven days' waiting not now found in the text. The conjecture that some words have here dropped out, such as 'and he stayed seven days,' has been widely adopted. So Olshausen, Schrader, Delitzsch, Budde, Dillmann, &c.

J	J ^a	P	
	her in unto him into the ark. ¹⁰ And he ¹⁰ stayed yet other seven days; and ¹⁰ again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; ¹¹ and the dove came in to him at ¹¹ eventide; and, lo, in her mouth ¹¹ an olive leaf ¹¹ plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were ¹¹ abated from off the earth. ¹² And he ¹² stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; and she returned not ¹² again unto him any more.		g 123 h 236
²² 5†			
²¹ Ck 7 5 cp 7 ²² o Cp 7 ⁴⁷	^{13b} And Noah ^{13b} removed the ^{13b} covering of the ark, and ^{13b} looked, and, behold, the ^{13b} face of the ground was ^{13b} dried ^{13b} ...	^{13a} And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the ^{13a} first month, the first day of the month, the waters were ^{13a} dried up from off the earth.	i 224 ^b j 55 k 25
² Ck 7 cp 1 ⁹ q 61 ⁸		¹⁴ And in the ¹⁴ second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth ¹⁴ dry. ¹⁵ And God ¹⁵ spake unto Noah, saying, ¹⁶ Go forth of the ark, ¹⁶ thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives ¹⁶ with thee. ¹⁷ Bring forth with thee every ¹⁷ living thing that is with thee of ¹⁷ all flesh, ¹⁷ both fowl, and cattle, and every ¹⁷ creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may ¹⁷ breed abundantly in the earth, and be ¹⁷ fruitful, and multiply ¹⁷ upon the earth. ¹⁸ And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives ¹⁸ with him: ¹⁹ every ¹⁹ beast, every ¹⁹ creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever ¹⁹ moveth upon the earth, ¹⁹ after their families, went forth out of the ark.	l 185 m 176 n 21 ^b o 35 p 49 q 157 r 73 s 18 ^c t 137 u 110 v 45 w 71
²⁵ 2yoda ²⁶ 261a ²⁷ 7 ² ²⁸ 27ba ²⁹ ct 218 5 ³⁰ Cp 27 ²⁷ Lev ³¹ 251 ct 2158 ³² Cp 317 ³³ 65 ³⁴ 264 ⁸	²⁰ ²⁰ And Noah ²⁰ builded an altar unto Yahweh; ²⁰ and took of every ²⁰ clean beast, ²⁰ and of every clean fowl, and ²⁰ offered burnt offerings on the altar. ²¹ And Yahweh ²¹ smelled the sweet savour; and Yahweh ²¹ said in his heart, ²¹ I will not ²¹ again ²¹ curse the ground any more ²¹ for man's ²¹ sake, for that the ²¹ imagination of man's heart is evil ²¹ from his youth;		

8¹⁰ יָרַח should be corrected to יָרֵיחַ as in 1², 5⁸.

11 M Or, a fresh olive leaf.

13 This was probably followed in J by Noah's departure from the ark, now related in P 15-19.

20 The cultus of Yahweh, already established in 4 according to J, is not yet revealed according to P. Yahweh's promise not to smite every living thing again 21, stands in contrast with the covenant established by Elohim with Noah and his posterity, 9⁸⁻¹⁷.

21a This reference to the curse pronounced on the ground

after the first transgression seems open to some suspicion, if the narrative of the deluge be from a different hand, J^a. It may be noticed that the word 'curse' is not that employed in 3¹⁷, and is an unusual one in the person of Yahweh; moreover 3¹⁷ omits the particle 'and' in the next clause, as if each began 'I will not again. . .'. There is reason therefore to ascribe the allusion to the curse to an early compiler already acquainted with 3¹⁷ and 6⁶, i.e. R. Cp Holzinger, Gen 8a.

21b M Or, sake; for the.

J

J'

P

neither will I ^aagain smite any more every thing living, as I have done.
²² While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and ^mcold and ^wheat, and ^ssummer and ^dwinter, and day and night shall not ^vcease.

α 181 §*
 γ § = rest of 22

α 128
 b Cp Deut 11:25
 c Job 41:26†

3 16a
 d 130
 4 16e
 5 12h

e 126.

f 617

g 77
 h 613

i Ezek 1:28

j §†

k Cp 27

l § me

m cp 15:2
 n 28

⁹1 And God ^ablessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, ^a"Be fruitful, and multiply^a, and replenish the earth^a. ² And the ^bfear of you and the ^cdread of you shall be upon every ^bbeast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air; ^cwith all wherewith the ground ^ateemeth, and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. ³ ¹Every ^amoving thing that liveth shall be ^bfood for you; as the ^dgreen herb have I given you all. ⁴ ²But flesh ^cwith the life thereof, [which is] the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. ⁵ ²And surely your blood, [the blood] of your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand of ^aevery man's brother, will I require the life of man. ⁶ Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the ^cimage of God made he man. ⁷ And you, ^abe ye fruitful, and multiply; ^bbring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

⁸ And God ^aspake unto Noah, and to his sons ^awith him, saying, ⁹ ¹And ⁱI, behold, I ^aestablish my covenant with ^myou, and with your seed after you^m; ¹⁰ and with every living creature that is with you, ^cthe fowl, the cattle, and every ^bbeast of the earth with you; ⁿof all that go out of the ark, ⁿeven every ^bbeast of the earth. ¹¹ And I will ^aestablish my covenant with you; neither shall ^aall flesh be ^bcut off any more by the ^awaters of the flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to ^bdestroy the earth. ¹² And God said, ^a"This is the token of the covenant which ⁱI make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for ^aperpetual generations": ¹³ ¹I do set my ^bbow in the cloud, and it shall ^bbe for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. ¹⁴ And it shall come to pass, when I ^bbring a cloud^j over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud, ¹⁵ and I will ^aremember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of ^aall flesh; and the waters shall no more ^bbecome a flood to ^bdestroy ^aall flesh. ¹⁶ And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may ^aremember the ^aeverlasting covenant between ^aGod and every living creature of ^aall flesh that is upon the earth. ¹⁷ And God said unto Noah, ^a"This is the token of the covenant which I have ^aestablished between me and ^aall flesh that is upon the earth.

¹⁸ ⁿAnd the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and *Ham is the father of Canaan*. ¹⁹ These three were the sons of Noah: and of these was the whole earth ^moverspread.

²⁰ ⁿAnd Noah ^abegan to be an husbandman, and ^aplanted a vineyard:

⁹2 M Or, creepeth.

⁴ Holzinger Gen 74 points out that the prohibition of eating with the blood ^a is elsewhere closely connected with regulations of sacrifice, which according to P⁶ was not instituted till the Mosaic age. He suggests, therefore, that its insertion here is due to P⁶. The awkwardness of ^a followed by ^a may be explained by the conjecture that ^a is later still. In that case ⁷ is the editorial close reproduced from ¹, cp Ex 6:2 and 30.

¹⁰ These words seem due to later legal effort at precision (for the preposition ^b cp Driver, LOT⁶ 132). The clause is absent from §, and the usage of the term 'beast of the earth' to include the whole animal world differs from that earlier in the verse where it denotes wild animals in contrast to domesticated cattle.

¹³ M. Or, I have set.

¹⁸ This verse is assigned to J' as the sequel of the flood story. It does not appear to belong to P, who has already named

Noah's sons 5:32 6:10 ⁷13. The last clause is probably the editorial preparation for the episode which follows ²⁰⁻²⁷. But ¹⁹ is independent of this, and makes for the account of the dispersion in 10.

²⁰ The story of the invention of vine-culture and its consequences does not seem to belong to the same cycle as the flood. It has its analogies rather with the sketch of the growth of the arts and crafts in 4:17-22, cp 4:18, and is here regarded as belonging to the group of early materials gathered by J before the incorporation of the Deluge narrative. The opening words 'and Noah the husbandman began and planted a vineyard' (Dillm, Strack, Kautzsch and Socin, Spurrell) suggest its connexion with other stories in which he had already appeared in that character. But in its present form it is supposed that it has been adapted to the later scheme of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The writer intends to account for the enslaved condition of the Canaanites in after times; and the explanation implies that Canaan really played the part attributed

J	J ^s	P
o 27²⁵ p 43³⁴ Deut 32^{42*} q Prov 18² 5†	21 and he ^odrank of the wine, and ^pwas drunken; and he ^qwas uncovered within his ^wtent. 22 And <i>Ham, the father of Canaan</i>, saw the nakedness of his father, and ^ttold his two brethren without. 23 And Shem and Japheth took a ^ugarment, and ^vlaid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. 24 And Noah ^wawoke from his wine, and knew what his ^xyoungest son had ^ydone unto him. 25 And he said, ^zCursed be Canaan; A ^{a'}servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. 26 And he said, ^{b'}Blessed be Yahweh, the ^{c'}God of Shem; And let Canaan be ^{d'}his servant. 27 God ^{e'}enlarge Japheth, And ^{f'}let him ^{g'}dwelt in the ^{h'}tents of Shem; And let Canaan be ^{i'}his servant.	w 220 x 218 y 161 z 193 a' 146^b b' 24 c' 207 d' 10^c e' 120
s 5† cp 26²² t 161² 26² 25²² u 46¹³ Num 23⁹ v 33¹² al ct 25⁴ w Cp 57^{...} x 7⁶	...1^b ^aAnd ^cunto them were sons born after the flood. . .	f' 181 a 77
a 21 25 418 98	28 And Noah ^ulived ^vafter the flood three hundred and fifty years. 29 And all the ^wdays of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died. 10¹ ^uAND ^vTHESE ARE THE GENERATIONS^a of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.	f' 181 a 77
b S. 6. 22. cp 46^{...}	2 ^bThe sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. 3 And ^bthe sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and ^wRiphat, and Togarmah. 4 And ^bthe sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and ^wDodanim. 5 ^cOf these were the ^wisles of the nations ^ddivided ^ein their lands, every one ^fafter his tongue; ^gafter their families, ^hin their nations. 6 And ^bthe sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan. 7 And ^bthe sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca: and ^bthe sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.	b 18 u 65 d 35
c Cp 20 31 d 53 131¹¹ cp 10 e 20 51		

to Ham. From 24 it appears that the act of filial dishonour was committed by Noah's youngest son; whereas Ham is always enumerated in the second place. Further, the curse does not alight on Ham, but on Canaan 25, 'brother' of Shem and Japheth, which has led to the conjecture (Wellh, Budde, Kuen, and others) that according to the original narrative the three sons were Shem, Japheth, and Canaan. In that case, the words in 22a *Ham the father of* belong to the later harmonist.

9²⁴ M Or, *younger*.—Cp 27¹⁵ 42 29¹⁶ 18.

9²⁴ M Or, *their*.

9²⁴ M Or, *he shall*.

27b M Or, *their*.

10^{1a} T now, 5 and. The framework of the Table of Nations in 10 consists of a *tol'dhoth* section concerning the three Sons of Noah, cp 6⁹ 51 21¹⁸. The descendants of each progenitor are briefly enumerated, the survey beginning from Japheth and finally contracting to Shem, the ancestor of Abraham, cp 11¹⁰... Each group opens and closes with the recurring formulae so frequent in P. But the compiler has incorporated material in a totally different style. At 8 attention is at once arrested by the form of the word 'begat,' ct 230. The passage thus opened soon shows other linguistic peculiarities (see margin 8.) and

contains a quantity of detail by no means consonant with what has just preceded, eg the descendants of Mizraim 18. and Canaan 15... which have apparently replaced the parallel statements of P, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan having there no recorded offspring. Similarly the line of Shem 21 through Arpachshad 24... is traced in a manner wholly unlike P's genealogy in 11¹⁰... (cp the two pedigrees in 4 and 5); Sheba 28 Havilah 29 are Cushite 7 not Joktanite and 25-30 is phraseologically connected with 8-19. The use of the name Yahweh 9, the proverbial citation 9, the historic reminiscence 10... the geographical detail 19 30, the derivation 25 are all in the manner of J. It may be doubted, however, whether the portions thus recovered for J are quite homogeneous; see 15 5 16 24.

1b It is not the method of P to insert such a clause after his *tol'dhoth* formula by means of the copula: moreover this bears the form of the J sections in this chapter, and of corresponding passages previously. It is possible that it originally followed 9^{18a}, and was transposed when 19b was editorially inserted.

3 M In 1 Chron 1⁸, *Diphath*.

4 M In 1 Chron 1⁷, *Rodanim*.

5 M Or, *coastlands*.

J	J ^a	P	
f 11 ² 14 ¹ 9 Josh 7 ²¹ * 9 4 ¹⁷	⁸ And Cush ^abegat Nimrod: he began to be a ^a'mighty one in the earth. ⁹ ^aHe was a ^a'mighty ^bhunter before Yahuweh: ^cwherefore it is said, Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before Yahuweh. ¹⁰ And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. ¹¹ Out of that land ^ahe went forth into Assyria, and ^abuildd Nineveh, and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, ¹² and Resen between Nineveh and Calah (<i>the same is the great city</i>). ¹³ And Mizraim ^abegat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, ¹⁴ and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (<i>whence went forth ^athe Philistines</i>), and Caphtorim. ¹⁵ And Canaan ^abegat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth; ¹⁶ ^aand the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite; ¹⁷ and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite; ¹⁸ and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of the ^aCanaanite ^bspread abroad. ¹⁹ And the border of the ^aCanaanite was from Zidon, ^aas thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim, unto Lasha. ²¹ And unto Shem, ^a'the father of all the children of Eber, ^a'the elder brother of Japheth, to him ^aalso ^a'were children born. . . ²⁴ ^aAnd Arpachshad ^a'begat Shelah; and Shelah ^abegat Eber. ²⁵ And ^aunto Eber ^a'were born two sons:	e 7 f 8 g 184 h 5 172 i 85 j 17 k 5 l 188 m 126	20 ^a'These are the sons of Ham, ^a'after their families, ^b'after their tongues, ^c'in their lands, ^d'in their nations. 22 ^b'The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. ²³ And ^b'the sons of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.
7 Cp 172			
i 4 ²⁰ 5			

¹⁰ The description of Nimrod in ⁸ as a mighty one (*Gibbor*) suggests power and dominion such as is indicated in ¹⁰ by the mention of his kingdom. The intervening statement that he was a 'mighty one at hunting' implies some different connexion (unless it is simply founded on the proverb cited in ^{9b}), and is apparently attached to its context only by the occurrence of the term *gibbor*.

¹¹ M Or, *went forth Asshur*.

¹⁴ M 5 *Pelishtim*.—This clause seems to be a misplaced gloss belonging to the word Caphtorim, cp Am 9⁷ Deut 2²³ Jer 47¹.

¹⁶ This long enumeration of Canaanite tribes seems inconsistent with the subsequent affirmation in ^{18b}, for it implies the very dispersion there said to have taken place 'afterwards.' The peculiar forms of the names are unlike other names in

this table, but resemble lists elsewhere, eg 15¹⁰⁻²¹, which have often the air of additions to the text.

^{21a} The words 'father of all the children of Eber' have been sometimes regarded as a harmonizing addition. Or the original may have run 'father of Eber.'

^{21b} M Or, *the brother of Japheth the elder*.

^{24a} The origin of this verse is uncertain. Dillmann regards it as really derived by the compiler from 11¹⁰⁻¹⁴ and inserted here to connect Shem ²¹ with Eber ²⁵. But if so, why did not the borrower transfer also P's customary form for *beget* ^{23c}, ie 'cause to bear,' instead of adopting the unusual application of the word 'to bear' ¹⁹? The comparison of the genealogies in 4 and 5 suggests that in 11¹⁰, also P worked upon previous material, of which a trace may have been here preserved.

^{24b} M 6 reads, *begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shelah*.

J

Jⁿ

P

j Cp 4¹⁹
k 1 Chron 1¹⁹
5†

the name of the one was "Peleg; for in his days was the earth ^ddivided; and his "brother's name was Joktan. ²⁶ And Joktan "begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah; ²⁷ and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah; ²⁸ and "Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba; ²⁹ and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the sons of Joktan. ³⁰ And their 'dwelling was from Mesha, ^aas thou goest toward Sephar, the "mountain of the east.

t 27⁸⁹ Num 24²¹

n 14

³¹ These are the sons of Shem, ^aafter their families, ^bafter their tongues, ^cin their lands, ^dafter their nations.

o 18ⁿ

³² These are the families of the sons of Noah, ^aafter their generations, ^din their nations: and of these were the nations ^edivided in the earth after the flood.

p 188

q 77^o

a 4⁸
b 12⁹ 13¹¹ 20¹ 35²¹
46† al
c 10¹⁰

¹¹ And the whole earth was of one "language and of one "speech. ² And "it came to pass, ^aas they ^bjourneyed ^ceast, that they ^dfound a plain in the land of "Shinar; and they dwelt there. ³ And they said "one to another, ^eGo to, let us "make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and ^dslime had they for "mortar. ⁴ And they said, ^eGo to, let us "build us a city, and a "tower, whose top [may reach] unto heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be "scattered abroad upon the "face of the whole earth. ⁵ And Yahweh ^ecame down to "see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. ⁶ And Yahweh said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they "begin to do: and "now nothing will be "withholden from them, which they "purpose to do. ⁷ ^eGo to, let us "go down, and there "confound their language, that they may not understand "one another's speech. ⁸ So Yahweh "scattered them abroad from thence upon the "face of all the earth: and they "left off to build the city. ⁹ ^kTherefore was the name of it called Babel; because Yahweh did there "confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did Yahweh "scatter them abroad upon the "face of all the earth.

a 27
b 157
c 112^b
d 164
e 13

f 72

g 19

h 8

i 187

j 140

k 15^b

j Job 42² 5†
k Deut 19¹⁹
l 5 = mingle Ex 29²

¹⁰ ⁿ¹ THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Shem. Shem was an "hundred years "old, and "begat Arpachshad "two years after the flood: ¹¹ and "Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

l 77

m 93

n 119^a

o 30^o

¹² And Arpachshad lived five and thirty years, and begat Shelah: ¹³ and

m Cp 5⁷ 10 &c

¹⁰ ²⁵ M That is, *Division*.—The following clause may be a later gloss.

²⁸ M In 1 Chron 1²², *Ebal*.

³⁰ M Or, *hill country*.

¹¹ ^{1a} This story is plainly derived from a cycle of traditions independent of those now contained in 10. It is excluded from P by the share assigned in it to Yahweh, as well as by its general contents. But it further appears incompatible with the representation of the dispersion of the new race derived from Noah in J^a. That was the issue of a natural process of migration; here, the ambition of youthful humanity draws down upon it a divine doom. The description of the united population of the earth speaking one language and travelling nomad-fashion eastward cannot therefore apply to the peoples who have already taken up their geographical positions; it seems rather to fit the race whose advance is sketched in 4¹⁰. They had already learned the art of city-building; and the tower in the land of Shinar apparently belongs to an earlier group of stories before the historical glimpses in 10¹⁰⁻¹². But

in the process of incorporation into J's series, the narrative has received the impress of his style.

^{1b} M 5 lip.—1 6, 9 et 10^b.

^{1c} M 5 words.

² M Or, *in the east*.

³ M That is, *bitumen*.

⁹ M 5 *balal*, to confound.

^{10a} The sequel of the *tol'dhoth* of the sons of Noah 10¹. From among the sons of Shem 10²² the line of Israel's ancestry is now traced through Arpachshad. For the forms of recurring phrases see 5.

^{10b} As it is difficult to reconcile this figure with other numerical data in P, the words are possibly a later addition. After completing his 500th year Noah begets Shem 5³², whose birth may be therefore assigned to Noah's 501st. The flood arrives in Noah's 600th 7¹¹, i.e. Shem's ninety-ninth, and lasts till Noah's 687¹³; i.e. Shem's 100th. Two years 'after the flood,' therefore—the phrase denotes not its beginning but its end cp 9²⁸—Shem would be in his 102nd year, or 101 years old. The error appears to arise from neglect of the year occupied by the flood.

J

P

Arpachshad lived after he begat Shelah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

¹⁴ And Shelah lived thirty years, and begat Eber : ¹⁵ and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

¹⁶ And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg : ¹⁷ and Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

¹⁸ And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu : ¹⁹ and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

²⁰ And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug : ²¹ and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

²² And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor : ²³ and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

²⁴ And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat Terah : ²⁵ and Nahor lived after he begat Terah an ^mhundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

²⁶ And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

²⁷ ²AND ¹THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Terah. Terah ^obegat Abram, Nahor, and Haran ; and Haran begat Lot.

...²⁸ ⁿAnd Haran died in the presence of his father Terah in the land of his ⁿnativity, ⁿin ⁿUr of the Chaldees. ²⁹ And Abram and Nahor ^ttook them wives : the name of Abram's wife was Sarai ; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. ³⁰ And Sarai was ^bbarren ; she had no ^cchild.

³¹ ⁿAnd Terah ^otook Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife ; and they ^owent forth with them from ⁿUr of the Chaldees, to go into the land of ^cCanaan ; and they came unto ^cHaran, and dwelt there. ³² And the ^cdays of Terah were two hundred and five years : and Terah died in Haran.

¹²¹ ⁿNow Yahweh said unto Abram, ^aGet thee out of thy ^bcountry, and from

n 28 31 157 Neh
9⁸†

o 25²¹ 29³¹ Ex
23²⁶ Deut 71⁴*
p Cp 2 Sam 623[†]
q 12⁵

r 12⁴.

a 22² 5ⁿ et 11³¹
b 24⁴ 30²⁵ 32³
Num 10³⁰

p 60

q 82

r 4

s 181

¹¹²⁷ T Nov. 5 as in 10¹.
^{28a} The descent of Abram in J has apparently been omitted in favour of the more elaborate genealogy in P (cp Noah in 4-5). But the fragment in ²⁸⁻³⁰, obviously not homogeneous with P, is naturally referred to it, as the phraseological indications all belong to J.

^{28b} It is doubtful whether the reference to Ur of the Chaldees is original in this verse. Ur is named three times in Gen as the original home of Abram, cp ³¹ 15⁷. But a difficulty arises about its locality. It is prevailingly identified with the modern Mugheir on the right bank of the Euphrates in southern Babylonia. But other statements in J imply that Abram's birthplace was by no means so far south. In ²⁷ 10 ²⁸ 10 ²⁹ 5 Abraham's kindred ²² 20. are all at Haran, and this apparently is the 'land of his nativity' ²⁴ 7 ¹⁰ whence Yahweh brought him. Dillmann therefore supposes that the allusions to Ur in J have been inserted by the compiler, from some unknown source. Similar reasoning is applied by him to the occurrence of the name ³¹ in P. The general references in ⁸⁴ 11¹⁰⁻²⁸ connect the line of Terah with northern Mesopotamia, cp ²⁵ 20 ²⁸ 2; the intrusion of a southern name, therefore, must be due to an effort to incorporate a different tradition. But of this further source

Dillmann does not produce any other trace, and the suggestion of triple interpolation seems rather forced. Assuming the correctness of the geographical identification, it is possible to account for the name on the hypothesis that it belongs to the cycle of the flood story, the Babylonian prototype of which was located in the south. Or it is conceivable that there was more than one Ur, and that this must be sought in some other district. Chesed, the eponymous ancestor of Chasdim (the Chaldees), is not mentioned till ²² 22.

³¹ The minuteness of description in ^{31a} is quite after the manner of P, cp ⁷ 13 ⁸ 18 &c. The emigration-formula in ^{31b} harmonizes with that in ¹² 5 and its parallels, while ³² follows P's well-known method of numerical precision. The announcement of Terah's death might seem to prepare the way for 'these are the generations of Abram.' But if that title ever existed, cp ¹¹ 27 ²⁵ 19, it has disappeared in the process of combining J and P.

¹²¹ The regularity of P's plan suggests that the *tol'dhoth* of Terah ²⁷ led to a similar section for Abram, its introductory formula having been removed in the process of compilation. The group of narratives in which Abraham is the chief figure 12-26 is found on analysis to be of mixed nature.

J	P	
e Ex 32¹⁰ Num 14¹² et Gen 45⁹ 5 d 24¹ 26⁸ 12 24 30⁸⁷ 39⁵ e 82¹ 5 f Cp 24 g 28¹⁴ earth = ground 5 cp 40 h 24⁵¹	thy 'kindred, and from thy 'father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee: ² and I will 'make of thee a great nation, and I will 'bless thee, and 'make thy name 'great: and be thou a blessing: ³ and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that 'curseth thee will I 'curse: and in thee shall all the 'families of the earth be 'blessed. ^{4a} So Abram went, ^has Yahweh had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him.	a 60 b 153
i 37¹⁸ 36⁸ 46⁸ j 11⁸¹	⁶ And Abram passed through the land unto the place of 'Shechem, unto the 'oak of Moreh. ⁿAnd the 'Canaanite was then in the land. ⁷ And Yahweh appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I 'give this land: and there 'builded he an altar unto Yahweh, ⁿwho appeared unto him. ⁸ And he 'removed from thence unto the mountain ^kon the east of 'Beth-el, and 'pitched his 'tent, having Beth-el on the west, and 'Ai on the east: and there he 'builded an altar unto Yahweh, and 'called upon the name of Yahweh. ⁹ And Abram 'journeyed, 'going on still toward the 'South.	c 165 d 10^b e 155 f 146 g 4 h 119^a
k 33¹⁸ 35⁴ 37¹²⁻¹⁴ l Deut 11⁸⁰ cp 35⁴ Josh 24²⁸ 7 120^b m 13¹⁶ 15¹⁸ 26⁸ 28¹³ et 17⁸ n 35¹ f 8 120^b o 26²² p 28¹⁹ q 26²⁶ 33¹⁰ 35²¹ r Josh 7²	¹⁰ And there was a famine in the land: and Abram 'went down into Egypt to 'sojourn there; for the 'famine was sore in the land. ¹¹ And it came to pass, when he was 'come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, 'Behold now, I know that thou art a 'fair woman to look upon: ¹² and 'it shall come to pass, 'when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will 'kill me, but they will 'save thee alive. ¹³ Say, 'I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may 'be well with me 'for thy sake, and that my soul may live 'because of thee. ¹⁴ And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. ¹⁵ And the 'princes of Pharaoh saw her, and 'praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. ¹⁶ And he 'entreated Abram well 'for her sake: ^uand he had 'sheep, and oxen^a, and he-asses, and menservants, and 'maidservants, and she-	i 17^a j 137 k 27 l 220 m 15^a
v 26¹ 41⁵⁴ w 26² 42² 43⁴ x 19⁹ 20¹ 21³⁴ y 26⁸ 47⁴ al z Ct 5¹¹⁸ aa 45⁸⁸ cp 3 ab 7⁸ ac 40¹⁴ ad 30²⁷ 39⁵ Deut 18¹ 15¹⁰ 18¹² ae 14¹⁹ 14^{1a} af 5⁴ ag 24⁸⁵ 30⁴⁸ 32⁶	¹⁰ ^{nm}And there was a famine in the land: and Abram 'went down into Egypt to 'sojourn there; for the 'famine was sore in the land. ¹¹ And it came to pass, when he was 'come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, 'Behold now, I know that thou art a 'fair woman to look upon: ¹² and 'it shall come to pass, 'when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will 'kill me, but they will 'save thee alive. ¹³ Say, 'I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may 'be well with me 'for thy sake, and that my soul may live 'because of thee. ¹⁴ And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. ¹⁵ And the 'princes of Pharaoh saw her, and 'praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. ¹⁶ And he 'entreated Abram well 'for her sake: ^uand he had 'sheep, and oxen^a, and he-asses, and menservants, and 'maidservants, and she-	n 26 o 127^a p 9 q 152 r 210 s 186 t 71^a u 127^b v 101 w 28 x 33 y 41

In their combination much has been curtailed, and in fitting the separate stories unconnected by dates into the more precise chronological framework of P, some dislocations have been inevitable, and occasional fragments may be detected in the text, the exact connexion of which now seems lost beyond recall. 1-4 continues 11²⁶⁻³⁰, 'now' = 5 'and.'

12^{ab} The mention of Abram's age on his migration from Haran must plainly follow the account of the migration itself; it owes its position in the text to R who used it as the link between 4^a and 5.—T departed, 5 as in 5 'went forth to go into the land of Canaan.'

^{1a} M Or, terebinth.

^{1b} Cp 13⁷. Many critics regard these as editorial notes.

^{1c} This verse may be due to the compiler who has attached the Egyptian episode 10-20 by its means.

^{1d} M 5 Negeb, the southern tract of Judah.

^{1e} The narrative in 10-20 shows the general style and language

of J (cp 17). But it is in reality the first of three, dealing with a common incident, cp 18 20⁹ 26¹⁰, 'she is my sister' 19 26⁶ 26⁹. The second, in 20¹⁷⁻¹⁷, locates it at the court of Abimelech, king of Gerar. In the third the scene remains unchanged, but Isaac and Rebekah replace Abraham and Sarah 26⁷⁻¹¹. Are all these stories told by the same writer? The second will be found to belong to the document designated E (cp Introd XII); the first and last apparently belong to J. The difficulty, however, reappears; did the same hand produce them both? The greater simplicity of 26⁷⁻¹¹ suggests that it belongs to an earlier stratum of tradition; in 12 the court of Pharaoh with its princes¹⁵, the wealth and dignity of Abram¹⁶, are described with more elaboration; the transaction is carried further, for Sarai is actually taken into Pharaoh's palace, and great plagues descend on Pharaoh and his house. The narrative, therefore, may be assigned to the secondary elements of J (cp Introd XI 68 i 109). It will be noticed that Lot is not mentioned in it.

J

P

e' 2 Kings 15⁵
2 Chron 26²⁰
5f
f' Ex 11:1 et Lev 13³⁸
g' 20:11 18 43¹⁸
Ex 31:2 5
h' Cp 11:29
i' 24⁵¹
j' 50⁵ 7
k' 12⁹
l' 24³⁸ 53 Num 22¹⁸
m' Ct Ex 17¹ Num 10:12
n' 12⁸
o' 12⁴
p' 36⁷
q' 26²⁰
r' Cp 24⁴⁸ 29¹²
s' Cp 20:15 34¹⁰ 21
t' 47⁶
u' 21⁰
v' Cp 24⁴⁹
w' 5 cp 22⁵
x' 19¹³
y' 19²²
z' 11²
aa' 10⁵

asses, and ^acamels. ¹⁷ And Yahweh ^cplagued Pharaoh and his house with great ^fplagues ^e'because of Sarai Abram's wife. ¹⁸ And Pharaoh ^a'called Abram, and said, ^b'What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not ^c'tell me that she was thy wife? ¹⁹ Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so that I ^h'took her to be my wife: ^d'now therefore behold thy wife, ⁱ'take her, and ^e'go thy way. ²⁰ And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him: and they ^f'brought him on the way, and his wife, and ^g'all that he had.

¹³ ¹And Abram ^w'went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and ^a'all that he had, and Lot ^w'with him, into the ^b'South.

² And Abram was very ^b'rich in ^c'cattle, in ^c'silver, and in ^c'gold.

³ ¹And he ^a'went on his journeys from the ^b'South even to ^c'Beth-el, unto the place where his ^d'tent had been at the ^e'beginning, between Beth-el and Ai; ⁴ unto the place of the ^f'altar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram ^g'called on the name of Yahweh.

⁵ And Lot ^h'also, which ^f'went with Abram, had ⁱ'flocks, and herds, and ^a'tents,

^{6b} and they could not dwell together.

⁷ And there was a ^h'strife between the ⁱ'herdmen of Abram's ^c'cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: ^a'and the ¹'Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land. ⁸ And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, ^m'I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my ^k'herdmen and thy herdmen; for we are ^b'brethren.

⁹ Is not the whole land ^b'before thee? ^h'separate thyself, ^m'I pray thee, from me: if [thou wilt take] the ^f'left hand, then I will go to the right; or if [thou take] the ^f'right hand, then I will go to the left.

¹⁰ And Lot ⁿ'lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the ^m'Plain of Jordan, that it was well ^m'watered every where, before Yahweh ⁿ'destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the ^c'garden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt, ^a'as thou goest unto ^c'Zoar. ¹¹ ^aSo Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot ²'journeyed ^a'east:

^{6a} ⁿAnd the ^c'land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their ⁱ'substance was great,

^{11b} and they ²'separated themselves the ^c'one from the other. ¹² ^aAbram dwelled in the ^f'land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the Plainⁿ. [→19²⁹]

¹³ In combining the later story of the visit to Egypt with the narrative of the separation of Abram and Lot, it was necessary to relate Abram's return to middle Canaan, where tradition placed the parting. As nothing was said of Lot's presence in Egypt 12¹⁰⁻²⁰, it is believed that the words 'and Lot with him' are due to the harmonist. But the whole verse may be really his.

⁸⁻⁴ The editorial connexion of 12¹⁰⁻¹³ with the account of Lot's choice.

⁶ P summarizes the incident, in his usual method in cases

which he does not select for expansion (cp the reference to Isaac's marriage 25²⁰ with 24). With similar brevity the separation of Esau from Jacob is narrated in corresponding terms in 36⁶.

⁷ Probably another editorial note, cp 12⁸.

¹⁰ M Or, Circle.—Cp 19¹⁷ Deut 34³.

¹² The brief statement concerning Abram and Lot may have been originally followed by the conclusion of the latter's share in the narrative 19²⁹, now awkwardly appended to J's account of his escape on occasion of the overthrow 19¹²⁻²⁸.

	J	P	
	and 'moved his tent as far as Sodom.		t 220 ^b
	¹³ Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against Yahweh exceedingly.		
r 28 ^{14†}	¹⁴ And Yahweh said unto Abram, after that Lot was separated from him, ^a "Lift up ^u now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, ^v "northward and southward and eastward and westward": ¹⁵ for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I ^e give it, and to thy seed for ever.		u 193 v 204
e 12 ⁷	¹⁶ And I will ^u make thy ^v seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed ^u also be numbered. ¹⁷ ^u Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for unto thee will I ^e give it.		w 128
18 ^{14od} t 14 ¹³ 18 ¹ u Cp 23 ¹⁹	¹⁸ ^u And Abram ^u 'moved his tent, and came and dwelt by the ^u "oaks of ^u "Mamre, which are in Hebron, and ^u 'built there an altar unto Yahweh.		
a 10 ¹⁰ b 10 ²² c Josh 11 ^{18*} d 10 ¹⁹ e † f 5 [†] g 37 ¹⁴ Num 14 ²⁵ al h Deut 3 ⁴⁷ Num 34 ⁸ i Cp 20 ⁷ j Num 14 ⁹ Josh 22 ¹⁶ 18. 28 [*] k Cp 25 l Deut 14 m Cp Deut 20 ²⁰ n Deut 21 ⁰ o 17 [†] p Num 32 ³⁷ q 36 ²⁰ · Deut 21 ²² r 16 ¹⁴ 20 ¹ Num 23 ²⁶ 20 ¹ al s 36 ¹² Ex 17 ⁸ al t 2 Chron 20 ^{24†} u 11 ³	^{14¹} ^u And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of ^u "Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of ^b "Elam, and Tidal king of ^u "Goim, ² that they ^u 'made war with Bera king of ^u "Sodom, and with Birsha king of ^u "Gomorraah, Shinab king of ^u "Admah, and Shemeber king of ^u "Zebaiim, and the king of ^u "Bela (<i>the same is Zoar</i>). ³ All these ^u 'joined together in the ^u 'vale of ^u "Siddim (<i>the same is the ^u"Salt Sea</i>). ⁴ Twelve years they ^u 'served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they ^u 'rebelled. ⁵ And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the ^u "Rephaim in ^u "Ashteroth-karnaim, and the ^u "Zuzim in ^u "Ham, and the ^u "Emim in ^u "Shaveh- ^u kiriathaim, ⁶ and the ^u "Horites in their mount Seir, unto ^u "El-paran, which is by the wilderness. ⁷ And they returned, and came to ^u "En-mishpat (<i>the same is ^u"Kadesh</i>), and smote all the ^u "country of the ^u "Amalekites, and ^u 'also the ^u "Amorites, that dwelt in ^u "Hazazon-tamar. ⁸ And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorraah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zebaiim, and the king of Bela (<i>the same is Zoar</i>); and they set the battle in array against them in the vale of Siddim; ⁹ against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goim, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against the five. ¹⁰ Now the vale of Siddim was full of ^u "slime pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorraah fled, and they fell there, and they that remained fled to the mountain. ¹¹ And they took all the ^u 'goods of Sodom and Gomorraah, and all their victuals, and went their way. ¹² And they took Lot, ^u "Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in ^u "Sodom, and his ^u 'goods, and departed. ¹³ And there came one that had ^u 'escaped, and ^u 'told ^u "Abram the Hebrew ^c : now he dwelt by the ^u "oaks of ^u "Mamre the ^u "Amorite, brother of ^u "Eshcol, and brother of ^u "Aner; and these were ^u 'confederate with Abram. ¹⁴ And when Abram heard that his brother was taken ^u 'captive, he ^u 'led forth his trained men, ^u 'born in his house ^c , three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as ^u "Dan. ¹⁵ And he ^u 'divided himself against them by ^u 'night, he and his ^u 'servants, and smote them, and pursued them unto ^u "Hobah, which is on the ^u 'left hand of Damascus. ¹⁶ And he brought back all the ^u 'goods, and ^u 'also brought again his brother Lot, and his ^u 'goods, and the women ^u 'also, and the people. ¹⁷ And the king of Sodom went out to ^u 'meet him, after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the vale of Shaveh (<i>the same is the ^u"King's Vale"</i>). ¹⁸ ^u "And Melchizedek king of ^u "Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was priest of ^u "God ^u "Most High. ¹⁹ And he blessed him, and said, ^u 'Blessed be Abram of ^u "God Most High, ^u "possessor of heaven	a 21 ²⁶ b 21 ²⁶ c 21 ⁵⁵ d 21 ²⁸ e 21 ⁰⁷ f 21 ²⁶ g 21 ⁰⁷ h 21 ⁸³ i 21 ⁰⁰	

¹³ ¹⁸ M Or, *terebinth*s.—The local definition 'which are in Hebron' may be a later gloss.

¹⁴ ¹⁸ Cp *Introd* XIV 1, XV 6, where the reasons for regarding this narrative as a late addition to the text are set forth.

¹⁵ M Or, *nations*.

¹⁶ M Or, *joined themselves together against*.

¹⁷ M Or, *the plain of Kiriathaim*. ¹ M S *field*.

¹⁸ M That is, *bitumen pits*. ¹³ M Or, *terebinth*s.

¹⁵ M Or, *north*.

¹⁸ The episode of Melchizedek ¹⁸⁻²⁰ unexpectedly interrupts the interview between Abram and the king of Sodom ¹⁷ ²¹, who is anxious to recover the captives but desires Abram to keep the 'goods' cp ¹⁶. Had these 'goods' been already tithed ²⁰? It is possible that ¹⁸⁻²⁰ was a subsequent addition to the story ('very largely revised by B.' Kittel, *Hist of the Hebr* i 179).

¹⁸ ¹⁸ M S *El Elyon*.

^{18b} M Or, *maker*.

H¹ Hos 11⁸ Prov20 18d¹f¹ Cp 28²²f¹ Deut 32⁴⁰ cpEx 17¹⁶k¹ 5*a 1 cp 1ⁿb Num 24¹⁶Ezek 13⁷ cpc Deut 33²⁹ Ps 3⁸18² 80 35 ald 41⁴⁹ Josh 13¹Deut 3⁵ Josh22⁸e 30¹⁸ 32. 31⁸ Ex29 22¹⁵ alf⁸ Deut 32⁴ 9²⁶Josh 7⁷g Lev 20²⁰, Jer22³⁰

h 9†

i 5 = the son of

my house ct

17¹³j 25²³ cp 17⁸ 35¹¹46²⁶ Ex 1⁶k 23¹⁷ 24¹⁹ 30¹²15¹ Josh 1¹⁰Deut 24¹¹ 25⁵l Ct 13¹⁶ cp 41⁴⁹16¹⁰ 32¹⁹m Ct 13¹⁶ cp 22¹⁷26⁴ Ex 32¹⁸n Ex 41⁵ 8³¹14³¹ Num 14¹¹o 38¹⁵ 5 ct 50²⁰p Ex 20² || Deut25¹q 12²³r Cp 26⁹

s 5 = possess cp

28⁸t 17a¹

u 5 ct 119 5

v Deut 32¹⁷

v 9†

and earth': 20 and 'blessed be "God Most High, which hath ¹'delivered thine enemies into thy hand. ²And he gave him a ¹'tenth of all. ²¹ And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the ¹'persons, and take the ¹'goods to thyself. ²² And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have ¹'lift up mine hand unto "Yahweh, "God Most High, "possessor of heaven and earth, ²³ that I will not take a "thread nor a shoelatchet nor ¹'aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram ¹'rich: ²⁴ "save ¹'only that which the "young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me; "Aner, "Eshcol, and "Mamre, let them take their portion.

J E

JE

J E

P

... 15¹ ¹⁸ After these things the "word of Yahweh came unto Abram in a ¹'vision, saying, ¹'Fear not, Abram: I am thy 'shield, "and thy "exceeding great ¹'reward. ² And Abram said, O "Lord Yahweh, what wilt thou give me, seeing I "go "childless, and he that shall be ¹'possessor of my house is "Dammesek Eliezer?

³ "And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, ¹'one born in my house is mine heir. ⁴ And, behold, the "word of Yahweh came unto him, saying, This man shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own 'bowels shall be thine heir.

⁵ And he brought him forth ¹'abroad, and said, "Look ¹'now toward heaven, and 'tell the "stars, if thou be able to tell them: and he said unto him, "So shall thy 'seed be.

⁶ And he "believed in Yahweh; and he "counted it to him for ¹'righteousness.

... ⁷ And he said unto him, ¹'I am Yahweh that brought thee out of ¹'Ur of the Chaldees, to 'give thee this land to 'inherit it. ⁸ And he said, O "Lord Yahweh, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? ⁹ And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of 'three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove, and a young "pigeon. ¹⁰ And he took him all these, and "divided them in the midst, and laid ¹'each half ¹'over against the other: but the birds ¹'divided he not. ¹¹ And the

J 146

k 35124

l 35189

m 25235

a 95

b 154

c 179

d 186

e 222*

f 204

g 199*

h 112b

i 183

14²⁰ 22b M 5 El Elyon.

^{22b} The combination of divine names is here unusual, and has evidently occasioned perplexity. ⑤ omit 'Yahweh,' Sam supplies instead יהוה. On the hypothesis of the interpolation of 18-20, the most natural view would be that 'Yahweh' is original, and the other titles are derived from the supplemental passage.

²⁴ M Or, let there be nothing for me; only that &c.—Cp 41¹⁶, 15¹⁸ The phenomena of 15 are extremely complex and intricate, and all critics recognize that the analysis must be regarded as only probable. The chief peculiarities to be accounted for are the following. The vision of 1 is presumably in the night, and it is in accordance with this that in 5 Abram is brought forth to see the stars. But in 12 the sun has not yet set. This points to differences of origin. Further, in 3 the second answer of Abram repeats the first, and can hardly be from the same hand. Again, it is apparent that 9-11 and 17 are parts of the same story. But it is doubtful whether 12, originally belonged to it, as the deep sleep and great darkness 12 (before sunset) seem hardly consistent with the solemn manifestation in 17. Further, the two dates of 15 (400 years) and 16 (fourth generation) cannot be harmonized. The linguistic phenomena are no less perplexing. Several phrases appear unexpectedly which connect themselves with later literature. Thus 1 4 'word of Yahweh came,' not elsewhere in Hex, cp 2 Sam 7¹ Kings 6¹¹ 13²⁰ 16¹ 17² 8 &c Hos 1¹ Mic 1¹ Is 28¹³ 38⁴ very common in Jer and Ezek: 1 'shield,' cp Deut 33²⁹ and 18: 2 'Lord Yahweh' Deut 32⁴ 9²⁶ Josh 7⁷; 7 'I am Yahweh that brought thee out' Ex 20² || Deut 5⁴; 7 'give thee this land to possess it' Deut 31⁸ 35¹ 9⁶ 12¹ 10² 14²¹ Josh 11¹; 18 'great river' Deut 1⁷ (1²⁴) Josh 1⁴ ct Ex 23³¹. These strongly support the view of a Deuteronomian redaction. Slight points of contact also present themselves with P, specially 'substance' 14 and less markedly 'good old age' 15. If 1-6 be allowed to be composite, it will be most

natural to assign one part to J and the other to E (cp 20¹ and Introd XII) who enters here for the first time. It is in E that communications come from the Deity by visions and dreams in the night (cp Introd XII 28 i 112) and the expression 'exceeding great' tends slightly in the same direction. The promises of seed in 4 are followed by the covenant of the gift of the land. These are not necessarily connected in time and may quite well belong to different traditions, see 7¹⁸. The covenant ceremony in 9, is no doubt described according to ancient ritual, cp Jer 34¹⁸. Lev 17, though the language is different: the sacrificial animals are mostly those of the Levitical legislation, but the phraseology is unaffected by it.

¹⁰ M Or, thy reward shall be exceeding great.

^{2a} M Or, go hence.

^{2b} M The Chaldees and Syriac have, *Eliezer the Damascene*.—As Abraham's servant in 24² has no name, this verse is ascribed to E, leaving 3 for J. The title 'Lord Yahweh' does not necessarily make for J, as it may be redactional in both 2 and 3.

³ Apparently a duplicate of 2. It is possible that 3, 6 originally followed 18, and prepared the way for 16¹.

⁷ The covenant ceremony which solemnizes the announcement of the gift of the land is not necessarily consequent on the promise of an heir. According to 1, 5 the latter had been made in the night, though in 3, 6 no circumstance of time is specified. But the phraseology is not quite congruous with that of the latter passage, at 'inherit thee' (be thine heir) 4 and 'inherit it' 8. Moreover the demand for a sign in 5 is hardly in harmony with the faith commended in 6. If the transposition of 3, 6 to follow 18 be accepted, this passage 7-11 would presumably stand in the original document next to 13¹⁸, and the scene of the covenant would be placed at Hebron where Abram had built an altar cp 12⁷. Krätzschar (*Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* 61) proposes, however, to attach it to the first settlement of Abram in Shechem on his arrival in the land 12⁷, where a similar promise is made.

J E

JE

J E P

"birds of prey came down upon the carcasses, and Abram drove them away.

¹² And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. ¹³ And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; ¹⁴ and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterwards shall they come out with great substance. ¹⁵ But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age.

... ¹⁶ And in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full.

¹⁷ And it came to pass, that when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a flaming torch that passed between these pieces. ¹⁸ In that day Yahweh made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates.

¹⁹ The Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, ²⁰ and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, ²¹ and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girsahite, and the Jebusite.

... ^{1b} and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar. ² And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, Yahweh hath restrained me from bearing; go in, I pray thee, unto my handmaid; it may be that I shall obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

[19²⁰→] ¹⁶ Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children:

³ and Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar the Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife.

10 Is 186 4611 Jer
129 Ezek 394
Job 2874
Num 1432
Is 407 Ps 147184
Ct 12 and 17
21
Ex 1516 2227
Deut 3223 Jsh
294
Is 822 5010 Ps
805 139124
Jsh 2313 cp
237
Ex 111
308 4918 Deut
308
Cp P 55
Cp 25 ct 4238
442931 Lev 1932
Deut 3225
1915
Cp 96
Ezek 124 +
Cp 1928 Ex 1918
Ex 2018
Ps 136184
127
Ct Ex 2351
Deut 17 cp 124
Jsh 144

2224 2420 251
381-6

2013

308b

1312
124b

j 236

k 126

l 171

m 142
n 181

a 41

b 9

c 163
d 186
e 64

f 44

g 4

¹⁵ The passage in ¹²⁻¹⁶ appears to interrupt the description of the covenant ceremony in ¹⁻¹¹. It is concerned with another subject, the Egyptian bondage, and it breaks the guardian watch which Abram kept around the divided members of the covenant sacrifice, for who frightened away the birds of prey when he had sunk into the 'deep sleep'? It is therefore treated as an editorial interpolation designed to reconcile the divine promise of the land with the subjection of Israel in Egypt. But the duration assigned to their servitude, four hundred years ¹³, is not coherent with the promise of return in the fourth generation ¹⁶, and therefore must be attributed to another source. The reference to the 'Amorite' suggests that this is E.

¹⁸ The definition of the boundaries is probably due to R; see the margin, and ct ³¹ Ex ²³ Jsh ²⁴.

¹⁹ The loose grammatical connexion makes it probable that this list is an editorial appendix. For similar enumerations cp ⁸ ³⁸. In Deut ⁷ it appears that a traditional reckoning of seven nations has established itself. This list, being the most elaborate of all, is probably the latest (cp Dillm) from the hand of R⁴. In ²¹ after 'Canaanite' (G) and Sam add 'the Hivite.'

¹⁶ The birth of Ishmael is related by P in preparation for the promise in ¹⁷. The passages which lead up to ¹⁷ are easily isolated from a mixed context by the data of Abram's age. When Abram is ninety-nine years of age ¹⁷ ²⁴, Ishmael is thirteen ²⁶. At the birth of his son, therefore, Abram is eighty-six ¹⁶; and his union with Hagar accordingly takes place ten years after he has entered Canaan at the age of seventy-five ¹⁶ ^{12b}. The description of Sarai as Abram's wife in ¹⁶ justifies

the ascription of ^{1a} to P, who no doubt had his own notice of Sarai's childlessness, already recorded by J in ¹¹.

^{1b} With P's brief and formal statement R has incorporated a narrative ^{1b-2} ⁴⁻¹⁴ easily identified with J (Yahweh ² against P, and contrast ¹⁰⁻¹² with ¹⁷, handmaid ²¹ against E, &c). The opening has been removed to make way for P in ^{1a} but J has already mentioned Sarai's barrenness ¹⁹. Closer examination shows that a parallel incident is related in ²¹ ²¹. The two stories have a common object, to account for the separation of the Israelites and Ishmaelites, who nevertheless traced their descent from the same ancestor. They ascribe the same cause to Hagar's departure, viz Sarai's jealousy ¹⁶⁻⁶ ²¹ ¹¹. The crisis is located in the same scene, near a well in the wilderness on the south ¹⁶ ²¹. The angel of Yahweh ¹⁶ has his counterpart in the angel of Elohim ²¹. The promise of future greatness for Ishmael ¹⁶ is repeated ²¹, and the same interpretation of the name is suggested ¹⁶ ²¹. It cannot be supposed (Introd i 20) that one writer should have thus duplicated his own details, and the analysis will show that ²¹ ²¹ belongs to E. In fitting them together, the editor of JE found it necessary to get Hagar back to her mistress, to provide opportunity for the second story, and ¹⁶ must therefore be assigned to the harmonist (some critics adding ⁸). In ¹⁰ there seems to be an independent addition after the manner of ¹³ ¹⁴⁻¹⁷ assuming the birth of the son first promised in ¹¹. The threefold repetition of the formula 'and the angel of Yahweh said unto her' ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ thus finds a natural explanation.

² M 5 be builded by her.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		⁴ And he ^e went in unto Hagar, and she ^b conceived: and when she saw that she had ^b conceived, her ^f mistress was ^g despised in her eyes. ⁵ And Sarai said unto Abram, ^h My wrong be upon thee: I gave my ^a handmaid into thy ^b bosom; and when she saw that she had ^b conceived, I was ^g despised in her eyes: Yahweh ^j judge between me and thee. ⁶ But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold, thy ^a maid is in thy hand; ⁱ do to her that which is ^k good in thine eyes. And Sarai ^l dealt hardly with her, and she ^m fled from her face. ⁷ And the ⁿ angel of Yahweh ^o found her by a ^p fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to ^q Shur. ⁸ And he said, Hagar, Sarai's ^r handmaid, whence comest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I ^s flee from the face of my ^t mistress Sarai.			
		⁹ And the ⁿ angel of Yahweh said unto her, Return to thy ^f mistress, and ^o submit thyself under her hands.			
		¹⁰ And the ⁿ angel of Yahweh said unto her, I will ^u greatly ^v multiply thy ^w seed, that it shall not be ^x numbered for multitude ^v .			
		¹¹ And the ⁿ angel of Yahweh said unto her, Behold, thou art ^y with child, and shalt bear a son; and ^z thou shalt call his name ^a Ishmael, because Yahweh hath heard thy ^b affliction. ¹² And he shall be [as] a ^c wild-ass among men; his hand [shall be] against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell ^d in the presence of all his brethren. ¹³ And she called the name of Yahweh that spake unto her, ^e Thou art ^f a God that seeth: for she said, Have I ^g even here ^h looked after him that seeth me? ¹⁴ ⁱ Wherefore the well was ^j called ^k Beer-lahai-roi; behold, it is between ^l Kadesh and ^m Bered ⁿ .			
		¹⁵ And Hagar bare Abram a son: and ^o Abram called the name of his son, which Hagar bare, Ishmael. ¹⁶ And Abram was ^p fourscore and six years ^q old, ^r when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram.			
		¹⁷ ^s And when Abram was ^t ninety years ^u old and nine; ^v Yahweh ^w appeared to Abram, and said unto him, ^x I am ^y God ^z Almighty; ^a walk before me, and be thou ^b perfect. ² And I will make my covenant ^c between me and thee, and will ^d multiply thee ^e exceedingly. ³ And Abram ^f fell on his face: and God ^g talked with him, saying, ⁴ As for ^h me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of ⁱ a multitude of nations. ⁵ Neither shall thy ^j name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for the father of a ^k multitude of nations have I made thee. ⁶ And I will make thee ^l exceeding ^m fruitful, and I will make ⁿ nations of thee, and ^o kings shall come out of thee. ⁷ And I will ^p establish my covenant between me and ^q thee and thy seed after thee ^r ^s throughout their generations for an ^t everlasting covenant, to ^u be a God ^k unto ^v thee and to thy seed after thee. ⁸ And I will give unto ^w thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy ^x sojournings, all the land of ^y Canaan, for an ^z everlasting ^a possession; and I will ^b be their God. ⁹ And God said unto Abraham, And ^c as for thee, thou shalt keep my covenant, ^d thou, and thy seed after thee ^e throughout their generations. ¹⁰ ^f Thy is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and ^g you ^h and thy seed after thee; ⁱ every male among you shall be ^j circumcised. ¹¹ And ye shall be ^k circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin; and			

16^{11a} Ct 15 where Abram, not Hagar, bestows the name. Knobel has remarked that this distinction has a documentary significance. In P the name is always given by the father, 5³ 16¹⁵ 17¹⁹ 21⁸; in JE often (though not exclusively) by the mother, 4²⁶ 19³⁷ 29³². 30⁸. 38³. (cp 35¹⁸ 38³ 41⁶¹. Ex 22²).

11^b M That is, God heareth.

12^c M Or, against. Or, to the east of.—Cp 25¹⁸.

13^a M Or, Thou God seest me.

13^b M ^gEl roi, that is, God of seeing.

14^a M That is, the well of the living one who seeth me.

14^b Many critics suppose that 25¹⁸ in its original form constituted the close of this story, and has been editorially

transposed to the conclusion of P's *tot'dhoth* of Ishmael, 25¹²⁻¹⁷.

17^{1a} On the significance of 17 as a standard for P's style and phraseology, cp *Introd* VIII iii 2e i 64.

1^b The name *Yahweh* is assigned here to a redactor or copyist, as it is contrary to the usage of P before Ex 6².. The corresponding revelation of El Shaddai to Jacob 35⁹ is introduced by the appearance of Elohim.

1^c M ^gEl Shaddai.

1^d Probably due to the supplementer, who has neglected to harmonize the pronouns.

J

P

k 13 23 27 Lev
22¹¹ cp 14¹⁴
Jer 21⁴⁴

l Lev 26¹⁵ 44
cp 46^a

m 20 128 cp 33
n Cp 1216

o 23¹⁸ Num 14²
mo⁸
p 42^{21*}

q 25¹⁶
r Cp 6 ct 122
21¹⁸ 5
s 49⁸³ Ex 31¹⁸
34³³
t 35¹³

u Cp 10

a 13¹⁸

b 24¹⁷ 29¹³ 33⁴
c 24¹⁸
d 5 = taken 12^{18*}
e 19² 24³² 43^{24*}
f 5 = loan Num
21^{16*}
g Pl Lev 26 614^a
h 5* Judg 19⁶ 8
i Ct Lev 21
j 5^a
k Ex 12³⁹ Num
11^{38*}
l 29¹⁷ 32¹³ Deut
20⁸ 28⁶⁴ 56^a

it shall ¹²be a token of a covenant betwixt me and you. ¹² And he that is eight days ^aold shall be ^ccircumcised among you, ^eevery male ^tthroughout your generations, he that is ^kborn in the house⁶, or ^tbought with money of any ^ustranger, which is not of thy seed. ¹³ He that is ^vborn in thy house, and he that is ^wbought with thy money, must needs be ^xcircumcised: and my covenant shall ^vbe in your flesh for an ^weverlasting covenant. ¹⁴ And the ^xuncircumcised male who is not ^ccircumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, ^xthat soul shall be cut off from his people^x; he hath ^xbroken my covenant¹.

¹⁵ And God said unto Abraham, ^fAs for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her ^hname Sarai, but ^hSarah shall her name be. ¹⁶ And I will ^mbless her, and ^mmoreover I will give thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall ^vbe [a mother of] ^jnations; ^jkings of peoples shall be of her. ¹⁷ Then Abraham ^ffell upon his face, and ^hlaughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an ^vhundred years ^oold? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years ^aold, bear? ¹⁸ And Abraham said unto God, ^oOh that Ishmael might live before thee! ¹⁹ And God said, ^vNay, but Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name ^uIsaac: and I will ^uestablish my covenant with him for an ^ueverlasting covenant for his seed after him. ²⁰ And ^fas for Ishmael, I have ^xheard thee: behold, I have ^mblessed him, and will ^hmake him ^hfruitful, and will ^hmultiply him ^eexceedingly; ^qtwelve ^aprinces shall he ^vbeget, and I will ^hmake him a great nation. ²¹ But my covenant will I ^uestablish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year. ²² And he ^oleft off talking with him, and God ^uwent up from Abraham. ²³ And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were ^hborn in his house, and all that were ^ubought with his money, ^eevery male among the men of Abraham's house, and ^ccircumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the ^oselfsame day, as God had said unto him. ²⁴ And Abraham was ⁿninety years ^oold and nine, when he was ^ccircumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. ²⁵ And Ishmael his son was thirteen years ^aold, when he was ^ccircumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. ²⁶ In the ^oselfsame day was Abraham ^ccircumcised, and Ishmael his son. ²⁷ And all the men of his house, those ^hborn in the house, and those ^ubought with money of the ^ustranger, were ^ccircumcised with him.

¹⁸¹ ^uAnd Yahweh appeared unto ⁿhim by the ^uoaks of Mamre, as he sat in the ^ttent door in the ^hheat of the day; ² and he ^olift up his eyes and ^ulooked, and, lo, three men ^ostood over against him: and when he saw them, ^hhe ^uran to meet them from the ^ttent door, and ^ubowed himself to the earth, and said, ³ ^uMy lord, if ^hnow I have ^ufound favour in thy sight, pass not away, ¹ I pray thee, from thy ^uservant: ⁴ let ^hnow a ^ulittle water be ^ufetchd, and ^uwash your feet^e, and ^urest yourselves under the tree: ⁵ and I will fetch a ^umorsel of bread, and ^ucomfort ye your heart; after that ye shall pass on: ^uforasmuch as ye are come to your ^uservant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. ⁶ And Abraham ^uhastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready ^uquickly three measures of ^ufine meal, ^uknead it, and make ^ucakes. ⁷ And Abraham ^uran unto the herd, and fetched a calf ^utender and good,

¹⁷¹⁵ M. That is, *Princesses*.
¹⁷ P's allusion to the laughter suggested by the name Isaac (he laughs). Ct 18¹² 21⁶.

¹⁸ M. From the Hebrew word meaning 'to laugh.'

²⁰ Ishmael = God hears, cp 16¹¹ 21¹⁷.

¹⁸¹⁸ The narrative of Yahweh's visit to Abraham, the promise of a son to Sarah, the intercession of Abraham for Sodom and Gomorrah and the subsequent rescue of Lot from the fate of the doomed cities, is as strongly stamped with the characteristics of J as the covenant of El Shaddai with Abraham in 17 with those of P (cp *Introd* VIII iii 26 i 64). The phraseological evidence is copied in the margins. For the ethical and religious spirit cp especially 24-34 11-19. The promise of a son

in 17¹⁶⁻¹⁹ is here conveyed in different terms, and is followed by a different incident. The incredulous laughter suggested by the name Isaac, attributed to Abraham in 17¹⁷, is assigned to Sarah in 18¹², and gives rise to a rebuke and expostulation in which Yahweh himself deigns to take part. On the probability that the narrative has received additions, see 17¹⁸ 22¹⁸, Fripp (*Composition of the Book of Genesis* 50-3 and ZATW 1892 23 ff) endeavours to show that in the earliest form of the story Abraham received but one divine visitant, Yahweh himself.

¹⁸ Perhaps originally *Abraham*: the name, being no longer required after the union of the story with P, was altered editorially (so Dillmann).

³ M. Or, O Lord.

¹⁵ M. Or, *terebintus*.

⁶ M. Or, for *therefore*.

J	JE	E P
m Deut 32 ¹⁴	and gave it unto the servant; and he ^mhasted to dress it. ⁸ And he took ^mbutter, and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat. ⁹ And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife? And he said, Behold, in the ^ttent. ¹⁰ And he said, I will ^{certainly} return unto thee ^{when the season} "cometh round"; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard in the ^ttent door, which was behind him. ¹¹ Now Abraham and Sarah were old, [and] ^cwell stricken in age¹²; it had ^cceased to be with Sarah after the ^cmanner of women. ¹² And Sarah ^{laughed} within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also? ¹³ And Yahweh said unto Abraham, ^{Wherefore} did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I ^{of} a surety bear a child, which am old? ¹⁴ Is any thing ^{too} "hard for Yahweh"? At the ^{set time} I will return unto thee, ^{when the season} "cometh round, and Sarah shall have a son. ¹⁵ Then Sarah ^{denied}, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, ^{Nay}; but thou didst laugh.	n 237
n 14 ⁵ †	¹⁶ And the men ^{rose up} from thence, and ^{looked} toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them ^{to} "bring them on the way.	o 128 p 54 q 205 ^c
o 24 ¹ Josh 13 ¹	¹⁷ And Yahweh said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I do; ¹⁸ seeing that Abraham shall ^{surely} become a great and ^{mighty} nation, and ^{all} the nations of the earth¹⁹ shall be ^{blessed} in him? ¹⁹ For I have ^{known} him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may ^{keep} the way of Yahweh, to ^{do} justice and judgement; to the end that Yahweh may ^{bring} upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.	r 59 cp 50 ⁵⁰ s 10 ⁵
p 11 ⁸	²⁰ And Yahweh said, ^{Because} the ^{cry} of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and ^{because} their sin is very ^{grievous}; ²¹ I will ^{go down} "now, and ^{see} whether they have done ^{altogether} according to the ^{cry} of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know. ²² And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom:	t 23 u 78 v 19
q Ct 31 ¹⁵ ⁵	^{22b} But Abraham stood ^{yet} before Yahweh. ²³ And Abraham ^{drew near}, and said, Wilt thou ^{consume} the ^{righteous} with the ^{wicked}? ²⁴ ^{Peradventure} ^{there} be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou ^{consume} and not ^{spare} the place for the fifty righteous that are therein? ²⁵ That be ^{far} from thee to do after this ^{manner}, to ^{slay} the righteous with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the wicked; that be ^{far} from thee: shall not the Judge of all the earth do ^{right}? ²⁶ And Yahweh said, If I ^{find} in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their ^{sake}. ²⁷ And Abraham answered and said, ^{Behold} now, I have ^{taken} upon me to speak unto ^{the Lord}, which am but ^{dust} and ashes²⁸: ²⁸ ^{peradventure} there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou ^{destroy} all the city for lack of five? And he said, I will not destroy it, if I find there forty and five.	w 22 x 199 ² y 231 z 64 a' 84 b' 2 c' 157 d' 71 ¹ e' 9
r 25 ²² cp 89 ^b	²⁹ And he spake unto him yet ^{again}, and said, ^{Peradventure} there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it for the forty's sake. ³⁰ And he said, ^{Oh} let not the Lord be ^{angry}, and I will speak: ^{peradventure} there shall thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there. ³¹ And he said, ^{Behold} now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: ^{peradventure} there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the twenty's sake. ³² And he said, ^{Oh} let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but ^{this once}: ^{peradven-}	f' 123 g' 186 ^b h' 233
s Num 22 ³⁷ 4		i' 62
t Deut 17 ⁸ 30 ¹¹ 4		
u Cp 17 ²¹		
v Josh 7 ¹¹ 24 ²⁷		
w 19 ² 42 ¹²		
x 12 ²⁰		
y Cp 17 ¹⁸		
z 11 ⁵		
a' Ex 11 ¹ 4		
b' Cp 91		
c' 19 ⁹ 27 ²⁷ 20 ¹⁰		
d' 26 Num 14 ¹⁹		
e' 44 ¹⁷ Josh 24 ¹⁶		
f' cp 22 ²⁸		
g' 37 ¹⁸ 37 ¹⁸ Ex 24 ²⁴		
h' 13 ³ al.		
i' ⁵ = judgement		
j' 31 Ex 22 ¹		
k' Josh 7 ¹⁷ 17 ¹²		
l' Deut 15 ⁸		
m' Job 30 ¹⁹ 42 ²⁴		
n' cp Gen 2 ⁷		
o' 13 ¹⁰ 19 ¹³		

18¹⁰ M ⁵, *liveth*, or, *reviveth*.

12 Ct P in 17¹⁷ and E 21⁶.

14⁸ M Or, *wonderful*.

14⁸ M ⁵ *liveth*, or, *reviveth*.

¹⁷ This passage is marked by the moralizing amplification which probably indicates a secondary stratum in the story. According to ²⁰, Yahweh has not yet decided what he will do, but in ¹⁷ his purpose is already formed. Several of the phrases belong to the vocabulary of later prophecy, e.g. 'all the nations of the earth' ²² 18 ²⁶ Deut 28¹ cp Jer 26⁹ 33⁹ 44⁸ Zech 12³ 4: 'keep the way of Yahweh' Judg 2²⁸ (D) cp Deut 5³⁸ Jer 54¹ Ps 37¹; 'do justice and judgement' (usually inverted) Jer 22⁵ 16 ²³ 33¹⁵ Ezek 18⁵ 19 ²¹ 27 ³³ 14 cp Am 5²⁴; 'bring upon' cp Jer 36¹ 44⁴ 49²⁷.

19 M See Amos 3².

20 M Or, *verily*.

^{22b} With the departure of the men toward Sodom the first part of the story seems to close. The intercession of Abraham ^{22b-32a} has been ascribed by Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cornill, Bacon, and others to a later hand. Linguistic evidence does not, it is true, suggest any diversity of authorship: for the contrast between righteous and wicked ²⁸ cp Ex 9²⁷. But other considerations are held to outweigh the absence of phraseological indications. In 1-16 no distinction is drawn among the three

men, though, as the story develops, one of them proves to be Yahweh: when therefore they turn and go toward Sodom ^{22a}, it is natural to suppose that Yahweh is still among them. That impression is confirmed by the sequel of the narrative ¹⁹ 21. By that time the visit of inspection has revealed the hopeless corruption of the people of Sodom, and the divine intention, unformed in ¹⁸ 21, is definitely decided. But in the colloquy of Abraham this intention is already clearly implied ²³. The writer has the actual fate of the cities already in his mind, and his purpose is to vindicate the justice of Yahweh from the charge of involving the righteous in the doom of the wicked. The Divine Being before whom Abraham reverently pleads as the 'Judge of the whole earth' ²⁵ cp Jer 11²⁰ Ps 71¹ 9⁴, who cannot do anything but 'judgement' cp ¹⁹, seems conceived on a different scale from the visitant who has shared the patriarch's hospitality. The lofty designation occurs nowhere else, and the passage which contains it seems to belong to the group of probable additions in which the universal grandeur and sole sovereignty of Yahweh are again and again asserted in the most emphatic terms cp Ex 8¹⁰ 22^b 9¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 22^b (Intro XI 6-7 i 109).

²⁷ *my lord* as in ³ 19¹⁸, and so in ³⁰⁻³².

J

JE

E

P

ture ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the ten's sake.
^{83a} And Yahweh went his way, as soon as he had ^kleft communing with Abraham.
^{83b} And Abraham returned unto his ^jplace.

^{19¹} And the two ^aangels came to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose up to meet them; and he ^abowed himself with his face to the earth; ² and he said, ^bBehold now, my lords, ^aturn aside, I pray you, into your ^cservant's house, and ^btarry all night, and ^cwash your feet, and ye shall ^drise up early, and go on your way. And they said, ^cNay; but we will ^babide in the street all night. ³ And he ^durged them greatly; and they ^aturned in unto him, and entered into his house; and he made them a ^efeast, and did ^bbake unleavened bread, and they did eat. ⁴ But ^abefore they ^dlay down, the men of the city, ^{even} the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, ^bboth young and old, ^j all the people from ^kevery quarter; ⁵ ²and they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where are the ^lmen which came in to thee this night? bring them out unto us, that we may ^kknow them. ⁶ And Lot went out unto them to the door, and ^mshut the door after him. ⁷ And he said, I pray you, ⁿmy brethren, ^odo not so wickedly. ⁸ ^bBehold now, I have two daughters which have not ^kknown man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as is ^pgood in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; ⁹ ¹⁰forasmuch as they are come under the shadow of my roof. ⁹ And they said, Stand back. And they said, This one fellow came in to ^qsojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we ^rdeal worse with thee, than with them. And they ^spressed sore upon the man, ^{even} Lot, and ^tdrew near to break the door. ¹⁰ But the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into the house to them, and ^mshut to the door. ¹¹ And they smote the men that were at the door of the house with ^{blindness}, ^{both} small and great: so that they ^uwearied themselves to find the door. ¹² And the men said unto Lot, Hast thou here any besides? ^vson in law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whomsoever thou hast in the city; bring them out of the place: ¹³ for we will ^wdestroy this place, because the ^xcry of them is waxen great before Yahweh; and Yahweh hath sent us to ^wdestroy it. ¹⁴ And Lot went out, and spake unto his ^ysons in law, which ^zmarried his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for Yahweh will ^wdestroy the city. But he seemed unto his ^ysons in law as one that ^zmocked. ¹⁵ And when the ^zmorning arose, then the angels ^zhastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters which ^aare here; lest thou be ^zconsumed in the ^ziniquity of the city. ¹⁶ But he ^clingered; and the men ^dlaid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; Yahweh being ^emerciful unto him: and they brought him forth, and ^fset him without the city. ¹⁷ And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; ^glook not behind thee, neither stay thou in ^hall the ^hPlain; escape ^hto the mountain, lest thou be ^hconsumed. ¹⁸ And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, ^hmy lord: ¹⁹ ^bbehold now, thy servant hath ⁱfound grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy ^jmercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in ⁱsaving my life; and I cannot escape ^kto the mountain, lest ^kevil overtake me, and I die:

j' 65

a 12^a

b 9

c 73

d 6

e 50

f 35

g 23

h 22

i 31^aj 57^c

^k 24¹⁵ 27³⁰ 43²
⁴⁴ 12 cp 17²²

a Ex 3^b
 b 24²⁸ cp 17⁸
 c 15⁴
 d 27 cp 20^o
 e 18¹⁵
 f 9 33¹¹*

g 26³⁰ cp 15⁵
 h Ex 12³⁹
 i Josh 2⁸
 j Josh 62¹*
 k Cp 47²¹ 5
 l 21¹
 m Josh 2⁸

n 7¹⁶
 o 20⁴
 p 9 43⁶ 44⁵ Ex
 52² Num 11¹¹
 q 15¹⁵
 r Cp 20¹⁵ 21¹²
 s 48¹⁷ Josh 24¹⁵

t 12¹⁰

u 18²³

v 2 Kings 61⁸+
 w 1 Sam 5⁹ 30²
 x 2 Kings 25²⁶
 y Ex 7¹⁸ Niph^a
 z Ex 4²⁶*

aa 14 18²⁸

ab Cp 21⁸ 39¹⁴ 17
 ac 5=day broke
 32²⁴ 26 Josh
 61⁵

ad Ex 51⁸ Josh
 101⁸ 17¹⁵ 5
 Kal^a

ae 5 cp 47¹⁴
 af 41³ cp 15¹⁶
 ag 43¹⁰ Ex 12³⁹*
 ah Ex 4⁴

ai Cp Ex 2⁶ 5^a
 aj 21⁵
 ak 26 15⁵ cp 17⁹
 al 19 12^a

am 47²⁵ cp 45⁷
 Num 22³³ al

^{19¹} Probably an editorial alteration, after the incorporation of 18^{22b-38a}. In the original story they were described as 'the men' cp 18¹⁶ 22¹⁰ 12¹⁶. 5 further inserts 'angels' in 15, Sam in 12 and 5 in 16. The earliest conception seems to imply that Yahweh is himself present, e.g. in 17 where the subject changes from 'they' to 'he', in Lot's entreaty 19, and the divine reply 21. But in the scene at Lot's house this has been modified cp 18; other modifications may also have entered in the transition from oral tradition to writing, or in subsequent processes of copying or documentary compilation.

⁸ M Or, for therefore.

¹² The text 'son in law and thy sons' can hardly be correct. No sons are elsewhere named, but sons in law appear in 14. It has been conjectured that the reference to the 'son in law' is an awkward adaptation by a later scribe who had 14 in view: others prefer to read 'thy sons in law,' striking out the allusion to sons.

¹⁴ M Or, were to marry.

¹⁵ M Or, punishment.

¹⁷ M See 13¹⁰.

¹⁸ M Or, O Lord.

¹⁹ M Or, the evil.

J E

J E

J E P

²⁰ behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a ¹little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live.
²¹ And he said unto him, See, I have ²accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will ³not ⁴overthrow the city of which thou hast spoken. ²² ¹Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. ²³ Therefore the name of the city was called ²⁴Zoar. ²⁵ The sun was risen upon the earth when Lot came unto Zoar.
²⁶ Then Yahweh ²⁷rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah ²⁸brimstone and fire from Yahweh out of heaven; ²⁹ and he ³⁰overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which ³¹grew upon the ground. ³² But his wife ³³looked back from behind him, and she became a ³⁴pillar of salt. ³⁵ And Abraham ³⁶gat up early in the morning ³⁷to the place where he had stood before Yahweh: ³⁸ and he ³⁹looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the Plain, and ⁴⁰beheld, and, lo¹ the ⁴¹smoke of the land went up as the smoke of a furnace.

[13¹²→] ²³ And it came to pass, when God ²⁴destroyed the cities of the Plain, that God ²⁵remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the ²⁶overthrow, when he ²⁷overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt. [→16¹]

³⁰ ¹And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters. ³¹ And the ³²firstborn said unto the ³³younger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to ³⁴come in unto us after the manner of all the earth: ³⁵ come, let us ³⁶make our father drink ³⁷wine, and we will ³⁸lie with him, that we may ³⁹preserve seed of our father. ⁴⁰ And they made their father drink wine ⁴¹that ⁴²night: and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose. ⁴³ And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father. ⁴⁴ And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger arose, and lay with him; and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose. ⁴⁵ Thus were both the daughters of Lot ⁴⁶with child by their father. ⁴⁷ And the firstborn bare a son, and ⁴⁸called his name Moab: ⁴⁹the same is the father of the Moabites ⁵⁰unto this day. ⁵¹ And the younger, ⁵²she also bare a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon ⁵³unto this day.

²⁰ ¹And Abraham ²journeyed ³from thence toward the ⁴land of the South, and dwelt between ⁵Kadesh and ⁶Shur; and he sojourned in Gerar. ⁷ And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my ⁸sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah. ⁹ But God ¹⁰came to

w' 1611a

x' 420.

y' 42

a 112

b 2462 Num 1323

c 1614

d 167

e 1213

f 311 Lx1

g 3124

19²⁰ מִצְרַיִם with reference to the name מִצְרַיִם ²¹.

²² M That is, Little ²³. See 13¹⁰ 14⁶.

²⁴ The curtness of ²⁵ suggests that the narrative has been somewhat abbreviated. The existence of some dislocation is further evident from ²⁶ where the pronoun 'his' has no antecedent in ²⁴.

²⁷ This reference to 'the place' depends on 18^{22b}. . . If that passage be a later addition, this will follow it as an editorial identification.

²⁹ This verse which plainly enough belongs to P's summary of the patriarchal traditions, may have originally followed 13^{12a}.

²⁰ ^{1a} At this point a considerable section presents itself from a document characterized (like P up to Ex 6².) by the use of the divine name Elohim cp 8 11 13 17. It soon becomes apparent, however, that this peculiarity does not justify its identification with P. The formulae of P are all absent,

while the affinities of style and thought with J are numerous, as the margins show. Yet this narrative is plainly not by the writer of 12¹⁰⁻²⁰; the emphasis here is not on the beauty of Sarah, but on the prophetic character of Abraham. The divine warning is conveyed to Abimelech in a dream ⁸; Abimelech himself has been providentially saved from sin; Abraham is a prophet, and his intercession brings healing to the king, his wife, and household ⁷ 17. The Yahwist addition of R in ¹⁸ cannot conceal the differences of preceding method. On the general structure and features of E cp *Introd* XII i 110. The passage here incorporated leads the way to other sections of E in 21-22, first of all combined with J, and then (JE) with P.

^{1b} Perhaps an insertion of the compiler referring to the previous locality among the oaks of Mamre ¹⁸. If the words belong originally to E, there is no means of determining what place they are intended to designate.

J

JE

E

P

Abimelech in a "dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a "man's wife. ⁴ Now Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou 'slay even a "righteous nation? ⁵ Said he not himself unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: ⁶ in the integrity of my heart and the "innocency of my hands have I done this. ⁶ And God said unto him in the "dream, Yea, "I know that 'in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also 'withheld thee from sinning against me: 'therefore "suffered I thee not to touch her. ⁷ Now therefore restore the man's wife; for he is a "prophet, and he shall 'pray for thee, and thou shalt 'live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. ⁸ And Abimelech 'rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and 'told all these things in their "ears: and the men were sore afraid. ⁹ Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou 'done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a 'great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that "ought not to be done. ¹⁰ And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing? ¹¹ And Abraham said, Because I thought, 'Surely the "fear of God is not in this place; and they will 'slay me for my wife's "sake. ¹² And moreover she is 'indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife: ¹³ and "it came to pass, "when God "caused me to "wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy 'kindness which thou shalt "shew unto me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother. ¹⁴ And Abimelech took "sheep and oxen, "and menservants and "womenservants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife. ¹⁵ And Abimelech said, Behold, my "land is before thee: dwell where it 'pleaseth thee. ¹⁶ And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver: behold, "it is for thee a 'covering of the eyes to all that are with thee; and "in respect of all thou art 'righted. ¹⁷ And Abraham 'prayed unto God: and God "healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his 'maidservants; and they bare children.

¹⁸ For Yahweh had fast "closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, "because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

21¹⁸ "And Yahweh "visited Sarah as he had ^bsaid.

2^a And Sarah "conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his 'old age,

1^b And Yahweh "did unto Sarah as he had ^aspoken.

... 2^b at the "set time of which God had spoken to him. ³ And 'Abraham called the name of his son that was born

g 6 r Kings 9⁴
Ps 101²¹
h " Hos 8⁵ Ps 26⁶

i 212 16 39⁹

j 42¹⁸ 5

k 50⁴ Ex 11² 5
cp 44¹⁸ ct 23¹³

l Ex 32²¹ 30.
2 Kings 17²¹
m 34⁷ cp 29²⁶

n 18 12¹⁷

o Josh 7²⁰†

p 21¹⁴ 37¹⁶
Ex 23⁴*

q 13⁹

r 19² 5

s Ex 21¹⁰ 22²⁷

t Deut 22¹²*

u Ex 15²⁶ Num

12¹³ Deut 32³⁹*

v 5 =restrained
16²

a Ex 3¹⁵ 4³¹ al

b 18¹⁰.

c Cp 14⁶b

d 17¹⁶ 21

e 17²¹

f 16¹⁵

20¹³ The divine name is here followed by the plural verb, cp 35⁷ Ex 23⁹ Josh 24¹⁹ 5 (Introd XII 3 i 115). It may be further noted that the word 'cause to wander' implies a different conception from that of J in 12¹⁴.. In place of a command from Yahweh, working out a plan and involving a promise, Abraham is conscious only of aimless and indefinite movement.

14 Apparently introduced by E from 12¹⁶. The regular word for women-slaves in E is אִמָּה, cp 17 and 19⁹. J on the other hand always employs שִׁפְחָה, 14¹; and the presence of this word here must be due either to a copyist's error cp 31³³ Sam (Dillm) or more probably to editorial activity in bringing Abimelech's gift up to the standard of Pharaoh's. It may be observed, however, that in Egypt wealth pours in on Abraham

before the discovery of his true relation to Sarah, and takes the form of dowry paid to the bride's nearest kin: at Gerar it is bestowed afterwards in compensation to an injured husband.

13^a M Or, *he*.

16^b M Or, *before all men*.

21¹ All three sources, J E and P, seem to have contained the account of the birth of Isaac. The sequel of the promise in 18¹⁰.. (J) is found in 1^a 2^a: the fulfilment of 17¹⁶ 21 (P) is recorded in 2^b-5. Most critics find the introduction to this in 1^b, which appears to be a doublet of 1^a, the name *Yahweh* being due to a copyist or redactor as in 17¹. It is possible, however, that 1^b belongs to E (cp the formula 'do to...' which P does not use in Genesis), and prepared the way for the account of which a trace is still found in 1^a.

J	JE	E	P	
4 L6m/			unto him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac. 4 And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him. 5 And Abraham was an hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him.	c 40 d 119 e 93
7 17 ¹² 19				
h 17 ¹⁷				
i 5 ^h	... 6 And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh; every one that heareth will laugh with me.			
	7 And she said, Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should give children suck? for I have borne him a son in his old age.			
j 29 ²² 40 ²⁰ cp 155	8 And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned. 9 And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham, mocking. 10 Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, [even] with Isaac. 11 And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight on account of his son. 12 And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman; in all that Sarah saith unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called. 13 And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed. 14 And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. 15 And the water in the bottle was spent, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs. 16 And she went, and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bowshot: for she said, Let me not look upon the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept. 17 And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he is. 18 Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation. 19 And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad drink. 20 And God was with the lad, and he grew; and he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer. 21 And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt. 22 And it came to pass at that time, that Abimelech and Phicol			f 234 g 66 h 99 i III j 235 k 44 ^b l 200 m 193 n 176 ^b o 226 p 97 q 154 r 225 s 130 t 82
k 10 ¹⁴ l Ex 11:1 cp 148				
m 3810 4817				
n 38 5 46 ⁸ o Cp 193 ct 12 ² 17 ²⁰				
p 15 19 5 [†]				
q 20 ¹⁸ r Ct 16 ⁷ s 41:53 cp Ex 39 ³² 5 Qal ^h				
t 2 ⁵ u Ex 8 ²⁸ 33 ⁷ v Josh 3 ¹⁶ 5 [†]				
w 35				
x Ct 1612 25 ¹⁸ 5				
y 381 Num 22 ⁴ Josh 5 ² 6 ²⁶ cp 1110				

21^{sa} E's reference to the supposed meaning of Isaac's name, ct 17¹⁷ 18¹². Budde and others rendering ^{6b} 'laugh at me' think the two members of the verse incongruous, and attach ^{6b} to 7 (cp Ball and Holzinger).

^{6b} M Or, *prepared laughter for me*.

⁸ On the duplicate stories of the expulsion of Hagar cp 16^{1b}. For the ascription of the following to E (against P) cp the margins, and (against J) cp 12 17 19. with 20³ 6 18 17 and ct 16⁸..

⁹ M Or, *playing*.—Cp 26⁸ Ex 32⁵.

^{14a} M Or, *skin*.

^{14b} G reads 'and put the child upon her shoulder.' Dillmann and others see in the unusual 5 a correction designed to avoid the chronological difficulty arising from the combination

of JE with P, for according to 17²⁴. 21⁵ Ishmael was fourteen years old at the birth of Isaac, and needed no such maternal aid. But ¹⁶ implies that Hagar had been carrying her child.

¹⁶ The words 'and she sat over against him' may be an accidental repetition from the first part of the verse.

¹⁷ E's allusion to the elements of Ishmael's name, ct 16¹¹ 17²⁰. As the previous verse makes no mention of any sound from Ishmael's lips, G apparently corrects ^{16b} 'and the child lift up his voice.'

²⁰ M Or, *became, as he grew up, an archer*.

²² In this passage two stories seem to be blended with much curtailment. One ²²⁻²⁴ concerns an oath of good faith from Abraham towards Abimelech of Gerar 20² and his land. The second

J E

JE

J E P

the "captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, God is 'with thee in all that thou doest: ²³ now therefore swear unto me 'here by God that thou wilt not 'deal falsely with me, nor with 'my 'son, nor with my son's son': but according to the 'kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast 'sojourned. ²⁴ And Abraham said, I will swear.

²⁵ And Abraham 'reproved Abimelech 'because of the well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away. ²⁶ And Abimelech said, I know not who hath done this thing: 'neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it 'but to-day. ²⁷ And Abraham 'took 'sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and they two 'made a covenant.

...²⁸ And Abraham 'set seven ewe lambs of the flock 'by themselves. ²⁹ And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast 'set 'by themselves? ³⁰ And he said, These seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that it may 'be a witness' unto me, that I have digged this well.

³¹ 'Wherefore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they 'swore both of them. ³² So they 'made a covenant at Beer-sheba: and Abimelech 'rose up, and Phicol the 'captain of his host, and they returned into the 'land of the Philistines.

³³ ^L And [Abraham] 'planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and 'called there on the name of Yahweh, the Everlasting God.

³⁴ ^N And Abraham 'sojourned in the 'land of the Philistines 'many days.

²² ^N And it came to pass 'after these things, that God did 'prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and he said, 'Here am I. ² ^L And he said, Take now thy son, thine 'only son, whom thou lovest, '[even] Isaac, and 'get thee into the land of 'Moriah; and 'offer him there for a 'burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. ³ And Abraham 'rose early in the morning, and 'saddled his ass, and took two of his 'young men with him, and Isaac his son; and he 'clave the wood for the burnt offering, and 'rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.

u 191

v 171

w 57^b

x 11

y 138

z 33

a' 181

b' 125

c' 15^b

d' 128

e' 15^a

a 95

b 104

c 162

d 110

e 200

f 235

g 128

z 5 Qal¹ cp Lev
1911 Piel^{*}
a' 18 14²² Job
1819¹
b' 201

c' Cp 201⁶ 31³⁷
42 5

d' 201⁴

e' Cp 215²

f' Josh 24²⁷ cp
Gen 31⁴⁴

g' Cp 24 and 26³¹
ct 26³³

h' Ex 12¹⁷ cp Ex
23³¹ ct Josh
13²
33 15^{5a}
i' 28

j' 37³⁴ Num 201⁶
Josh 24⁷

k Ex 15²⁵ 16⁴
20³⁰ cp 19²

2-13 17^b c
b 12 16 5^{*}
c Cp 21¹⁰
d Cp 11⁸ c

e Num 22²¹ *

f 5 Piel^{*} ct Ex
14¹⁸

relates to a dispute about a well ²⁵.. Both these have their parallel in J's history of Isaac 26³⁰.. The sequel of the first appears (according to the view here taken, but there is much critical divergence) in ³¹, where the name Beer-sheba is interpreted as the 'well of swearing,' in allusion to the oath demanded by Abimelech ²⁵. But this name contained another allusion, viz to a well, and this has apparently led to the amalgamation of the oath-story with an account of a covenant about a well ²⁵.., derived from the cycle of well-stories which were no doubt of great importance in the patriarchal traditions. The name might also, however, be interpreted 'well of seven.' This has probably caused the insertion of fresh material in ²⁸⁻³⁰. The statement in ²⁸ that 'Abraham set the seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves' (Dillm) seems to imply some previous mention of their selection, and suggests that they are drawn from an independent story about the 'well of seven' *. This source would most naturally be J. Still, both J and E frequently employ the number seven; ²⁹⁻³⁰ show phraseological affinity with E; and it is possible that the abruptness of ²⁸ may be due to simple abbreviation. The repetition of the phrase 'and they made a covenant' ²⁷⁻³² points to the amalgamation of two narratives with the same close, one of which was fixed by the well-incident at Beer-sheba. The oath ²²⁻²⁴ would most naturally be located in the land where Abraham had sojourned ²³ cp ³⁴; but its union with the well-story gave it another geographical base, and it was then necessary for Abimelech and Phicol to return to their own land ³². In ³³ the absence of a subject implies discontinuity, and the verse is

the obvious sequel of J's story.

²¹²³ M Or, my offspring, nor with my posterity.

²⁹ The suffix here לרבה differs from that in ²⁸; analogous forms are found in 31⁶ 41²¹ 42³⁶, all in E.

³⁴ This verse seems incongruous with ³², which implies that Abraham was not then in the land of the Philistines. It may have been the original sequel of ²⁴., on the hypothesis that E's Beer-sheba story has lost its opening describing Abraham's removal from Gerar cp 26¹⁷..; or it may be due to E³⁰, who adds it as the close of ³³. In either case its position here is due to E.

²²¹ The narrative of the intended sacrifice of Isaac 1-13 is distinguished (save for the harmonizer's touch in ¹¹) by the use of the divine name Elobim. But it shows no point of contact in phrase or thought with P, who never depicts God as 'trying' or 'proving' the patriarchs or their descendants, or recognizes any acts of cultus before the Levitical institutions (cp *Introd* XIII 27 i 124).

² Moriah is only named elsewhere in 2 Chron 3¹: the designation 'land of Moriah'; as if it were well known and Moriah were 'one of the mountains' in it, is consequently rendered doubtful. The name is probably due to the redactor who saw in it a reference to the proverbial utterance of ¹⁴; but its meaning was by no means clear; 5 renders 'the lofty land,' Sam 8 'the land of vision,' while 6 preserves a reading which Dillmann and Ball think may possibly be original, 'the land of the Amorite' cp ¹⁵96.

* Otherwise it must be assumed that seven was the regular number, already recognized in Abraham's act ²⁷.

J E

J E

J E P

g 31²² 40²⁰ 42¹⁸
Ex 19^{11a} 16 cp
119^d
h 19¹² 40¹⁵ Num
22⁸ 32⁸ 16
i 5 = 'up to thus'
222 ct Ex 7¹⁶
Josh 17¹⁴
j Ex 24¹ 33¹⁰
k Judg 19²⁹ Prov
30¹⁴
l 5 = said 46²
Ex 11⁶

m 41³⁸n 10^de

p Lev 17

q 5†

r Cp P100

s 21¹⁷t 46² Ex 3⁴u 20⁶v 1a 9¹⁸ 10³⁴ Ps
74^{5†}w 10⁹ Num 21¹⁴x Ex 32^{13*}y Num 14²⁸ 24³

z 15. 5*

a 5 31¹⁰b 24⁵⁰c 12⁸d a' 26⁵ cp Nume 14²⁴ Deut 7¹²

f 820 5

g 21³²h 1²⁹i 42² 10³⁸j 10¹⁵ 380 ctk 10²³l 7† Ct 10²²m 24²⁴ ct 25²⁰n 25² 35²² 36^{12*}o 16^{1b}p Cp 25⁷ 17

4 On the ^othird day Abraham ^llifted up his eyes, and saw the place ^lafar off. 5 And Abraham said unto his ^lyoung men, Abide ye ^lhere with the ass, and I and the ^llad will go ^lyonder; and we will ^lworship, and come again to you. 6 And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and ^llaid it upon Isaac his son; and he took in his hand the fire and the ^lknife; and they went both of them together. 7 And Isaac ^lspake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, ^lHere am I, my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? 8 And Abraham said, God will ^lprovide himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son: so they went both of them together. 9 ^lAnd they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham ^lbuilt the altar there, and ^llaid the wood in order, and ^lbound Isaac his son, and ^llaid him on the altar, upon the wood. 10 And Abraham ^lstretched forth his hand, and took the knife to ^lslay his son. 11 And the ^langel of ^lYahweh called unto him ^lout of heaven, and said, ^lAbraham, Abraham: and he said, ^lHere am I. 12 And he said, ^lLay not thine hand upon the ^llad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou ^lfearest God, seeing thou hast not ^lwithheld thy son, thine ^lonly son, from me. 13 And Abraham ^llifted up his eyes, and looked, and ^lbehold, behind ^lhim a ram caught in the ^lthicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and ^loffered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.

14 ^lAnd Abraham called the name of that place ^lYahweh-jireh: as it is ^lsaid to this day, In the mount of Yahweh ^lit shall be provided.

15 ^lAnd the ^langel of Yahweh called unto Abraham a second time ^lout of heaven, and said, 16 ^lBy myself have I ^lsworn, ^lsaith Yahweh, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not ^lwithheld thy son, thine ^lonly son: 17 that in blessing I will ^lbless thee, and in ^lmultiplying I will ^lmultiply thy seed as the ^lstars of the heaven, and as the ^lsand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall ^lpossess the gate of his enemies; 18 and ^lin thy seed shall all the ^lnations of the earth ^lbe blessed; ^lbecause thou hast ^lobeyed my voice.

19 So Abraham returned unto his ^lyoung men, and they ^lrose up and went together to ^lBeer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20 ^lAnd it came to pass ^lafter these things, that it was ^ltold Abraham, saying, Behold, ^lMilcah, ^lshe also hath borne children unto thy brother Nahor;

21 Uz ^lhis firstborn, and Buz ^lhis brother, and Kemuel the father of ^l'Aram; 22 and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel.

23 And Bethuel ^lbegat ^lRebekah; these eight did Milcah bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. 24 And his ^lconcubine, ^lwhose name was Reumah,

^lshe also bare Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maacah.

23¹ ^lAnd the ^llife of Sarah was an ^lhundred and seven and twenty years: ^lthese were the years^b of the life of Sarah. 2 And Sarah died in ^lKiriath-arba

22⁸ M 5 see for himself.

11 The angel in the original story was no doubt the angel of Elohim 21¹⁷; the name has been editorially changed to Yahweh in preparation for the important insertion 15¹⁸.

13 M Or, according to many ancient authorities, behold a (5 one) ram caught.

14⁸ An editorial insertion, but whether by R^a or R^b cannot be determined. In the original story the names may have been formed with EL. 14⁹ M That is, Yahweh will see, or, provide.

14^c M Or, he shall be seen.

15 An addition to E by a later hand familiar with the phraseology of J as the margins show. The solemn oath of Yahweh 'by himself' 16 is mentioned only once elsewhere, in a passage of similar expansion Ex 32¹³; note the phrase so common in prophecy 'oracle of Yahweh' 18, Am 2¹¹ Hos 2¹⁶ Is 1²⁴ al.

18^a Ct 12⁸ 5 and cp 18¹⁸.

18^b M Or, bless themselves.

20 This clause is here treated as an editorial connexion, though the frequent recurrence of the phrase 'after these things' makes it possible that it was a continuation of E's history, into which the genealogy and it was told Abraham' has been unexpectedly inserted. This appears to be most properly assigned to J as the necessary preparation for the story of 24. Both form and contents show that it cannot belong to P: and there seems no ground either of phraseology or of matter for ascribing it (with Wellh) to E. The slight marginal parallels confirm the attribution to J.

23¹ By the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, Abraham, according to F, secures a permanent possession in the land of Canaan. Contrast the account of Jacob's purchase of land near Shechem 33¹⁸⁻²⁰.

J E

P

b 35²⁷ Josh 15⁵⁴
20⁷ 21¹¹
c 50^{10*}

d 9 20 49³⁰ 50¹³

e 12. Lev 4²⁷ 20² 4
cp Ex 5⁵
Num 14^{9*}

f Ct 19¹

g 18 cp 34^{24†}

h 17¹⁸ Ct 17¹⁸ 186

i Cp 2 Kings 12⁴

j 19 25⁹ 40³⁰ 50¹³
k 20 49²
l Ezek 45¹ cp 43¹²
20[†]
m 20 Lev 25³⁰ al
ct 22¹⁸

a 18¹¹
b 33 26¹² cp 10^a

c Ct 15²
d 45²⁶
e 2 45²⁴
f 5^{54†}
g 37 50⁵ Josh 20²
h 37 12⁶ ct 28¹
i 36²
k 12¹

j 37 24 29 Ex 10²⁸
19¹² 34¹² cp
10¹⁰

(⁸the ^{bsame} is Hebron), in the ⁴land of Canaan: and Abraham came to ⁶mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. ³ And Abraham rose up from ⁶before his dead, and ⁷spake unto the ⁸children of Heth, ⁴saying, ⁴ ^hI am a stranger and a ⁷sojourner with you: give me a ⁷possession of a ⁷buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. ⁵ And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, ⁶ Hear us, my lord: thou art ^aa mighty ^hprince ⁷among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. ⁷ And Abraham rose up, and bowed himself to the ⁶people of the land, even to the children of Heth. ⁸ And he ⁶communed with them, ⁴saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and intreat for me to ⁶Ephron the son of Zohar, ⁹ that he may give me the cave of ^mMachpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in the ⁷midst of you for a ⁷possession of a ⁷burying-place. ¹⁰ Now Ephron was ⁷sitting in the midst of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, ⁷even of all⁷ that ⁷went in at the gate of his city⁷, saying, ¹¹ Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead. ¹² And Abraham bowed himself down before the ⁶people of the land. ¹³ And he ⁷spake unto Ephron in the audience of the ⁶people of the land, ⁴saying, But if thou wilt, ^hI pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it of me, and I will bury my dead there. ¹⁴ And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him, ¹⁵ My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead. ¹⁶ And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, ⁷current [money] with the merchant. ¹⁷ So the field of Ephron, which was in ^mMachpelah, ⁷which was before Mamre, the ⁷field, and the ⁷cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in ⁷all the border thereof round about⁷, were ^mmade sure ¹⁸ unto Abraham for a ⁷possession in the presence of the children of Heth, ⁷before ⁷all that went in at the gate of his city. ¹⁹ And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah ⁷before Mamre (^{the same} is Hebron), in the ⁷land of Canaan. ²⁰ And the ⁷field, and the ⁷cave that is therein, ^mwere made sure unto Abraham for a ⁷possession of a ⁷buryingplace by the children of Heth.

24¹ ^hAnd Abraham was ⁶old, [and] well stricken in age⁶: and Yahweh had ^bblessed Abraham in all things. ² And Abraham said unto his servant, the ⁶elder of his house, that ⁷ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, ⁷thy hand under my thigh: ³ ⁷and I will ⁷make thee swear by Yahweh, the ⁶God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not ⁷take a wife for my son of the ⁷daughters of the Canaanites, ⁶among whom I dwell: ⁴ but thou shalt go unto my ⁷country, and to my ⁷kindred, and take a wife for my son ^hIsaac. ⁵ And the servant said unto him, ⁷Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest? ⁶ And Abraham said unto him, ⁷Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again. ⁷ Yahweh, the ⁶God of heaven, that took me from my ⁷father's house, and from the land of my

23² The identification of Kiriath-Arba and of Mamre ¹⁰ with Hebron may be editorial.

^h M is a prince of God.

24¹ The account of the journey of Abraham's servant has been attached by the compiler to the account of the death and burial of Sarah, but its original place in the group of J narratives cannot be determined with certainty. It would

seem that 25⁵ must originally have stood somewhere before 24^{10b}. Some writers have supposed that the oath exacted from the servant really marks Abraham's deathbed, but that in the process of compilation J's reference to Abraham's decease was set aside for the more detailed notice of F 25⁷.. In this way Isaac has become the ⁷master⁶⁰.

⁴ ^h for Isaac, probably an explanatory gloss, cp ³ and 22².

J	JE	E P
j 12 ⁷	⁷ nativity, and that spake unto me, and that ⁸ sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I ⁹ give this land; he shall send his ¹⁰ angel before thee, and thou shalt ¹¹ take a wife for my son from thence. ¹² And if the woman be not willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath; only thou shalt not bring my son thither again. ¹³ And the servant ¹⁴ put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and swore to him concerning this matter. ¹⁵ And the servant took ten ¹⁶ camels, of the camels of his master, and departed; ¹⁷ having all ¹⁸ goodly things of his master's in his hand: and he ¹⁹ arose, and went to ²⁰ Mesopotamia, unto the ²¹ city of Nahor. ²² And he ²³ made the camels to kneel down without the city by the ²⁴ well of water at the time of evening, the time that women go out to ²⁵ draw water. ²⁶ And he said, O Yahweh, the ²⁷ God of my master Abraham, ²⁸ send me, I pray thee, good speed ²⁹ this day, and ³⁰ shew kindness unto my master Abraham. ³¹ Behold, I ³² stand by the ³³ fountain of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to ³⁴ draw water: ³⁵ and let it come to pass, that the ³⁶ damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy ³⁷ pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will ³⁸ give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast ³⁹ appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast ⁴⁰ shewed kindness unto my master. ⁴¹ And it came to pass ⁴² before he had ⁴³ done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to ⁴⁴ Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her ⁴⁵ shoulder. ⁴⁶ And the damsel was very ⁴⁷ fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man ⁴⁸ known her: and she went down to the ⁴⁹ fountain, and filled her pitcher, and came up. ⁵⁰ And the servant ⁵¹ ran to meet her, and said, ⁵² Give me to drink, I pray thee, a ⁵³ little water of thy pitcher. ⁵⁴ And she said, Drink, my lord: and she ⁵⁵ hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink. ⁵⁶ And when she had ⁵⁷ done giving him drink, she said, I will ⁵⁸ draw for thy camels also, until they have done drinking. ⁵⁹ And she ⁶⁰ hasted, and ⁶¹ emptied her pitcher into the ⁶² trough, and ⁶³ ran again unto the well to ⁶⁴ draw, and drew for all his camels. ⁶⁵ And the man ⁶⁶ looked stedfastly on her; ⁶⁷ holding his peace, to know whether Yahweh had made his journey ⁶⁸ prosperous or not. ⁶⁹ And it came to pass, as the camels had ⁷⁰ done drinking, that the man took a golden ⁷¹ ring of ⁷² half a shekel ⁷³ weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold; and said, ⁷⁴ Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee. ⁷⁵ Is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in? ⁷⁶ And she said unto him, I am the daughter of ⁷⁷ Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she bare unto Nahor. ⁷⁸ She said moreover unto him, We have ⁷⁹ both ⁸⁰ straw and ⁸¹ provender enough, and room to lodge in. ⁸² And the man ⁸³ bowed his head, and worshipped Yahweh. ⁸⁴ And he said, ⁸⁵ Blessed be Yahweh, the ⁸⁶ God of my master Abraham, who hath not forsaken his ⁸⁷ mercy and his truth toward my master: as for me, Yahweh hath ⁸⁸ led me in the way to the house of my master's brethren. ⁸⁹ ... ⁹⁰ And the damsel ⁹¹ ran, and told her mother's house ⁹² according to these words. ⁹³ And Rebekah had a brother, ⁹⁴ and his name was Laban: ⁹⁵ and Laban ⁹⁶ ran ⁹⁷ out unto the man, unto the ⁹⁸ fountain. ⁹⁹ And it came to pass, when he saw the ¹⁰⁰ ring, and the bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood	g 4 h 16 i 128 j 57 ^b k 215 ^b l 81 m 235 n 225 o 6 p 152 q 50 r 70 s 51 t 43 u 66 v 84 w 11 x 67 y 12 ^b z 10 ^c a' 57 ^a b' 2 c' 127 ^b

24⁷ The clause 'and that sware unto me' may be a later addition referring to 22¹⁶.

10a M Or, for all the goods of his master were in his hand.

10b M S Aram-naharaim, that is, Aram of the two rivers.

22 M S a beka. See Ex 38²⁰.

23 The gift of the ring and the bracelets 22³⁰ seems here to have fallen out of the text. On further indications of acci-

dental dislocation at a very early date cp 20²⁸.

29 Some dislocation of clauses seems to have taken place here; 20^b should probably follow 30^a; Laban does not seek the visitor till he has heard Rebekah's news and seen the gifts. The obviously homogeneous character of the rest of the narrative renders Knobel's suggestion of a combination of two sources here unnecessary (Dillmann).

J

JE

E P

by the camels at the 'fountain. ³¹ And he said, Come in, thou 'blessed of Yahweh; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels. ³² And the man came into the house, and he 'ungirded the camels; and he gave 'straw and 'provender for the camels, and water to 'wash his feet and the men's feet that were with him. ³³ And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said; I will not eat, until I have told mine errand. And he said, Speak on. ³⁴ And he said, I am Abraham's servant. ³⁵ And Yahweh hath 'blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him 'flocks and herds, and 'silver and gold, and menservants and 'maid-servants, and camels and asses. ³⁶ And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was 'old: and unto him hath he given all that he hath. ³⁷ And my master 'made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell: ³⁸ but thou shalt go unto my father's house, and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son. ³⁹ And I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me. ⁴⁰ And he said unto me, Yahweh, before whom I 'walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my kindred, and of my father's house: ⁴¹ 'then shalt thou be clear from my oath, when thou comest to my kindred; and if they give her not to thee, thou shalt be clear from my oath. ⁴² And I came this day unto the fountain, and said, O Yahweh, the God of my master Abraham, if now thou 'do 'prosper my way which I go: ⁴³ behold, I stand by the fountain of water; and let it come to pass, that the 'maiden which cometh forth to draw, to whom I shall say, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink; ⁴⁴ and she shall say to me, 'Both drink thou, and I will 'also draw for thy camels: let the same be the woman whom Yahweh hath 'appointed for my master's son. ⁴⁵ And before I had done speaking in mine 'heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder; and she went down unto the fountain, and drew: and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee. ⁴⁶ And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: so I drank, and she made the camels drink also. ⁴⁷ And I 'asked her, and said, Whose daughter art thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him: and I put the ring upon her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands. ⁴⁸ And I bowed my head, and worshipped Yahweh, and blessed Yahweh, the God of my master Abraham, which had led me in the 'right way to take my master's brother's daughter for his son. ⁴⁹ And now if ye will 'deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that I may 'turn to the 'right hand, or to the left. ⁵⁰ Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from Yahweh: we cannot speak unto thee 'bad or good. ⁵¹ Behold, Rebekah is 'before thee, 'take her, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife 'as Yahweh hath spoken. ⁵² 'And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he 'bowed himself down to the earth unto Yahweh. ⁵³ And the servant brought forth jewels of 'silver, and jewels of 'gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother 'precious things. ⁵⁴ And they did 'eat and drink, he and the men that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, 'Send me away unto my master. ⁵⁵ And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us 'a few days, at the least ten; after that she shall go. ⁵⁶ And he said unto them,

d' 33
e' 41
f' 63

g' 45

h' 129

i' 57^a

j' 165

k' 12^al' 149^bm' 205^c

e' Ct Ex 28⁹ 11
36^a
h' 18⁴

i' Cp 13 12¹⁶ 13²j' Cp 17¹ 48¹⁵

k' Cp Ex 28^a Is
7¹⁴

l' Cp Josh 21² 5

m' Ex 21²
n' 13³

o' 13³
p' 12¹⁹
q' 12⁴

r' Ezek 18
2 Chron 21³
32²³†

24⁴¹ In this verse there seems a certain incompleteness: Kautzsch and Socin (followed by Bacon) suggest that 41^a contained a reference to the search for a bride for Isaac: it is

possible, as the word 'oath' is different from that in 8 op 26²⁸, that the whole may be a compiler's addition.

⁵⁶ On the reading cp Dillm and Ball.

	J	JE	E	P
s' Cp 34 ¹⁹	8 ⁷ Hinder me not, seeing Yahweh hath ^u prospered my way; ^m send me away that I may go to my master. ⁶⁷ And they said, We will call the damsel, and ⁿ inquire at her mouth. ⁶⁸ And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.			
t' 35 ⁸	5 ⁹ And they ^m sent away Rebekah their sister, and her ⁿ nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men. ⁶⁰ And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Our sister, be thou [the mother] of ^u thousands of ten thousands, and let thy seed ^v possess the gate of those which ⁿ hate them.			n' 167 o' 198
u' Cp Num 10 ⁸⁰	6 ¹ And Rebekah ^l arose, and her damsels, and they ^v rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant ^v took Rebekah, and went his way. ⁶² ⁿ And Isaac came ⁿ from the way of ^u Beer-lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the ⁿ land of the South. ⁶³ And Isaac went out to ^u meditate in the field at the eventide: and he ^v lifted up his eyes, and ^q saw, and, behold, there were camels coming. ⁶⁴ And Rebekah ^v lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she ^v lighted off the camel.			
v' 22 ¹⁷	6 ⁵ And she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master: and she took her ⁿ veil, and ^u covered herself. ⁶⁶ And the servant told Isaac all the things that he had done. ⁶⁷ ⁿ And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's ^v tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he ^l oved her: and Isaac was ^v comforted after his mother's death. [->26 ¹]			p' 176 ^a q' 55
w' 16 ¹⁴	25 ¹ ⁿ And Abraham ^l took ⁿ another wife, ^q and her name was Keturah. ² And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. ³ And Jokshan ^l begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim. ⁴ And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoah, and Abida, and Eldaah. ^b All these were the children of Keturah.			r' 220 s' 180 t' 20 ^a a 82 b 123 c 7
x' 20 ¹	⁵ ⁿ And Abraham gave ^u all that he had unto Isaac. — ^{11b} ⁿ And Isaac dwelt by ^u Beer-lahai-roi. — ⁶ ⁿ But unto the sons of the ^u concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave ^u gifts; and he sent them away from Isaac his son, ^q while he yet lived, ^u eastward, ⁿ unto the ^u east country.			d 91
y' Cp Josh 15 ¹⁸	7 And ^u these are the ^h days of the years of Abraham's life ^l which he lived, an ^h hundred threescore and fifteen years. ⁸ And Abraham ^q gave up the ghost, and ^l died in a ^h good old age, an old man, and ^l full of years; and was ^h gathered to his people. ⁹ And Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in the ^u cave of ^l Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is ^l before Mamre; ¹⁰ the field which Abraham ^l purchased of the children of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. ^{11a} And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God ^l blessed Isaac his son.			e 188 f 93 g 51
z' 38 ¹⁴ 19 ⁴	12 ⁿ AND ^l THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF ^u Ishmael, Abraham's			h 75 i 5 j 64 k 33 l 77 ^a
aa' Cp 38 ¹⁴				
ab 5=whose 16 ^{1b}				
b 10 ²⁹				
c 16 ¹⁴ 24 ⁸²				
d 22 ²⁴				
e Ex 28 ³⁸ Num 18 ²⁶ 29 Deut 16 ¹⁷				
f 12 ¹⁴ 28 ¹⁴				
g (t 20 ¹)				
h 47 ⁸ cp 17 23 ¹				
i 5 ⁵ 5				
j 17 35 ²⁹				
k 15 ¹⁸				
l 35 ²⁹ cp Deut 33 ²⁸				
m 23 ¹⁹				
n 49 ³⁰ 50 ¹⁸ cp 33 ¹⁹				
o 16 ^{15b}				

24^{62a} This rather implies that Isaac has already found an independent settlement cp 25⁸, presumably in consequence of Abraham's death. J's account of that event has been eliminated by R to make way for P's statement 25⁸. . . ; Wellhausen and others suggest that it may originally have preceded this passage.

62^b M. G. has, *through the wilderness*.—Ball proposes, 'Now Isaac had come from Beer-sheba [i.e. after the death of Abraham] to Beer-lahai-roi,' cp 22¹⁹ 25¹¹.

67 This verse seems to have received several editorial touches. S reads 'And Isaac brought her into the tent,' so that the words 'his mother Sarah' S are grammatically out of place; they are therefore regarded as a gloss. Of the same origin, probably, are the concluding words, inserted perhaps after 24 had been attached to 23. Wellhausen and others, however, suggest that the word 'mother' has been substituted for 'father.' The word 'death' does not appear in S, but may be reasonably supplied from 25¹¹.

25¹ After the stress previously laid on Abraham's old age, and the possible references to his death in 24, this passage seems out of place. The difficulty of determining its source and chronological location is increased by the fact that it contains elements already embodied in J; e.g. in 10²⁶⁻²⁸ Sheba is the son of Joktan who is descended through Eber from Arrpachshad, whereas in ⁸ Sheba is the son of Jokshan who

is born of Keturah. Partly on this ground, partly because of the mention of Midian cp 37^{28 39}, Dillmann ascribes the Keturah-table to E, and places it before the birth of Isaac. There are not, however, any decisive phraseological affinities with E, while the few indications of style which can be gathered, point rather to J. The section is here regarded, therefore, as of secondary origin in relation to the main J, though also distinct from J² in 10²⁶. . . . Bacon attaches it to 22²⁴, before 24¹.

⁶ This verse seems to be the basis of the statement in 24^{36b} (though Kuenen regards it as founded by R on that passage). Different suggestions have been made concerning its original position, Bacon and Holzinger proposing to place it after 24¹, Battersby after 24⁹.

^{11b} This allusion to Isaac's residence at Beer-lahai-roi cannot belong to P 7-11a, which does not refer to the story of 16¹⁴. It seems to have been placed there by R as an appropriate item of Isaac's biography. But as it is implied in 24⁸², it probably belongs like ⁵ to an earlier portion of the story which has been eliminated in the process of compilation.

^{6a} The provision made for Isaac ⁵ seems to have suggested the additional arrangements of ⁸ to E. Only one concubine has been mentioned before 22²⁴; the generalizing plural (does it include Hagar?) implies another hand.

^{6b} The last clause may be an editorial gloss on 'eastward.'

¹² T now. S as in ¹⁹.

J E	P	
p 16³ q Lev 25³¹ Josh 13²³ 28¹ 153². only in P r Num 31¹⁰* s 17²⁰ t Num 25¹⁵† u 23¹ v 211 107 29 w 157 x Ct 21³⁰ y 161² z Ct 24¹⁵ a' 30³⁸ §* b' 11³⁰ c' § Hithp† d' Cp Ex 181⁶ i Kings 22⁶ 8 e' 27²⁸* f' 15⁴ g' 38²⁷ § h' 29²¹ 50³ i' 38²⁷ Cant 4⁵ j' 78⁴ k' Josh 7²¹ 24* l' Ex 4⁴ m' 31⁵ Ct 27³⁶	son, whom ¹³Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham: ¹³and ¹³these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their ¹³generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and Kedar, and Abdeel, and Mibsam, ¹⁴and Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa; ¹⁵Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah: ¹⁶these are the sons of Ishmael, and ¹⁶these are their names, by their ¹⁶villages, and by their ¹⁶encampments; ¹⁷twelve ¹⁷princes ¹⁷according to their ¹⁷nations. ¹⁷And ¹⁷these are the ¹⁷years of the life of Ishmael, an ¹⁷hundred and thirty and seven years: and he ¹⁷gave up the ghost and ¹⁷died; and was ¹⁷gathered unto his people. ¹⁸And they dwelt from ¹⁸Havilah unto ¹⁸Shur that is before Egypt, ¹⁸as thou goest toward Assyria: ¹⁸he ¹⁸abode ¹⁸in the ¹⁸presence of all his brethren. ¹⁹AND ¹⁹THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham ¹⁹begat Isaac: ²⁰and Isaac was forty years ²⁰old when he took Rebekah, the daughter of ²⁰Bethuel the ²⁰Syrian of ²⁰Paddan-aram, the sister of Laban the ²⁰Syrian, to be his wife. [26³³→] ²¹And Isaac ²¹intreated Yahweh ²¹for his wife, because she was ²¹barren: and Yahweh was ²¹intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife ²²conceived. ²²And the children ²²struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, ²²wherefore do I live? And she went to ²²inquire of Yahweh. ²³And Yahweh said unto her, Two nations are in thy womb, And two ²³peoples shall be separated even from thy ²³bowels: And the one people shall be stronger than the other people; And the elder shall serve the ²³younger. ²⁴And when her days to be ²⁴delivered were ²⁴fulfilled, behold, there were ²⁴twins in her womb. ^{25a}And the first came forth ^{25a}red, ^{25b}all over like an hairy ^{25b}garment; and they called his name Esau. ^{26a}And after that came forth his ^{26a}brother, and his hand ^{26a}had hold on Esau's ^{26a}heel; and his name was called ^{26a}Jacob ^{26b}And Isaac was threescore years ^{26b}old when she bare them. . . . ²⁷And the ²⁷boys ²⁷grew: and Esau was a cunning ²⁷hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a ²⁷plain man, dwelling in ²⁷tents. ²⁸Now Isaac ²⁸loved Esau, because he did eat of his ²⁸venison: and Rebekah loved Jacob. ²⁹And Jacob sod ²⁹pottage: and Esau came in from the field, and he	m 76^b n 131 o 18 p 5 q 30 r 119^a s 6 t 48 u 21 v 92 w 14 x 235 y 166 z 172 a' 220 b' 180

25^{18a} Cp 16^{14b}. The verse is full of difficulties, for the geographical data do not seem reconcilable, the disturbing words being 'as thou goest toward Asshur.' A comparison with 1 Sam 15¹ led Hupfeld to propose 'as thou goest to Shur'; the subject being then identified with the Ishmaelites. But it is possible that the verse is really continuous with ⁶, and in that case the clause may have arisen from accidental repetition of the syllable *Shur*. For another view of a land of Ashur between Egypt and Palestine cp Hommel, *Ancient Hebr Trad* 240. The change of person in the concluding member probably marks the hand of the editor who applied the preceding words to Ishmael, and added a reminiscence from 16¹².

18b M Or, settled, § fell. 18c M Or, over against.

20 M § Aramean.—28^c cp 31²⁰.

21 The account of Isaac's marriage in P 19, was no doubt followed immediately by the mention of the birth of his sons. In the process of compilation R has set this aside in favour of two stories from JE, one relating the birth of the twins, the other the transfer of the birthright from Esau to Jacob. At the end of the first he incorporates P's statement of Isaac's age on the occasion. But the narrative is placed too soon when compared with 26, for it is plain from 26¹ that Rebekah was not then the mother of adult twins. The combined incidents 21–34 ought therefore to follow 26³³.

22 M Or, wherefore am I thus.—Cp 89^b.

26a M Or, ruddy.—Cp 1 Sam 16¹² 17⁴²†.

26b Doubtless E had his account of the birth of the pair of brothers, as well as J. If so, it is possible that some traces of it may be preserved in these verses. According to J 25^a the firstborn came forth *admoni*, which seems to point to the name Edom, on which a further play is found in ³⁰, presumably from a different source. The second description of him, containing an allusion to the name Esau, may then be plausibly assigned to the other document, viz E. This reappears in ²⁷ which in its abundance of epithets may again present a combined text, 'a man of the field' and 'dwelling in tents' forming a separate contrast perhaps drawn from J, both narratives (as 27 will show) being familiar with Esau's aptitude for the chase.

28 M That is, One that takes by the heel or suppliants.

27a The opening of this verse points to E, cp 21⁸, but the remainder in which Esau and Jacob are both described by a pair of epithets, is probably composite. As J lays stress on hunting and venison (see analysis of 27) the phrase 'cunning hunter' may come from that source and belong to the introduction of 28; while the reference to Jacob's tent life may belong to E, as J conceives the family as living together in a house 27¹⁵ cp 33¹⁷.

27b M Or, quiet, or, harmless, § perfect.

29 The decision concerning the documentary origin of this passage depends on the analysis of 27, and particularly on 27³⁶. See 27¹ ad fin.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
n ¹ 90 Dent 25 ¹⁸ *		was ⁿ faint: ³⁰ and Esau said to Jacob, ^e 'Feed me, ^e I pray thee, with			e' 186
a' 5 ¹		ⁿ that same ^v 'red [pottage]; for I am ⁿ faint: ^d 'therefore was his name			d' 15 ^a
n' 5 ²		called ⁿ 'Edom. ³¹ ^L And Jacob said, Sell me ⁿ this day thy ^v 'birthright.			
3 ¹ 238 ^a		³² And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and ^e 'what profit			e' 228
g' 27 ³⁰ 43 ³³		shall the birthright do to me? ³³ And Jacob said, Swear to me ⁿ this			
		day; and he swore unto him: and he sold his birthright unto Jacob.			f' 149
		³⁴ And Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of ^v 'lentils; and he did ^e 'eat			g' 128
		and drink, and ^v 'rose up, and went his way: so Esau ^v 'despised his			
		birthright.			
		26 ¹ [24 ³⁷ →] And there was a "famine in the land, ^{nb} beside the first			
a 12 ¹⁰		<i>famine that was in the days of Abraham.</i> And Isaac ^e 'went unto ^d Abimelech			
b Cp 23 ¹		king of the Philistines unto Gerar. ² And Yahweh ^e 'appeared unto him,			
c Cp 25 ^{11b}		and said, ^J Go not down into Egypt; ^{ndwell} in the land which I shall tell			
d Ct 20 ²		thee of: ³ sojourn in this land, and I will ^{be} with thee, and will ^{be} 'bless			a 130
e 12 ⁷		thee;			
f 12 ¹⁰		ⁿ for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will ^{give} all these lands ^b , and I will			
g 12 ²		^e establish the ^{oath} which I ^{swore} unto Abraham thy father; ⁴ and			b 217
		^I will multiply thy ^{seed} as the ^{stars} of heaven, and will give unto thy			c 204
A Ct 12 ⁷		^{seed} all these lands; and ⁱⁿ thy seed shall all the nations of the earth			
i Ct 17 ⁷		^{be} blessed; ⁵ ^{mb} because that Abraham ^{obeyed} my voice, and ^{kept} my			d 10 ^b
j 22 ¹⁷		^{charge} , my commandments, my statutes, and my ^{laws} .			
k 15 ³ 22 ¹⁷		⁶ ⁿ And Isaac dwelt in Gerar: ⁷ and the ^{men} of the place asked him of			
l 12 ⁸		his wife; and he said, "She is my sister: for he feared to say, My wife;			
m 22 ¹⁸		lest, [said he], the men of the place ^{should} kill me for Rebekah:			
n Cp 44 ^b		because she was fair to look upon. ⁸ ^L And ^e 'it came to pass, when he had			e 3 ^a
o Dent 11 ¹ cp		been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines ^{looked}			f 54
p Ex 16 ²⁸ 18 ¹⁶ 20		out at a ^{window} , and ^{saw} , and, behold, Isaac was ^{sporting} with			g 55
q Lev 26 ⁴⁸ *		Rebekah his wife. ⁹ And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of			
r 25 ²² 32 ¹		a surety she is thy wife: and how saidst thou, She is my sister? And			
s 12 ¹³ 19 ²⁰ 5		Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest I die for her. ¹⁰ And			
t 12 ¹² 20 ¹¹		Abimelech said, "What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the			
u 11 ¹ 11 ¹		people might ^{lightly} have ^{lien} with thy wife, and thou shouldest have			h 51
f 86		^{brought} "guiltiness upon us. ¹¹ And Abimelech ^{charged} all the			i 175
g 21 ⁹		people, saying, He that ^{toucheth} this man or his wife shall surely be			
v 20 ⁹		put to death". ¹² And Isaac ^{sowed} in that land, and found in the			
w 20 ⁹		same year an ^{hundredfold} : and Yahweh ^{blessed} him. ¹³ And the			
x Ct 18 ¹		man waxed great, and grew ^{more} and more until he ^{became} very			
y 12 ²⁰		great: ¹⁴ and he had ^{possessions} of ^{flocks} , and ^{possessions} of herds,			
z Ex 19 ¹² cp 29		and a great ^{household} : and the Philistines ^{envied} him.			j 33
a' 47 ²³		¹⁵ ⁿ Now all the ^{wells} which his father's servants had digged in the days			
b' 5 ¹		of Abraham his father, the Philistines had ^{stopped} them, and filled them			
c' 24 ¹		with earth.			
d' 83 5		¹⁶ And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much			
e' 23 ³¹		^{knightrier} than we. ¹⁷ And Isaac departed thence, and ^{encamped} in			
f' Job 1 ³¹		the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.			k 59
g' 30 ¹					
h' 21 ²⁵ .					
i' 18 5 Piel†					
j' 33 ¹⁸ Ex 19 ²					

25^{30a} M 5 the red pottage, this red pottage.

30^b M That is, Red.

31 33 M Or, first of all.

26¹ The famine just mentioned gives occasion to Isaac's sojourn in Gerar, to which is attached the incident of Rebekah parallel to that of Sarah in 12¹⁰.. The editor, therefore, refers to the previous event in the days of Abraham. Hence ^{1b} presupposes the narrative in 12¹⁰..; but as there is no allusion to Abraham's visit to Gerar in 20, it apparently marks a stage in the growth of J prior to its union with E. On the original place of the following narrative cp 25^{21N}.

² The injunction to dwell in a land to be indicated hereafter can hardly proceed from the writer who reports Yahweh's injunction to Abraham to 'sojourn in this land' ³. ¹⁻⁴ may contain touches of E, possibly ^{2b} and ⁶ are from that source.

³ One of the later hortatory amplifications, showing the approximation of these additions to the literary manner of D. For 'all these lands' * cp 1 Chron 13² 2 Chron 11³³, but 5 and

Jubilees read 'all this land.' In ^{5b} it is possible that the hand of R¹ may have been at work.

⁴ M Or, bless themselves.—5 22¹⁸.

⁶ On this narrative compared with 12¹¹.. and 20¹.. see Intro d XI 68 i 108 and XII 53 i 117.

¹⁴ 5 = cattle, cp 18. For the peculiar use of the text cp 47¹⁷.

^{15 18} In these two verses the compiler prepares for a second story concerning the origin of the well of Beer-sheba. In 21²⁵.. it has already been named in Abraham's day: Isaac, therefore, can only rename it if it has in the meantime fallen into disuse. This is ascribed to interference by the Philistines, which is generalized so as to include 'all the wells.' (Were there other well-stories in E to which R thus makes reference?) The statement in ¹⁸ that Isaac 'called their names after the names by which his father had called them,' seems inconsistent with the subsequent narrative, in which he names the wells from the incidents of his own struggles.

J E

JE

J E P

¹⁸ And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had ¹⁹stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.

¹⁹ And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of ²⁰springing water. ²⁰ And the herdmen of Gerar ²¹strove with Isaac's herdmen, saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the well ²²Esek; because they ²³contended with him. ²¹ And they digged another well, and they ²⁴strove for that also: and he called the name of it ²⁵Sitnah. ²² And he ²⁶removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they ²⁷strove not: and he called the name of it ²⁸Rehoboth; and he said, For now Yahweh hath ²⁹made room for us, and we shall be ³⁰fruitful in the land. ²³ And he went up from thence to Beer-sheba. ²⁴ And Yahweh ²⁵appeared unto him the same night, and said, I am the ²⁶God of Abraham thy father: ²⁷fear not, for I ²⁸am with thee, and will ²⁹bless thee, and multiply thy ³⁰seed for my servant Abraham's ³¹sake. ²⁵ And he ³²builded an altar there, and ³³called upon the name of Yahweh, and pitched his tent there: and there Isaac's servants ³⁴digged a well. ²⁶ Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath his ³⁵friend, and ³⁶Phicol the captain of his host. ²⁷ And Isaac said unto them, ³⁷Wherefore are ye come unto me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you? ²⁸ And they said, We saw plainly that Yahweh ³⁸was with thee: and we said, Let there now be an ³⁹oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us ⁴⁰make a covenant with thee; ²⁹ that thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not ⁴¹touchd thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in ⁴²peace: thou art now the ⁴³blessed of Yahweh. ³⁰ And he made them a ⁴⁴feast, and they did ⁴⁵eat and drink. ³¹ And they ⁴⁶rose up betimes in the morning, and sware ⁴⁷one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in ⁴⁸peace. ³² And it came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him ⁴⁹concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We have found water. ³³ And he called it ⁵⁰Shibah: ⁵¹wherefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day. [->25²¹]

³⁴ And when Esau was forty years ⁵²old he ⁵³took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and ⁵⁴Basemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite: ³⁵ and they were ⁵⁵a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

²⁷¹⁸ ⁵⁶And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, and his eyes were ⁵⁷dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his ⁵⁸elder son,

K' Cp Lev 14^{5*}
L' 13⁷

m' 12⁸

n' Ex 34²⁴ G =
enlarge cp 9²⁷
o' 49²² cp 41⁵²
Ex 23³⁰ ct 7⁷³

p' 50⁵ Ex 21³³
Num 21^{18*}
q' G* cp 2 Sam

r' 21²²
s' Ex 21¹⁸ 3⁵ 51⁴
cp 23³⁰

t' 24⁴¹

u' 31 28²¹ Ex
18²³ Josh 10^{21*}

v' cp 11^{2*}

w' 25²⁰

x' Ct 36²

a 48¹⁰ cp Deut

b 34^{7*}
15⁴² 10²¹ (J)
29¹⁶ (E)

l 120
m 154

n 71
o 137
p 15^a

q 181

r 10
s 155
t 149^b
u 200

v III
w 85

x 119

a 3

26¹⁹ M G living.

20 M That is, Contention.

21 M That is, Enmity.

20 M That is, Broad places, or, Room.

23 M See 21³¹.

26 M G bitterness of spirit.—Cp 28³.

²⁷ The narrative of the blessing of Isaac is admitted on all hands to be composite, but its constituents have been blended with such skill as practically to defy analysis. In 1891, Bacon (*Hebraica*, January, 1891) in America, and Kantzsch and Socin in Germany, published independent attempts at resolution. Ball and Holzinger have since followed. But the difficulties are such that even after their labours any scheme of distribution must still be tentative, for the opening of the chapter, in particular, shows that (on any theory) the sources have been much curtailed in the process of union. The presence of duplicate accounts may, however, be detected with sufficient clearness. A comparison of ²³ and ²⁵ indicates that two stories are intertwined. The blessing which is given in ²³ 'so he blessed him,' has yet to be bestowed in ²⁵ 'that my soul may bless thee.' In ²³ the blessing follows on the identification of Jacob with Esau by the hairiness of his hands: in ²⁷ it depends on the smell attached to the garments which Jacob is wearing. These divergences belong to different versions of the same main incident, and provide a basis for further partition. If the passages which describe the disguise of the hands be grouped

together, ²¹⁻²³ will be naturally preceded by ⁹⁻¹⁴ and ¹⁶, of which ¹⁸ seems the natural sequel. These verses supply a characteristic phrase, 'savoury meat such as he loveth' ⁹ ¹⁴ cp ⁴ ^{7b}; the address 'my father' with its reply 'here am I' in ¹⁸ finds a counterpart in the similar address 'my son' in ^{1b}, the parallels in ²¹ ⁷ suggesting their connexion with E. The following contrasts in substance and language are then obtained:—

¹⁵ ²⁷ goodly raiment || skins ¹⁶ derived from ⁹, smooth ¹⁶ cp ¹¹, hairy ¹¹ ²³ cp ²⁵^{20b}.

²⁷ smell || feel ²¹. derived from ¹² (the only parallels being in passages assigned on other grounds to E).

²⁵ venison ⁹ ^{7a} ¹⁹ ³¹ ³³ || savoury meat ⁴ ^{7b} ⁹ ¹⁴ ¹⁷ ³¹.

²⁵ my soul may bless thee ⁴ ¹⁹ ³¹ || I (he) may bless thee ^{7b} ¹⁰.

⁴ before I die || before my death ⁷ ¹⁰ (note the different words for 'before' and their corresponding occurrences elsewhere).

The analysis thus begun is found to be occasionally confirmed unexpectedly by phraseological affinities specified in the margin (eg the designations 'elder' and 'younger son,' 'firstborn' run through ¹ ¹⁵ ¹⁹ ³² ⁴² cp ²⁵ ²³ (J), 'field' ³ ⁵ ²⁷ and parallels on ^{1a} ^{2b} ³ ^{4b} (ct ¹⁰) ²⁰ ²⁵ ^{29ac} ³³ (J) and ¹² ³⁶ (E)). The student is thus prepared to believe that the blessing in ²⁷⁻²⁹ may be likewise

	J E	JE	J E P	
c 257.		... ^{1b} and said unto him, ^c My son: and he said unto him, ^b Here am I. . .		b 104
d 1818 §		² And he said, ^c 'Behold now, ^d I am old, I know not the day of my death.		c 9
e §†		³ Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy ^c quiver and thy		d 172
f 5 38 op 172		bow, and go out to the field, and ^t take me ^c 'venison; . . .		
g 7 914 17 51 §†		... ^{4a} and make me ^c 'savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me,		
		that I may eat; . . .		
h 19 31 4634 Ex		^{4b} ^h that my soul may bless thee ^c 'before I die.		e 6
g 14 16 § ct 10		^{5a} And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son.		
		^{5b} And Esau went to the field to ^c 'hunt for ^c 'venison, and to bring it.		
		⁶ And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy		
		father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying, ^{7a} Bring me ^c 'venison, . . .		
i 10 5016 ct 4 §		... ^{7b} and make me ^c 'savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee		
j 18 43 op 44 ^b		ⁿ 'before Yahweh ^b 'before my death'. ⁸ Now therefore, ^c 'my son, ^j obey my		
k 3914		voice ^a 'according to that which I command thee. ⁹ ^k Go now to the		
l 3817 20		flock, and fetch me from thence two good ^c 'kids of the goats; and		
m Ct 4 §		I will make them ^c 'savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth:		
		¹⁰ and thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, ^m 'so that he may		
		bless thee ^b 'before his death. ¹¹ And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother,		
n 23 cp 2525		Behold, Esau my brother is a ⁿ 'hairy man, and I am a ^c 'smooth man.		
o Cp 16		¹² My father ^c 'peradventure will ^p 'feel me, and I shall ^c 'seem to him as	f 64	
p 21- cp 3134 37		a ⁿ 'deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.		
Ex 10 ²¹		¹³ And his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, ^c 'my son:		
g 2920		only ^j obey my voice, and go fetch me them. ¹⁴ And he went, and		
		fetcheth, and brought them to his mother: and his mother made		
		^c 'savoury meat, such as his father loved.		
r §* 2 Chron		¹⁵ And Rebekah took the ^c 'goodly ^c 'raiment of Esau her ^b 'elder son, which		
2025 ul		were with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her ^c 'younger son. . . .		
s 27 ct 16		¹⁶ And she put the skins of the ^c 'kids of the goats upon his hands, and		
t 42 §24		upon the ^c 'smooth of his neck: ¹⁷ and she gave the ^c 'savoury meat		
		and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son		
u 227 ct 31 ^b		Jacob. ^{18a} And he came unto his father, and said, ^c 'My father: and he		
		said, ^b 'Here am I ^w ; . . .		
v 32 [And Isaac		^{18b} ^v Who art thou, my son? ¹⁹ And Jacob said unto his father, I am		
his father said]		Esau ^w 'thy firstborn; I have done ^a 'according as thou badest me ^c : arise,		
w 32 1016 2221 386		I pray thee, sit and eat of my ^c 'venison, ^h 'that thy soul may bless me.		
Ex 422		²⁰ And Isaac said unto his son, How is it that thou hast found it so		
x Cp 124 §		^c 'quickly, my son? And he said, Because Yahweh thy God ^h 'sent me	g 43	
y 2412†		^v 'good speed.	h 131	
		²¹ And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may ^p 'feel		
z 3732 Ex 164 177		thee, my son, ^c 'whether thou be my very son Esau ^c 'or not. ²² And		
Num 1123 1319.		Jacob went near unto Isaac his father; and he ^p 'felt him, and said, The		
Deut 82*		voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. ²³ And he		
		ⁱ 'discerned him not, because his hands were ⁿ 'hairy, as his brother Esau's	i 145	
		hands: so he blessed him.		
		²⁴ And he said, Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am.		
		²⁵ And he said, Bring it near to me, and I will eat of my son's ^c 'venison,		

composite. The different divine names in 27²⁸ are not in themselves necessary proofs of derivation from contrasted sources op 26^a. But they tend in that direction when the contents of the blessing are examined. In ²⁹ the second couplet of the verse so suddenly contracts the scope of power as to produce an anti-climax. After the homage of nations ^{29a} the submission of kindred is but a small gift. Further, the subsequent reference to the blessing in ³⁷ only recognizes the items of ²⁸ and ^{29b}; and on these, also, is framed the prophecy in ³⁸⁻⁴⁰. It would seem, then, that ²⁷⁻²⁹ may be divided into (1) 27^{29a} 29c and (2) ²⁸ 29b; (1) then is Yahwist and (2) Elohist. But (2) carries with it ³⁷⁻⁴⁰ and the preceding ³⁵. This is supported by the fact that the play on the name Jacob in ³⁸ is entirely different from that of ^{25²⁸}, ascribed on independent grounds to J; and it also secures high probability for the attribution of ^{25²⁸⁻³⁴} to E, as ^{27³⁸} plainly refers to that story. Both J and E may have

contained it, but it is more natural to locate both the story and the allusion in the same document.

^{7b} The words 'before Yahweh' involve a serious difficulty in the ascription to E. They may have been introduced accidentally from J through the similarity of the word 'before (my death)' contrasted with 'before' in ^{4b}. Other unexpected occurrences of *Yahweh*, due to various causes, have been noted in 17¹ 21^{1b} 22¹¹.

⁸ The phrase 'obey my voice' is followed in 13⁴³ by the actual order, without hortatory expansion. The words 'according to that which I command thee' do not seem to cohere quite naturally with the preceding. Outside of Deut, where the expression is very common, they occur only in Ex 34¹¹ op Num 32²⁵. Have they also crept into the text from J in the process of compilation?

¹² M Or, *mockers*.—Cp 2 Chron 36¹⁶†.

J E

J E

J E P

^hthat my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he did ^aeat: and he brought him ^bwine, and he ^adrank. ²⁶ And his father Isaac said unto him, ^cCome near now, and ¹kiss me, my son. ²⁷ And he came near, and kissed him: and he ^dsmelled the smell of his ^eraiment, and blessed him, and said,

See, the smell of my son

Is as the smell of a field which Yahweh hath blessed:

...²⁸ And God give thee of the ^edew of heaven,

And of the ^ffatness of the earth,

And plenty of ^gcorn and wine^g.

^{29a} Let peoples ^hserve thee,

And ⁱnations bow down to thee:

^{29b} Be ^jlord over thy brethren,

And let thy ^kmother's sons bow down to thee.

^{29c} ^lCursed be every one that curseth thee,

And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.

^{30a} And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had ^mmade an end of blessing Jacob,

^{30b} And Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father...

^{30c} that Esau his brother came in from his hunting.

...^{31a} And he also made ^osavoury meat, and brought it unto his father...

^{31b} And he said unto his father, Let ⁿmy father arise, and eat of his son's ^avenison, ^hthat thy soul may bless me. ³² And Isaac his father said unto him, ^vWho art thou? And he said, I am thy son, ^{thy} firstborn, Esau. ³³ And Isaac ⁿtrembled very exceedingly, and said, Who ^othen is he that hath ^jtaken ^avenison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all ^abefore thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, [and] he shall be blessed. ³⁴ When Esau heard the words of his father, he ^kcried with an exceeding great and bitter ^lcry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father. ...

...³⁵ And he said, Thy brother came with ^pguile, and hath taken away thy blessing. ³⁶ And he said, Is not he rightly named ⁿJacob? for he hath ^qsupplanted me these two times: he took away my ^rbirthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not ^sreserved a blessing for me? ³⁷ And Isaac answered and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy ^jlord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with ^gcorn and wine have I ^ssustained him: and what ^othen shall I do for thee, my son? ³⁸ And Esau said unto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? ⁿbless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and wept. ³⁹ And Isaac his father answered and said unto him,

Behold, ^oof the ^ffatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,

And ^oof the ^edew of heaven from above;

⁴⁰ And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother;

And it shall come to pass when thou shalt ^wbreak loose,

That thou shalt ^wshake his yoke from off thy neck.

^{41a} And Esau ^uhated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him.

^{41b} And Esau said in his ^wheart, The days of ^vmourning for my father ^uare at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob. ⁴² And the words of Esau her ^belder son were told to Rebekah; and she sent and called Jacob her ^yyounger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth ^mcomfort himself, [purposing] to kill thee.

27³⁸ M See 25²⁶.—For the form of the question, וְהָיָה, cp 25^{15*}.

38 This phrase seems to have been assimilated from 34, or

perhaps introduced by a copyist.

39 M Or, away from.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
a" Cp 24 ¹⁰ 28 ¹⁰	43 ^b "Flee thou to a" Laban my brother to a" Haran;...	... ^{43a} Now therefore, my son, ^{43b} obey my voice; and arise, ...			n 158
l" 29 ⁵ Dan 11 ²⁰ +	... ⁴⁴ and tarry with him a u' few days, until thy brother's c" fury turn away;	... ⁴⁴ and tarry with him a u' few days, until thy brother's c" fury turn away;			
ct 11 ¹	45 ^a until thy brother's anger turn away from thee.	45 ^b And he a" forget that which thou hast done to him: then I will send and fetch thee from thence: why should I be b' bereaved of you both in one day?			o 98
c" 2 Sam 12 ²⁰ ct					
Dent 31 ⁹ Lev					
26 ²³					
d" 40 ²³					
c" Cp Ex 12 ¹² Lev	45 ^a And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am a" weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob f' take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the u' daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?				p 10b
20 ²³ Num 21 ⁵	28 ¹ And Isaac called Jacob, and b' blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, "Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. ² b' Arise, go to b' Paddan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.				a 10b
22 ^{8a}	3 And c" God Almighty bless thee, and make thee d' fruitful, and d' multiply thee, that thou mayest be a 'company of peoples'; ⁴ and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to 'thee, and to thy seed with thee'; that thou mayest d' inherit the 'land of thy sojournings' which God 'gave unto Abraham. ⁵ And Isaac f' sent away Jacob: and he went to Paddan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the 'Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother. ⁶ Now Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; ⁷ and that Jacob obeyed his father n' and his mother, and was gone to Paddan-aram: ⁸ and Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan p' pleased not Isaac his father; ⁹ and Esau went unto Ishmael, and took unto the wives h' which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of i' Nebaioth, to be his wife.				b 6
f" 26 ³⁴					c 1
g" 34 ¹					d 73
1-9 11e 5d					e 176
a Cp 36 ² ct 24 ⁵					f 145
b Cp 16 ¹²⁸					
c 35 ¹¹ 48 ⁴⁴					
d Lev 20 ²⁴ 25 ⁴⁶					
Num 33 ⁵³ d					
e 17 ⁸					
f Cp 18 ²⁰⁵					
g Cp 21 ¹¹					
h 26 ³⁴					
i 25 ¹³					
j 26 ²³ 33	10 ^a And Jacob went out from f' Beer-sheba, and went toward h' Haran. ...				g 177
k 27 ⁴³	... ¹¹ And he a' lighted upon a certain 'place, and b' tarried there all night, because the sun was 'set; and he took one of the stones of the place, and 'put it m' under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep.				h 178
l Cp 12 ⁶	12 And he k' dreamed, and behold a "ladder 'set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the m' angels of God ascending and descending on it.				i 236
m 18 5* 1 Sam	13 And, behold, Yahweh n' stood b' beside him, and said, "I am Yahweh, the 'God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon				j 193
19 ¹³					k 101
n 5†					l 215*
o Ct 15 ⁷ Ex 6 ²					m 97
					n 215*
					o 120

27⁴⁶ This verse is obviously connected with 26³⁴, and leads to the dispatch of Jacob to Paddan-aram to find a bride. Whether it was an integral part of P may, however, be doubted. It is not the manner of P to attribute any share in the development of events to the patriarch's wives: in 28¹ 8 Isaac is mentioned alone. Phraseological peculiarities, 'daughters of the land' ct 28¹, 'daughters of Canaan,' and the clause 'what good' &c cp 25²² d, suggest rather the hand of the compiler who thus makes a bridge from 27 to 28¹⁻². The repetition 'of the daughters of Heth' appears rather cumbrous beside the parallel clause 'of the daughters of the land': its omission by G which reads 'the daughters of this land' (E de stirpe hujus terrae), suggests that it is a gloss.

28¹ P's reference to the blessing of Jacob; for a similar brevity in relation to JE cp 25²⁰ and 24.

3 M. El Shaddai.—According to Ex 6³ P related an appearance of El Shaddai to Isaac as well as to Abraham and Jacob 17¹ and 35¹¹. That account has not been preserved; it was perhaps considered superfluous by R in view of 26²...

5 M. Is Aramean.—25²⁰.

7 Possibly an addition of R with reference to 27⁴³. (Dillmann).

10. The sequel of the combined narrative in 27⁴¹⁻⁴⁵. As J apparently locates Isaac at Beer-sheba this verse is naturally connected with 26²³; while the reference to Haran in its turn supports the attribution of 27^{43b} to J.

11a In the following narrative the contrast of 16 and 17 points to an amalgamation of different sources, easily recognized as J and E respectively (cp the dream and the angels of Elohim 12; 12 carries with it 11 and 18; and 20, contains the vow accompanying the consecration of the *masséba* 19). With regard to the theophany in J 18-19 opinion is somewhat divided; it has affinities with undoubted J passages, cp 14 and 12⁸, but also with others which apparently belong to the editorial expansions 13¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 22¹⁵⁻¹⁸. Kuenen and Cornill, accordingly, propose to attribute it to R. The opening words, however, 'And behold Yahweh stood beside him' do not sound like a harmonist's combination with 12; they rather belong to an independent narrative. Of this another trace may be found (if Bacon's ingenious suggestion be adopted) in 35¹⁵. Both J and E had an account of the origin of the sacred pillar at Beth-el. E connects it with the revealing dream 12 17, on Jacob's flight from Beer-sheba, cp 35¹... J seems to have placed it on his return from Aram-naharaim, after the wrestling at Peniel, cp Hos 12⁴. If the promise of 18, be attached to that occasion, a suitable base is found also for P's selection of that place in Jacob's career for the theophany of El Shaddai 35⁹-. In that case, however, 18 will be an editorial reflex of 17, due probably to the same combining hand which added the words 'and Yahweh will be my God' 21b.

11b M. Is the place.

13 So M. T above it.

J E

J E

J E P

thou liest, to thee will I ^pgive it, and to thy seed; ¹⁴ and thy ^pseed shall be as the ^qdust of the earth, and thou shalt ^mspread abroad to the ^wwest, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall ^aall the families of the earth ^bbe blessed. ¹⁵ And, behold, I ^aam ^awith thee, and will ^ukeep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will bring thee again into this ^vland; for I will not ^vleave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of. ¹⁶ And Jacob ^aawaked out of his sleep, and he said, ^a"Surely Yahweh ^uis in this place; and I knew it not.

¹⁷ And he was ^aafraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. ¹⁸ ^uAnd Jacob ^vrose up early in the ^mmorning, and took the stone that he had ^pput ^munder his head, and ^vset it up for a ^ppillar, and ^a'poured oil upon the top of it.

¹⁹ And he called the name of that place ^u"Beth-el: ^{b'}but the name of the city was ^{o'}Luz at the first.

²⁰ And Jacob ^a'vowed a vow, saying, If ^a"God will be ^a'with me, and will keep me in this ^e'way that I go, and will give me bread to ^j'eat, and raiment to put on, ^{21a} so that I come again to my ^f'father's house in ^v'peace,

... ^{21b} ^aand Yahweh will ^h'be my God, . . .

. . . ²² ^uthen this stone, which I have ^v'set up for a pillar, shall be God's house: ^uand of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

²⁹ ¹ Then Jacob ^a'went on his journey, and ^a'came to the land of the children of the east. . .

² ^aAnd he ^a'looked, and behold ^a'a ^b'well in the field, and, lo, three ^b'flocks of sheep ^q'lying there by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and the stone upon the well's mouth was great. ³ And thither were all the ^b'flocks ^d'gathered: and they ^c'rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in its place. ⁴ And Jacob said unto them, ^e"My brethren, whence be ye? And they said, Of ^f'Haran are we. ⁵ And he said unto them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? ⁶ And they said, We know him. And he said unto them, Is it ^e'well with him? And they said, It is well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.

⁷ And he said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the ^a'cattle should be ^d'gathered together: water ye the sheep, and go and feed them.

⁸ And they said, We cannot, until all the ^b'flocks be ^d'gathered together, and they ^c'roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep.

⁹ While he ^e'yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep; for she kept them. ¹⁰ And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob ^h'went near, and ^c'rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's brother. ¹¹ And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.

¹² And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's ^b'brother, and that he

²⁸ ¹⁴ M ^h break forth.

¹⁹ M That is, *The house of God*.—Cp J's method of assigning names, e.g. ²⁶²⁰⁻²². E's reference to the meaning of the name is seen in ¹⁷ ²¹, ^{19b} is probably an editorial note founded on P ³⁵.

²⁰ (Yahweh God. Klosternann, *Der Pentateuch* 38, thinks 'Yahweh' was the older reading.

^{21b} So M. T then shall Yahweh be my God, and this stone, &c.

²² The transition to the second person (not previously employed) suggests that this close has been appended by another hand, cp ¹⁴²⁰.

²⁹ ¹ M ^h lifted up his feet.—^h+. The following phrase 'went to the land of the children of the East' (^h as in ²⁸ ¹⁰) supplies a third designation of the goal of Jacob's journey, cp 'went to Paddan-aram' (P), 'went toward Haran' (J), and is

consequently ascribed to E as the sequel of the previous vision. 'Land of the children of the East' ⁺, ct ²⁵.

² The narrative of Jacob's sojourn in Haran and his subsequent return to Canaan ²⁹²⁻³³ is almost entirely derived from JE. Only the scantiest traces of P survive in the record of the births of his children, and in the formula of migration which marks his departure from Paddan-aram ³¹¹⁸. The decomposition of the combined stories of J and E is sometimes matter of the utmost difficulty, as the texture is often extremely closely knit, even where it is practically certain that two sources have been united. The following analysis is therefore in many places only a probable one: the justification of it sometimes depends on considerations which must be differently estimated by different students.

J E

J E

J E P

f 70

j Ex 23¹ Num
14¹⁵ Deut 22⁵
k 33⁴ 48¹⁰
l 24⁵⁶
m 26⁹
n 28⁵
o 37²⁷
p ⁵ = a month of
days Num
1120⁺
q Cp 27³⁵ 5
r Ex 21² 11 Num
11⁵
s 31⁷ 41 Ruth
212⁺
t Ct 26 5
u 27¹
v 39⁵ 41¹⁸ Deut
211⁺
w 27¹²
x 27⁴⁴
y 25²⁴
z 42¹⁷ Num 11²⁴
21²³ Josh 24¹
a' 26⁷

was Rebekah's son: and she 'ran and told her father. ¹³ And it came to pass, when Laban heard the 'tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he 'ran to meet him, and 'embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house. And he 'told Laban all these things. ¹⁴ And Laban said to him, 'Surely thou art my 'bone and my 'flesh. And he abode with him the 'space of a month².

¹⁵ ^N And Laban said unto Jacob, 'Because thou art my 'brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me for 'nought? tell me, what shall thy 'wages be? ¹⁶ And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the 'younger was Rachel. ¹⁷ And Leah's eyes were 'tender; but Rachel was 'beautiful and well favoured. ¹⁸ And Jacob loved Rachel; and he said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy 'younger daughter. ¹⁹ And Laban said, It is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me. ²⁰ And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they 'seemed unto him but a 'few days, for the love he had to her. ²¹ And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife, for my days are 'fulfilled, that I may go in unto her. ²² And Laban 'gathered together all the 'men of the place, and made a feast. ²³ And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in unto her.

. . . ²⁴ ^N And Laban gave Zilpah his handmaid unto his daughter Leah for an handmaid.

²⁵ And it came to pass in the morning that, behold, it was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou 'beguiled me?

... ²⁶ ^N And Laban said, It is not so 'done in our 'place, to give the 'younger before the 'firstborn. . . .

. . . ²⁷ 'Fulfil the week of this one, and we will give thee the other also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.

²⁸ ^a And Jacob did so, and 'fulfilled her week:

^{28b} ^N And he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. ²⁹ And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her handmaid.

³⁰ and he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years. . . .

³¹ And Yahweh saw that Leah was hated, and he 'opened her womb: but Rachel was 'barren. ³² And Leah 'conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben: 'for she said, Because Yahweh 'hath looked upon my 'affliction; for now my husband will love me. ³³ And she 'conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because Yahweh 'hath heard that I am hated, he hath therefore given me 'this [son] also: and she called his name 'Simeon. ³⁴ And she 'conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Now this 'time will my husband be 'joined unto me, because I have borne him three sons: 'therefore 'was his name called Levi. ³⁵ And she 'conceived again, and bare a son: and she said, This 'time

e' 30²² cp 20¹⁸

f' 11³⁰

g' 16¹³

h' 16¹¹

i' Cp 27 35¹⁷ 44²⁹

g 65

h 92

i 21

j 62

k 15^b

²⁹¹⁵ A new source seems to be introduced here, for ¹⁵ implies that Jacob has already proved himself capable in service, yet nothing so far has been said about it. The opening of this section has been suppressed by the compiler.

²⁴ The natural sequence of ²³ ²⁵ seems interrupted by this verse, and a similar intrusion appears in ²⁹. The use of the term 'handmaid' (שִׁמְחָה ²⁴ ct 99) never employed by E, is a further indication of another writer. From ⁴⁶¹⁸ ²⁵ it may be inferred that P had also mentioned the gift; and these statements, therefore, are plausibly ascribed to him, their present position being due to R.

²⁸ The occurrence of a different term for 'younger' (ct ¹⁸) otherwise exclusively characteristic of J makes it probable that this verse is derived from that document.

²⁸ The peculiar double dative here, as in ²⁴ ²⁹ 16¹³, identifies this clause with P, cp Holzinger.

³² M ⁵ raah beonyi.

^{33a} M ⁵ shama.—For similar explanations, specially characteristic of J, cp ³²⁰ ⁴¹ ²⁵ ⁵ 16¹³ &c.

^{33b} M ⁵ Shimeon.

^{34a} M From the root lavah.

^{34b} (G) Sam and E read she called as in ³⁵ 30⁵ 8.

J E

J E

J E P

will I ^apraise Yahweh: ^ktherefore she called his name ^aJudah; and she ^jleft bearing.

30¹ ^aAnd when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel ^cenvied her sister; and she said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else ^bI die. ² And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, ^cAm I in God's stead, who hath ^dwithheld from thee the ^e'fruit of the womb'? ^{3a} And she said, Behold my ^amaid Bilhah, go in unto her; that she may bear upon my ^c'knees, . . .

...^{3b} and I also may ^aobtain children by her. ⁴ ^aAnd she gave him Bilhah her ^bhandmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her. ⁵ And Bilhah ^c'conceived, and bare Jacob a son. ⁶ And Rachel said, ^a'God hath ^b'judged me', and hath also ^c'heard my voice, and hath given me a son: ^dtherefore called she his name Dan. ⁷ And Bilhah Rachel's ^bhandmaid ^c'conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son. ⁸ And Rachel said, ^a'With ^b'mighty ^c'wrestlings' have I ^d'wrestled with my sister, and have ^e'prevailed: and she called his name Naphtali. ⁹ When Leah saw that she had ^a'left bearing, she took Zilpah her ^bhandmaid, and gave her to Jacob to wife. ¹⁰ And Zilpah Leah's ^bhandmaid bare Jacob a son. ¹¹ And Leah said, ^a'Fortunate! and she called his name ^b'Gad. ¹² And Zilpah Leah's ^bhandmaid bare Jacob a second son. ¹³ And Leah said, ^a'Happy am I! ^bfor the daughters will ^c'call me ^d'happy': and she called his name Asher. ¹⁴ And Reuben went in the days of ^a'wheat harvest, and found ^b'mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. ¹⁵ And she said unto her, Is it a ^a'small matter that thou hast taken away my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, ^a'Therefore he shall lie with thee to-night for thy son's mandrakes. ¹⁶ And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for I have surely hired thee with my son's mandrakes. And he lay with her that night'. . .

...¹⁷ And God ^a'hearkened unto Leah, and she ^c'conceived, and bare Jacob a fifth son. ¹⁸ And Leah said, God hath given me my ^a'hire, because I gave my ^bhandmaid to my husband: and she called his name Issachar. ¹⁹ And Leah ^c'conceived again, and bare a sixth son to Jacob. ²⁰ And Leah said, God hath ^a'endowed me with a good ^b'dowry, ^c'now will my husband ^d'dwell with me, because I have borne him six sons: and she called his name Zebulun.

21 ^aAnd afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name Dinah. 22^a And God ^a'remem-
bered Rachel, . . .

a 99

b 41
c 21
d 44^b
e 15^b

f 62

g 125

29^{35a} ^aM From the ^bḥodah.

30¹ ^aM ^bḥ Jehudah.

30¹ The birth-stories of Jacob's sons appear to be of mixed origin. In 29³¹⁻³⁵ the hand of J cannot be mistaken. But in 30^{1-3a} the language changes (note *Elohim* and *maid* נַחֲמָה 299) and the marginal parallels point strongly to E.

³ ^aM ^bḥ be builded by her.—The only other occurrence of the phrase 16² makes it probable that this clause is incorporated from J.

⁴ The framework of the following recital seems to be in the main drawn from J cp 'handmaid' 4 7 9. 12. But the compiler has added etymologies from the parallel narrative of E, in which the divine name *Elohim* sometimes enables the source to be clearly identified. Such passages are marked with *.

⁸ ^aM ^bḥ dan, he judged.

^{8a} ^aM ^bḥ wrestlings of God.

^{8b} ^aM ^bḥ niphtal, he wrestled.

11a ^aM ^bḥ With fortune! Another reading is *Fortune is come*.

11b ^aM That is, *Fortune*.

13a ^aM ^bḥ With my happiness.

13b ^aM ^bḥ asher, to call happy.—This verse seems to contain

two applications of the name Asher, one of which may belong to J and one to E cp 20.

14 ^aM Or, *love-apples*.—Jer 24 Cant 7¹³ f.

16 Wellhausen and others conjecture that J went on to relate the conception of Rachel by means of the love-apples. If so, the account has been set aside to make way for the record of the birth of Leah's remaining sons.

18a ^aM ^bḥ sachar.

18b The word is J's characteristic term *siphḥah* 4-12. Its appearance here in a passage seemingly drawn from E, may be due to a simple copyist's error, or to a harmonizer's touch, or to the existence—even in verses marked by the phenomena of E—of an underlying extract from J cp 6. . .

20a The double play on the name Zebulun points again to combination. In the first case the allusion is not close, but 'endow,' *zabad*, and 'dowry,' *zebed*, make an obvious approach.

20b ^aM ^bḥ zabal, he dwelt.—This clause is the counterpart to the preceding, and the formula 'this time' as in 29³⁴, connects it with J.

21 The vagueness of this statement and its difference in form have led to the conjecture that it was a note of one of the latest editors to supply the omission of any mention of Dinah.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
	... ^{22b} and God ^J hearkened to her, ...				
g 29 ³¹	... ^{22a} and [he ^N] ^Q opened her womb. ^{23a} And she ^C conceived, and bare a son:				
r 34 ¹⁴ Josh 5 ^{9b}	... ^{23b} And [she] said, God hath ^N taken away my ^r reproach.				
	²⁴ and she called his name Joseph, saying, Yahweh ^r add to me another son.				
s 24 ⁵⁴	²⁵ ^N And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, ^C Send me away, that I may go unto mine own ^h place,				h 65
t 12 ¹	and to my ^r country.				
u 29 ¹⁵ 18 30	... ²⁶ Give me my wives ^N and my children for whom I have ^u served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my ^r service wherewith I have served thee.				
v 29 ²⁷ 05 29	²⁷ And Laban said unto him, If now I have ^r found favour in thine eyes ¹ , tarry: for I have ^u divined that Yahweh hath blessed me ^r for thy sake.				i 31 ^a
w 44 ⁵ 15 cp Lev 19 ²⁶ Deut 18 ¹⁰ *	²⁸ ^N And he said, ^r Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it. ...				
x 5 ¹ =because of thee 12 ¹³	²⁹ And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy ^r cattle hath fared with me. ³⁰ For it was ^r little which thou hadst before I came, and it hath ^N increased unto a multitude; and Yahweh hath ^u blessed thee ^u whithersoever I turned: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also? ^{31a} And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me aught: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will ^r again feed thy flock. ...				j 18 k 51 l 80 m 10 ^a
y Ct Num 17 [*]	... ^{31b} ^N I will keep it. ³² I will pass through thy flock to-day, ^r removing from thence every speckled and spotted one, and every black one among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and [of such] shall be my hire. ³³ So shall my righteousness answer for me ^u hereafter, when thou shalt come concerning my hire that is before thee: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and black among the sheep, that [if found] with me shall be counted ^r stolen.				n 117 o 2
z Cp 26 ¹⁸ 5	³⁴ And Laban said, Behold, I ^r would it might be ^r according to thy word. ³⁵ And he ^r removed that day the ^r he-goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted, every one that had white in it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave them into the hand of his sons; ³⁶ and he set ^r three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.				p 86
a' 35 ² Josh 24 ¹⁴	³⁷ And Jacob took him ^r rods of fresh ^r poplar, and of the almond and of the plane tree; and ^r peeled white strakes in them, and ^r made the white appear which was in the rods. ^{38a} And he ^r set the rods which he had peeled ^N [over against the flocks] in the ^h gutters.				q 74
b' Ex 13 ¹⁴ Deut 6 ²⁰					
c' Cp 50 ¹⁵ Num 22 ²⁹					
d' 813 41 ⁴² Ex 8 ³¹					
e' 32 ¹⁵ Prov 30 ³¹ 2 Chron 17 ¹⁴					
f' 37-39 41 32 ¹⁰ Num 22 ²⁷					
g' 25 ²¹ 5 [*] h' 41 Bx 21 ⁸ Cant 7 ⁶ †					

30^{22c} The verb contains the subject 'he,' i.e. Yahweh cp 29³¹.
^{22b} Another case of dual explanation, 'taken away' = 5 ^rasaph, ct 24, the name Joseph being alternately connected with the idea of removing a reproach, or of adding another son.

24 M 5 Joseph.

²⁵ The base of the subsequent narrative seems to be derived from J. But occasional doublets point to the incorporation of passages from E. Thus ²⁶ is a duplicate of ²⁵ and ^{29a}, and ²⁸ (cp 29¹⁶) hardly comes from the same hand as ³¹. In ³² Jacob proposes to separate the flocks, in ³⁵ Laban does it himself.

²⁶ Probably an addition, as the following pronoun 'whom' is feminine (Bacon).

^{30a} M 5 Broken forth.

²⁸ 5 omit and he said.

^{30b} 5 at my foot.

^{31b} 5 does not contain *and*. The awkward sequence of the unconnected verbs makes it probable that a passage from E is here introduced. But the attempt to combine two different representations has resulted in an obscure and perhaps partially corrupt text. One narrative obviously implies that Jacob employed a stratagem to secure the stronger flock ³⁷ 41. But Jacob's recital ³¹ 5-13 and his reply to Laban ³¹ 38-42 suggest a very different view. So far is Jacob from having endeavoured to outwit Laban, that he charges him with having deceived him and changed his wages ten times ³¹ 32⁴¹. The intentions of Laban, however, were continually frustrated by the protection

of the Elohim of Bethel ³¹ 13, who guarded Jacob from harm in a distant land. From ³¹ 8 it may be inferred that E originally contained some description of the successive arrangements between Laban and his son-in-law. But in the endeavour to combine it with J's narrative of Jacob's skill it has been so abbreviated that it can no longer be recovered except in fragments. The analysis, therefore, lacks complete justification. The proposal in ³¹ is apparently carried out in ³⁴, but the contrast of ³⁵ and ³² points to diversity of source. The peculiar terminology of the flock is for the most part common to both documents. Only the differences, involving points of contact elsewhere, have been noted.

³⁷ M Or, stored tree.

³⁸ The words in brackets stand in 5 at the end of the clause 'where the flocks come to drink,' and in the text as divided should take that position. The word 'watering troughs' is commonly regarded as an explanation of the previous term 'gutters.' Each occurs once elsewhere in the Hexateuch, and both occurrences are in J. The partition cannot, therefore, rest on the mere diversity of the word. But ^{38b} 'and they conceived' seems to be a duplicate of ^{30a} 'and the flocks conceived.' As the latter attaches itself to the mention of the rods in ³⁷-^{38a} (J), ^{38b} must be assigned to E, and the parallel terms may then be regarded as drawn from different documents.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
v 24 ^{20†}	... ^{38b} in the "watering troughs where the flocks came to drink; and they ^J conceived when they came to drink:				
j 59 41 31 ¹⁰ Dent 19 ⁶ (= is hol)*	³⁹ And the flocks ^J conceived before the ^J rods, and the flocks brought forth ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. ^{40a} And Jacob ^k separated the lambs, ^{40b} and [he] set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked and all the black in the flock of Laban...				
k Cp 210	^{40c} and he put his own 'droves apart, and put them not unto Laban's flock. ⁴¹ And it came to pass, whensoever the "stronger of the flock did ^J conceive, that Jacob laid the ^J rods before the eyes of the flock in the ^k gutters, that they might conceive among the rods; ⁴² but when the flock were ^m 'feeble, he put them not in: so the feebler were Laban's, and the "stronger Jacob's. ⁴³ And the man 'increased exceedingly, and ⁿ 'had large flocks, and ⁿ 'maidservants and menservants, and ^s 'camels and asses.			r 32	
l 5† cp 42	³¹ *And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken away all that was our father's; and of that which was our father's hath he gotten all this "glory....				s 16
m 5*	² And Jacob beheld the "countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not toward him as "beforetime.				
n 1216	³ And Yahweh said unto Jacob, Return unto the ^b land of thy fathers ^b , and to thy ^b kindred; and I will ^c 'be with thee.			a 169	
a Cp 5 et 1	⁴ And Jacob sent 'and called "Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock, ⁵ and said unto them, I see your father's "countenance, that it is not toward me as "beforetime; but the "God of my father hath 'been with me. ⁶ And ye know that with all my power I have 'served your father. ⁷ And your father hath ^J deceived me, and ^c 'changed my "wages ten 'times; but God 'suffered him not to ^J hurt me. ⁸ If he said thus, The ^k speckled shall be thy wages; then all the flock bear speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy wages; then bare all the flock ringstraked. ⁹ Thus God hath 'taken away the 'cattle of your father, and given them to me. ¹⁰ *And it came to pass at the time that the flock ^m 'conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a "dream, and, behold, the "he-goats which leaped upon the flock were ringstraked, speckled, and grised.			b 60 c 130	
b 4821* et 13	¹¹ And the "angel of God said unto me in the "dream, Jacob: and I said, 'Here am I. ¹² And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the "he-goats which leap upon the flock are ringstraked, speckled, and grised: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. ¹³ 'I am the God of Beth-el, where thou ^p 'anointedst a pillar, where thou ^p 'vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy ^b nativity. ¹⁴ And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? ¹⁵ Are we not counted "strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured "our money. ¹⁶ For all the 'riches which God hath 'taken away from our father, that is ours and our children's: now then, ⁿ 'whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do.			d 94 ^b	
c 41* 14 d Cp 2930	¹⁷ *Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon the 'camels; ^{18a} and he 'carried away all his 'cattle.			e 118	
e 3026 f Ex 329* g 41 123 Lev h 41 2915 i 41 5† j Cp 29 5 197 9 k 3012... l 16 et 1 5	...			f 18	
m 3038 n 12 et 3035	...			g 101	
o Ct 2813 5 p Cp 2818 50	...			h 97 i 104	
q Ex 222 153 218 r 5*	...			j 16	
s Cp 4131	...				
t Ex 31 5 al et 26 1†	...				
u 125	...				
	... ^{18b} and all his ^k 'substance which he had ^k 'gathered, the cattle of his 'getting, which he had ^k 'gathered in "Paddan-aram, for to go to Isaac his father unto the "land of Canaan.			k 155 l 78 m 6 n 4	

³¹^a The return of Jacob was doubtless narrated in all three documents. A portion of P's account survives in ¹⁸, the opening words having been lost in the process of incorporation. The remaining narrative shows the usual traces of combination. The dream ¹¹ ¹³ secures 4-16 to E, ⁵ carries ² with it, and leaves ¹ by contrast to J. The original sequel of ¹ would seem to be found in ¹⁷, but as with the migration of Abraham, so here, a divine command ² is placed before Jacob's start; as this is represented as superseding the motive for departure supplied by ¹ it may belong to the compiler, whose double phrase

'land of thy fathers' and 'kindred' may be founded on the language of E and J. ^{1b} M. Or, wealth.

¹⁰ ¹² These verses seem to be later insertions by a redactor acquainted with the narrative in ³⁰. The proper sequel of ¹¹ is obviously found in ¹³, 'the dream' ¹¹ may also be 'a dream' cp ¹⁰ ²⁴ ²⁰. A reference to a previous dream would probably run 'in my dream' cp ⁴⁰ ¹⁶ ⁴¹ ¹⁷. The word 'grised' is here peculiar cp Zech ⁶ ^{6†}. ¹⁵ M. Or, the price paid for us.

¹⁷ Assigned to J as the counterpart of E's description of Jacob's flight ^{21a}. For the camels cp ³⁰ ⁴³ ¹² ¹⁶ ²⁴ ³⁰ ³² ¹⁵.

J E

JE

J E P

19 *Z* 5a^c
 7 381² 18 ct 5
 Deut 1519^a
 20 Ct 27 5
 21 24 25²⁰ 28⁵
 Deut 265^a
 22 5⁺
 23 22²³
 24 22⁴ cp 119^d
 1/ Cp Judg 182²
 ct 25
 2/ 20³
 3/ 29 24⁶ 5

2/ 44⁴⁶
 3/ Jer 68

6/ Cp Is 61¹ 5⁺

7/ Cp 38 5⁺ ct 20⁺

8/ Ex 1520^a
 9/ 421
 10/ Cp Ex 2311
 Num 1131 Deut
 3219^a
 11/ 4811 5220 Ex
 1818 5
 12/ 1 Sam 2621⁺
 13/ 42 1934^a
 14/ Ps 84² Zeph
 21⁺
 15/ Cp 19 35² 4

16/ 22²⁵

17/ 87 2712

18/ Ct 1811 5
 19/ 4412^a
 20/ Ex 17² cp 2620
 21/ 5017 cp 223
 22/ 5⁺ cp 1 Sam
 17⁶³

23/ 42 cp 2125 5
 24/ 3214 Is 53⁺
 Cant 66⁺

19 ^WNow Laban was gone to ^sshear his sheep: and Rachel ^sstole the ^{ter}teraphim that were her father's. ²⁰ And Jacob ^sstole away ^{un}unawares to Laban the ^sSyrian, ⁱⁿin that he told himⁿ not that he fled. ²¹ So he fled with all that he had; ^{and}and he rose up, and ^{and}passed over ^{the}the River, and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead.

²² And it was told Laban on the ^{the}third day that Jacob was fled. ²³ And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and he ^{he}overtook him in the mountain of Gilead. ²⁴ And God ^{he}came to Laban the ^sSyrian in a ^{dream}dream of the night, and said unto him, ^{Take}Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

²⁵ And Laban ^{he}came up with Jacob. Now Jacob had ^{he}pitched his tent in the mountain: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mountain of Gilead.

²⁶ And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast stolen away ^{un}unawares to me, and ^{carried}carried away my daughters as ^{captives}captives of the sword?

²⁷ Wherefore didst thou flee ^{he}secretly, and ^{steal}steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and with songs, with ^{tabret}tabret and with ^{harp}harp?

²⁸ And hast not ^{he}suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? now hast thou ^{done}done ^{foolishly}foolishly. ²⁹ It is in the ^{power}power of my hand to ^{do}do you hurt: but the ^{God}God of your father spake unto me ^{yesternight}yesternight, saying, ^{Take}Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad. ³⁰ And now, [though] thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore ^{longedst}longedst after thy father's house, [yet] wherefore hast thou stolen my ^{gods}gods?

³¹ ^{And}And Jacob answered and said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Lest thou shouldest ^{take}take thy daughters from me by force.

³² ^{With}With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live: before our brethren discern thou what is thine with me, and take it to thee. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them. ³³ And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two ^{maidservants}maidservants; but he found them not. And he went out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent. ³⁴ Now Rachel had taken the teraphim, and put them in the ^{camel's}camel's ^{furniture}furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban ^{felt}felt about all the tent, but found them not. ³⁵ And she said to her father, Let not my ^{lord}lord be angry that I cannot rise up before thee; for the ^{manner}manner of women is upon me. And he ^{sought}sought, but found not the teraphim. ³⁶ And Jacob was wroth, and ^{chode}chode with Laban: and Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my ^{trespass}trespass? what is my sin, that thou hast ^{hotly}hotly pursued after me? ³⁷ Whereas thou hast ^{felt}felt about all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household stuff? Set it here before my brethren and thy brethren, that they may ^{judge}judge betwixt us two. ³⁸ This twenty years have I been with thee; thy ^{ewes}ewes and thy she-goats have not ^{cast}cast their young, and the rams

31^{19a} The story of the theft of the teraphim 19-42, and the associated flight, is mainly from E cp 24 29, 42. But some verses still remain doubtful. 21 is a parallel to 17; 25b is hardly from the same writer as 25a, while 27 supplies a doublet to 26. The want of close connexion between 31 and 32 is explained if 31 is the answer to 27 cp 32²⁴.

19b M See 30 34 Judg 17⁵ 1 Sam 19¹³ and Hos 3⁴.

20 M 5 Stole the heart of Laban the Aramean.

21 Holzinger finds a gap between 'he fled' and 'he rose up,' and he ascribes the latter clause to J as the doublet of 17. But reasons have been offered for connecting 17 with J, and the sequence in 21 resembles that in 24¹⁰ 'he departed . . . and rose up,' so that it seems needless to divide the verse.

21b M That is, the Euphrates.—As the distance from the Euphrates to Gilead is much more than a seven-days' march 23, and the extant passages of E do not assign Laban's home to

Haran, it is possible that E placed it nearer to Gilead, and that the clause 'and he rose up and passed over the River' is incorporated by the compiler from J (cp Dillmann, who suggests as an alternative that 'the River' denotes some other stream. But this is less probable than that the narrator underestimated the required time). For the usage of the word cp 36³⁷ (J) and Ex 23³¹ (E).

27 M 5 didst steal me.—(S) omits, and inserts the preceding words of 27 in 29. 29 5 the EL, Cp Dent 28³² Mic 2¹ Prov 3²⁷.

31 Apparently the answer to 27 cp notes to 19 and 32; on the other hand 31 only occurs in Gen in E. But cp Lev 19¹³ 6⁴ Dent 28²⁹.

32 The abruptness of the transition is implied in the mitigating endeavours of the versions, (S) having καὶ ἐπειὶ ἵνα, & quod autem furti me arguit. (S) may represent an original reading, a survival of more words lost in compilation.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
¹ Ex 22 ¹³ 31		of thy flocks have I not eaten. ³⁹ That which was ² 'torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss of it; of my hand didst thou ³ 'require it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. ⁴⁰ Thus I was; in the day the ⁴ 'drought consumed me, and the ⁵ 'frost by night; and my sleep ⁶ 'fled from mine eyes. ⁴¹ These twenty years have I been in thy house; I ⁷ 'served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy flock: and thou hast ⁸ 'changed my wages ten times. ⁴² ⁹ 'Except the ¹⁰ 'God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the ¹¹ 'Fear of Isaac, had ¹² 'been with me, ¹³ 'surely now hadst thou sent me away ¹⁴ 'empty. God hath ¹⁵ 'seen mine affliction and the ¹⁶ 'labour of my hands, and ¹⁷ 'rebuked thee ¹⁸ 'yesternight.			
		⁴³ ¹⁹ 'And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my daughters, and the children are my children, and the flocks are my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine: and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or unto their children which they have borne? ⁴⁴ And now come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; [...] ⁴⁵ and let it be for a ⁴⁶ 'witness between me and thee.			
¹ Cp 21 ³⁰		⁴⁵ ⁴⁷ 'And Jacob ⁴⁸ 'took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.			
45 51. L 58 ^c ¹ 28 ¹⁸ L ¹ Ex 16 ⁴ Num 13 ¹⁵ cp 47 ¹⁴ P ¹ L ¹ 48 51. Josh 7 ²⁶ 82 ⁹		⁴⁶ And Jacob said unto his brethren, ⁴⁹ 'Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an ⁵⁰ 'heap: and they did eat there by the heap.			
		⁴⁷ And Laban ⁵¹ 'called it ⁵² 'Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it ⁵³ 'Galeed.			
		⁴⁸ And Laban said, This heap is witness between me and thee this day. ⁴⁹ ⁵⁴ 'Therefore was the name of it called Galeed: ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ 'and ⁵⁷ 'Mizpah, for he said, Yahweh ⁵⁸ 'watch between me and thee, when we are ⁵⁹ 'absent one from another. ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ 'If thou shalt ⁶² 'afflict my daughters, and if thou shalt ⁶³ 'take wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ 'see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.			t 15 ^b u 82
m ¹ 414 n ¹ 165 o ¹ 27 ²⁷ 39 ¹⁴ 41 ⁴¹		⁵¹ ⁶⁶ 'And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold the pillar, which I have ⁶⁷ 'set betwixt me and thee. ⁶⁸ This heap be witness, and the pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, ⁶⁹ 'for harm. ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ 'The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the ⁷² 'God of their father, ⁷³ 'judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by the ⁷⁴ 'Fear of his father Isaac. ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ 'And Jacob ⁷⁷ 'offered a sacrifice in the mountain, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mountain. ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ 'And early in the morning Laban rose up, and ⁸⁰ 'kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place. ⁸¹ ⁸² 'And Jacob went on his way, and the ⁸³ 'angels of God			a 97

³¹⁴³ In ⁴³ Laban replies to the expression of Jacob's fear⁵¹ by the assertion of his paternal rights over his daughters. But the claim is only mentioned as the preface to its surrender by a covenant. The following passage ⁴⁴–⁵⁴ describes the agreement, but is much confused in the present text which seems in some verses to be corrupt, as variations in § indicate. This is mainly the result of the interlacing of two accounts, each narrating the oath between Laban and Jacob, ⁴⁸., and ⁵¹., being apparently duplicates. Each story connects the name of Galeed (eg Gilead) with the incident, interpreted as 'heap of witness.' In each story, then, there is a 'heap,' but E with his love of sacred stones appears to attribute to Jacob the erection of a pillar also. The heap or cairn in ⁴⁶ is presumably reared by Laban not Jacob, as the 'brethren' ⁴⁶ are Laban's kinsmen who had accompanied him in his pursuit ²⁵. The harmonist, finding the 'pillar' standing without further notice, seems to have introduced it into the extract from E⁵¹.

⁴⁴ It is probable that some words have here dropped out. The want of concord between 'covenant' (fem) and 'let it be' (masc) is not indeed conclusive, as this is not uncommon in Hebrew grammar; it is more important to notice that the temporary act of making a covenant could not be a permanent 'witness.' For that some visible object was needed, and the verse may have contained Laban's proposal 'let us make an heap,' cp ⁴⁶ ⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ This verse may possibly have originally contained E's

statement (the counterpart of ⁴⁶) 'And Laban raised a heap and called it . . .'

^{47b} M That is, *The heap of witness*, in Aramaic.

^{47c} M That is, *The heap of witness*, in Hebrew.

^{49a} Galeed is probably intended to suggest Gilead. A later reviser, desirous apparently to connect the well-known Mizpah in Gilead with this incident, adds a further explanation of that name. But the proper name with the definite article 'the Mizpah' at once excites suspicion. It has been conjectured that it may have crept into the story through accidental confusion with the 'pillar' or *massebbha* ⁴⁵, as Sam actually reads.

^{49b} M That is, *The Watch-tower*.

^{49c} M § hidden.

⁵⁰ The sequel of Laban's words in ^{48a}. The last clause, 'See, God is witness' &c cp ⁴⁵, is omitted by § which then leaves out ⁵¹–^{52a} and continues 'I will not pass over this heap' &c. In ⁵¹, the mixed text can hardly be resolved into its constituents, but the language of ⁵³ cp ⁴² renders it likely that the basis is derived from E.

⁵³ M Or, *gods*.—The clause in small type is omitted by § and some § odd, and has been rejected as a gloss by a long series of critics, including Kennicott, Houbigant, Olshausen, Wellhausen, and Dillmann. For a discussion of the process by which the verse may have acquired its present form, cp Geiger, *Urschrift* 284.

⁵⁵ M § 32¹.

J E

J E

J E P

met him. ² And Jacob said when he saw them, This is God's ³host: and he called the name of that place ⁴Mahanaim.

... ⁵ And Jacob sent ⁶messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of ⁷Seir, ⁸the ⁹field of Edom. ¹⁰ And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye say unto my ¹¹lord Esau, Thus saith thy ¹²servant Jacob, I have ¹³sojourned with Laban, and ¹⁴stayed until now: ¹⁵ and I have ¹⁶oxen, and asses [and] flocks, and menservants and ¹⁷maidservants: and I have sent to tell my ¹⁸lord, that I may ¹⁹find grace in thy sight. ²⁰ And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and moreover he cometh to meet thee, and ²¹four hundred men with him. ²² Then Jacob was greatly afraid and was ²³distressed:

²⁴ and he ²⁵divided the people that was with him, and the ²⁶flocks, and the ²⁷herds, and the ²⁸camels, into two companies; ²⁹ and he said, if Esau come to the one company, and smite it, then the company which is left shall ³⁰escape. ³¹ And Jacob said, O God of ³²my father Abraham, and God of ³³my father Isaac, O Yahweh, which saidst unto me, ³⁴Return unto thy ³⁵country, and to thy ³⁶kindred, and I will ³⁷do thee good: ³⁸ ³⁹I ⁴⁰am not worthy of the least of all the ⁴¹mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy ⁴²servant; for with my ⁴³staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two companies. ⁴⁴ Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he come and smite me, the ⁴⁵mother with the children. ⁴⁶ And thou saidst, I will surely ⁴⁷do thee good, and ⁴⁸make thy seed as the ⁴⁹sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.

⁵⁰ And he lodged there that night;

⁵¹ and [he] took of that which he ⁵²had with him a ⁵³present for Esau his brother; ⁵⁴ two hundred she-goats and twenty ⁵⁵he-goats, two hundred ⁵⁶ewes and twenty rams, ⁵⁷ thirty ⁵⁸milch ⁵⁹camels and their colts, forty kine and ten bulls, twenty she-asses and ten ⁶⁰foals. ⁶¹ And he ⁶²delivered them into the hand of his servants, every ⁶³drove by itself; and said unto his servants, ⁶⁴Pass over before me, and put a ⁶⁵space betwixt drove and drove. ⁶⁶ And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother ⁶⁷meeteth thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose art thou? and ⁶⁸whither goest thou? and whose are these before thee? then thou shalt say, ⁶⁹ [They be] thy ⁷⁰servant Jacob's; it is a ⁷¹present

⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

a Num 20¹⁴ 21²¹
 b Deut 22⁶ 22⁶
 c Josh 7² 8⁸
 d 33¹⁴ 16
 e Cp 14⁷ 36³⁵
 f Cp 24⁵⁶ 34¹⁹
 g 12¹⁶

f 33¹
 g 1 Sam 30⁶
 h Sam 12³
 i 33¹ Judg 7¹⁶

i Cp 45⁷ Ex 10⁵
 j 45⁸
 k 26¹⁸ Ct 31⁴²
 l 12¹
 m Cp 2 Sam 7¹⁹
 n Am 8⁵ 5
 o 30³⁷
 p 37²¹ Ex 21⁹ al

p Cp Hor 10¹⁴
 q 13¹⁶
 r 22⁴⁷

s Cp 35⁴ 5
 t 18³³ 10⁴³
 u 30³⁶
 v 31⁸⁸
 w Cp 24⁵⁹ Ex 27
 x 49¹¹⁴
 y 5 = gave 30⁵
 z 39⁴ 22
 a 5 = flock 29²
 b 21³³ 14
 c Esth 4¹⁴
 d 33⁸ Ex 4²⁴ 27⁸
 e 16⁸

b 56^a
 c 73
 d 41
 e 31^a

f 33
 g 16

h 60
 i 38^b
 j 57^{ab}

³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ <

J E J E P

sent unto my ¹lord Esau : and, behold, he also is behind us. ¹⁹ And he commanded ²also the second, and the third, and all that followed the ³droves, saying, ¹On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him ; ²⁰ and ye shall say, Moreover, behold, thy ⁴servant Jacob is behind us. For he said, I will ⁵appease him with the ⁶present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face ; ⁷ peradventure he will ⁸accept me. ²¹ So the ⁹present passed over before him : and he himself lodged that night in the company.

^{22a} And he ¹⁰rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two ¹¹handmaids, and his eleven children, ^{22b} and ¹²passed over the ford of ¹³Jabbok, ^{22c} and sent over that he had.

^{23b} and sent them over the stream. ²⁴ ¹⁴And Jacob was ¹⁵left alone ; and there ¹⁶wrestled a man with him until the ¹⁷breaking of the day. ²⁵ And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh ; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was ¹⁸strained, as he ¹⁹wrestled with him. ²⁶ And he said, Let me go, for the day ²⁰breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. ²⁷ And he said unto him, What is thy name ? And he said, Jacob. ²⁸ And he said, Thy name shall be ²¹called no more Jacob, but ²²Israel : for ²³thou hast ²⁴striven with God and with men, and hast ²⁵prevailed. ²⁹ And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, ²⁶Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name ? And he blessed him there.

... ³⁰ ²⁷And Jacob called the name of the place ²⁸Peniel : for, [said he,] I have seen God ²⁹face to face, and my life is ³⁰preserved. ...

³¹ And the sun ³¹rose upon him as he passed over Penuel, and he ³²halted upon his thigh. ³² ³³Therefore the children of Israel eat not the ³⁴sinew of the ³⁵hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day : ³⁶because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip.

^{33b} ³⁷And Jacob ³⁸lifted up his eyes, and ³⁹looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him ⁴⁰four hundred men. And he ⁴¹divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two ⁴²handmaids. ² And he put the ⁴³handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost. ³ And he himself ⁴⁴passed over before them, and ⁴⁵bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he ⁴⁶came near to his brother. ⁴ And Esau ⁴⁷ran to ⁴⁸meet him, and ⁴⁹embraced him, and ⁵⁰fell on his neck, and ⁵¹kissed him : and they wept. ⁵ And he ⁵²lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children ; and said, Who are these with thee ? And he said, The children which ⁵³God hath ⁵⁴graciously given thy ⁵⁵servant. ⁶ Then the ⁵⁶handmaids

32^{23a}. In 22. there seems to be a confusion arising from the intertwining of two strands of narrative. The text in *RV* runs thus:—

22 'And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two handmaids, and his eleven children, and passed over the ford of Jabbok. 23 And he took them, and sent them over the stream, and sent over that he had.'

As the narrative in 24³¹ implies that Jacob remained on the right bank of the Jabbok till the next morning, the statement that he crossed the ford ^{22b} cannot be ascribed to the author of 24-31. On the other hand, the reference to his despatch of the family over the stream ^{23b} harmonizes completely with 24. The repetition 'and he took' in 23²³ points to similar union of duplicates; a probable rearrangement of the fragments is offered in the text. The verb 'sent over' in each passage is derived from 'passed over'.

²⁴ Dillmann alone ascribes this narrative to E, though Holzinger attributes ²⁹ to that source on the ground that the refusal to declare the name suits E's design, according to which it was first revealed to Moses. The story is doubtless condensed.

28a **M** That is, *He who striveth with God, or, God striveth.*

28b **M** **G** and **L** have, *Thou hast had power with God, and thou shalt prevail against men.*

^{28c} **M** Or. *had power with.*—Hos 12⁴†.

^{30a} This verse seems to belong to E, and was probably the explanatory conclusion of a narrative of a theophany at Peniel, called by J in ³¹Peniel. In ³³¹⁰ there is another reference to the elements of the name. Ball corrects to Penuel with some MSS, Sam & Ț, and ascribes the verse to J.

³² Probably a later explanation of the previous statement, which seems quite in the manner of J, though he is not generally concerned with such ritual detail.

33¹ The account of the meeting of Jacob and Esau is the sequel of 32⁶ and seems due to J. But elements from E have been detected by some critics in ⁸ 11. The possibility of such incorporation cannot, of course, be denied, but the linguistic usage makes against it.

⁵ The occurrence of the name 'Elohim' in ⁵ and ¹¹ at first sight suggests the assimilation of material from E. But J also uses this name (cp 32²⁸) especially in connexion with those who are (or are supposed to be) outside the chosen line cp 3¹ 43²⁹ 44¹⁰. In the present passage the play on the name Peniel

	J E	JE	J E P
i Cp 3	came near, they and their children, and they bowed themselves. ⁷ And Leah also and her children came near, and bowed themselves: and after came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed themselves. ⁸ And he said, What meanest thou by all this company which I met? And he said, To find grace in the sight of my lord. ⁹ And Esau said, I have enough; my brother, let that thou hast be thine. ¹⁰ And Jacob said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand: forasmuch as I have seen thy face, as one seeth the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me. ¹¹ Take, I pray thee, my gift that is brought to thee; because God hath dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough. And he urged him, and he took it. ¹² And he said, Let us take our journey, and let us go, and I will go before thee. ¹³ And he said unto him, My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and that the flocks and herds with me give suck: and if they overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die. ¹⁴ Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant: and I will lead on softly, according to the pace of the cattle that is before me and according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my lord unto Seir. ¹⁵ And Esau said, Let me now leave with thee some of the folk that are with me. And he said, What needeth it? let me find grace in the sight of my lord. ¹⁶ So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seir. ¹⁷ And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called Succoth. ^{18a} And Jacob came to Shalem.	g 31^a h 56^a i 84 j 35 k 32 l 74 m 89^b n 18 o 15^b	
j Cp 32 ⁵¹ k 32 ¹⁷			
l 32 ¹⁵			
m 19 ⁸			
n Cp 12 ⁹			
o Num 22 ⁸³ Josh 51 ³ 5 [*]			
p 28 ⁷ q 5 [*]			
r Hithpat cp 47 ¹⁷ Ex 151 ^{3*}			
s Ct 22. 5 = work cp Ex 22 ⁸ 11 r Sam 15 ⁹ t 16 32 ³			
u Cp 27 ¹⁵			
v Ct 12 ⁶			
w 26 ¹⁷ x Josh 24 ³²			
20 Liodf			
a 30 ²¹			
	^{18b} [And Jacob came] to the city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Paddan-aram.		p 4 q 6
	^{18c} and encamped before the city. ¹⁹ And he bought the parcel of ground, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money. ²⁰ And he erected there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Israel.		
	^{34¹} And Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to see		

'face of God' in ¹⁰ has perhaps helped to determine the selection. In other respects the phraseology is markedly in favour of J, cp 'thy servant' ⁵, 'graciously given' ⁵ = 'dealt graciously' ¹¹, 5 cp 'find grace' ¹⁰, 'I have (w) enough' ⁸ ¹¹, 'urged' ¹¹ cp ¹⁰ ^{8*}. These parallels seem to outweigh the apparent indications of a doublet in ¹⁰ ¹¹ 'present,' 'blessing.'

³³ ¹⁰ M Or, for therefore have I seen.

^{11a} M 5 blessing.

^{11b} M 5 all.

¹² The narrative apparently represents Jacob as intending to visit Esau ¹²⁻¹⁴. This is plainly inconsistent with the situation implied in ³² ¹⁰, and Holzinger therefore ascribes ¹²⁻¹⁴ to E. But the linguistic usage does not favour this, and the difficulty is overcome by the recognition of the secondary character of ³² ⁹⁻¹². In ¹⁷, however, Jacob's journey to Seir is stopped at Succoth, but there seems no indication of change of narrator. It may be inferred, therefore, that the Trans-jordanic Succoth was meant. With the reference to the house cp J in ²⁷ ¹⁵. Nothing appears to have been preserved from J or E concerning Jacob's passage of the Jordan and advance into middle Canaan, any more than in the case of Abraham ¹² ².

¹⁷ M That is, Booths.

^{18a} So M (with 5). T in peace. Wellh Comp 316¹ proposes 'to Shechem': Ball corrects to וְשֵׁלֵם ²⁸ ²¹.

^{18b} The following statement seems to be the continuation of P's narrative of Jacob's migration begun in ³¹ ¹⁸. The analogy of ¹² ¹⁵ suggests that the extract in the text began, 'And Jacob came.'

¹⁹ The reference to this purchase in Josh 24³² seems decisive for the ascription to E. But the purchase implies the previous encampment, and the migratory movement of which it was the

close. The description of Hamor as 'Shechem's father' is probably an editorial preparation for the narrative in ³⁴.

^{19b} M 5 Kesitah.—Josh 24³² Job 42¹¹ +.

^{20a} The verb here employed is not the usual term for building an altar (בָּנָה), but it is employed for setting up a sacred pillar (מִצְבֵּה) cp 35¹⁴ ²⁰. Wellhausen accordingly proposes to read 'pillar' in this passage. On E's pillars, cp *Introd* XII 23 i p 114. For the sacred stone at Shechem cp Josh 24²⁶.

^{20b} M That is, God, the God of Israel.

³⁴ ¹ Two narratives seem to be blended here. In the first, the chief actors are Shechem on the one part ¹¹, and Simeon and Levi on the other ²⁰; in the second Shechem recedes behind his father Hamor ⁴ ⁶ ¹³, and the whole of the sons of Jacob move together ¹⁵. The first story relates the violation of Dinah (her marriage) and the subsequent vengeance inflicted on Shechem by her two brothers. The second describes Shechem's honourable love for her, the proposals made by his father, the counter-conditions of intertribal communion demanded by the sons of Jacob, the massacre of the men, the capture of the women, children, and cattle, and the plunder of the city. The linguistic affinities of the first story clearly connect it with J, and it is supposed to contain the account of a transaction obscurely indicated in ⁴⁹ ²⁻⁷. Equally clearly do various marks in the second story bring it within the scope of P. But it is so different in kind from P's other narratives of the patriarchal age, e.g. 17 and 23, as to make it highly improbable that it ever belonged to the *Tol'dhoth*-book. The description of the spilling of the city ²⁷⁻²⁹ strongly recalls that of the Midianites in Num 31, which is of a secondary character. But other features suggest the possibility that older material

	J	JE	E	P	
b 27 ⁴⁶				the ^b daughters of the land. ^{2a} And Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the ^a prince of the land, saw her ;	a 131
2b. . . J 13 ⁴⁷		... ^{2b} L And he took her, ^a and ^b lay with her, and ^c humbled her. ^{3a} And his soul ^c clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob,			b 175
c Deut 22 ¹⁴ cp 2 Sam 13 ¹² 14 d 24 ⁴				^{3b} and he ^c loved the ^f damsel.	c 235
e Cp 22 ¹⁸ o f Cp 22 ²³ 35 g 50 ²¹ *		^{3c} and [he] ^c spake ^a kindly unto the ^c damsel.		⁴ And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this ^b damsel to wife.	d 18
h Cp 22 ²³ 4 i Cp 22 ¹⁶ 7		⁵ Now Jacob heard that he had ^d efiled Dinah his daughter ; and his sons were with his ^d cattle in the field : and Jacob ^j held his peace until they came.		⁶ And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto ⁿ Jacob to ^k commune with him.	e 79 f 233
j 24 ²¹				⁸ And Hamor ^k communed ⁿ with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter : ⁹ I pray you give her unto him to wife. ⁹ ² And make ye ^m marriages with us ; give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you. ¹⁰ And ye shall dwell with us : and the land shall be ^q before you ; dwell and ^t trade ye therein, and get you ^h possessions therein.	g 185
k 8 20 5 = speak		⁷ And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they heard it : and the men were ^g rieved, and they were very ^h wroth, because he had wrought ⁱ folly in Israel in ^b lying with Jacob's daughter ; which thing ^m ought not to be done.		¹² ⁿ Ask me never so much ^d owry and ^g ift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me : but give me the ^f damsel to wife. ¹³ And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with ⁿ guile, and spake, ⁿ because he had ^d efiled Dinah their sister, ¹⁴ and said unto them, We cannot ^v do this thing, to give our sister to one that is ^j uncircumcised ; for that were a ^w reproach unto us : ¹⁵ only on this condition will we ^w consent unto you : if ye will be as we be, that ^w every male of you be ⁱ circumcised ; ¹⁶ then will we give our ^v daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us,	h 127 ^a i 31 ^a
l Deut 22 ²¹ Judg 20 ⁸ 10 2 Sam 13 ¹² cp Josh 7 ¹⁵ m 20 ⁹ cp 29 ²⁶ n Cp 17 ³ 5 = talked o Cp 22 ¹⁸ 6 p. . . P 15 ⁶ i q Deut 7 ³ Josh 23 ¹² *		... ¹¹ And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me ⁱ find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give.		¹⁵ ⁿ Ask me never so much ^d owry and ^g ift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me : but give me the ^f damsel to wife. ¹³ And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with ⁿ guile, and spake, ⁿ because he had ^d efiled Dinah their sister, ¹⁴ and said unto them, We cannot ^v do this thing, to give our sister to one that is ^j uncircumcised ; for that were a ^w reproach unto us : ¹⁵ only on this condition will we ^w consent unto you : if ye will be as we be, that ^w every male of you be ⁱ circumcised ; ¹⁶ then will we give our ^v daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us,	j 166 k 107 ^a l 40
r Cp 21 13 ⁹ s 37 ²⁹ 42 ²⁴ cp 23 ¹⁸					
t Ex 22 ¹⁶ 1 Sam 18 ²⁵ t u Num 18 ¹¹ * cp 25 ⁶					
v 27 ³⁵ *					
w Cp 22 ¹⁶ 46					
x 30 ^{23b}					
y 15 22. 2 Kings 12 ⁸ t					
z Ct Ex 34 ¹⁶ Deut 7 ³					

may lie at the basis of this account. The language shows many points of contact with JE unknown elsewhere in the *Tot⁶Adoth*-book. It is the view of Wellhausen, Cornill, Bacon, and Holzinger, for example, that this earlier story was derived from E. This question cannot, however, be decided with certainty. The allusion to an Amorite conquest in 48²² does not seem in any way related to the story of the wooing of Dinah and the massacre at Shechem, nor does the context in E 33²⁰ 35¹ provide an appropriate place for it (cp Dillmann). On the other hand, similar linguistic phenomena in the use of phrases of both types JE and P have been already observed in 14, and will be noted hereafter in Num 31. . . The analysis, therefore, does not attempt to go behind the form in which the second narrative has been combined with J. As the interlacing is very close, the assignment of some passages must be doubtful.

. 34^{2b} The peculiar accusative here (if the Masoretic punctuation

is correct) differing from J's usage, and assimilated to P's (Lev 15¹⁸ 24 Num 5¹⁸ 19), seems to indicate the hand of R.

^{3c} M 5 To the heart of the damsel.

⁶ Comparison with 8 and 13 suggests that the original ran 'the sons of Jacob to commune with them.' Other passages may have undergone similar manipulation, the harmonizing process being carried on quite late, as occasional touches in 6 may also imply.

¹² The language of 11 implies compensation for the outrage on Dinah, but that of 12 is the urgency of a genuine wooer, and the verse is therefore assigned to the second story. From 13 it may be supposed that Shechem had not left his suit entirely in the hands of his father 6 8.

¹³ Probably a harmonizer's touch cp 27. This form of the story does not seem to have related any violation of Dinah.

J

JE

E

P

z 41⁵⁷ 45¹⁶ Dent

123 cp Lev

101⁹ Josh22⁸⁰ 88a' 24⁵⁶ 5b' Num 14⁸

...¹⁹ And the young man ^{a'}deferred not to "do the thing, because he had ^{b'}delight in Jacob's daughter: and he was ^ohonoured above all the ^phouse of his father. . . .ⁿ

c' 15³⁶d' 17²⁶

e' Cp 5

f' 23¹⁰ 18g' 5^{*} cp Ex 3⁷

h' *

i' Num 31⁷ cpj²¹⁰

²⁶ And they ^rslew Hamor and Shechem ^shis son with the ^tedge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went forth,

i' Cp j²³³j' Nam 31⁹k' Num 31⁹ cpl' ^{j^{252a}}

m' cp 26

n' Josh 61⁸ 7^{25*}o' Ex 5^{21*}p' 13⁷q' Deut 4²⁷r' 29³s' Cp d^{34b}t' 38¹⁵u' 38¹⁵v' 38¹⁵w' 38¹⁵x' 38¹⁵y' 38¹⁵z' 38¹⁵aa' 38¹⁵ab' 38¹⁵ac' 38¹⁵ad' 38¹⁵ae' 38¹⁵af' 38¹⁵ag' 38¹⁵ah' 38¹⁵ai' 38¹⁵aj' 38¹⁵ak' 38¹⁵al' 38¹⁵am' 38¹⁵an' 38¹⁵ao' 38¹⁵ap' 38¹⁵aq' 38¹⁵ar' 38¹⁵

and we will dwell with you, and we will ^mbecome one people. ¹⁷ But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will be gone. ¹⁸ And their words ⁿpleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.

m 27

n 146

o 78

p 153

²⁰ And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and ^qcommuned with the men of their city, saying, ²¹ These men are ^rpeaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and ^strade therein; for, behold, the land is large enough ^tfor them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters. ²² Only on this condition will the men ^uconsent unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they are ^vcircumcised.

q 78

²³ Shall not their ^wcattle and their ^xsubstance and all their beasts be ours? only let us ^yconsent unto them, and they will dwell with us.

²⁴ And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened ^zall that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city. ²⁵ And it came to pass on the third day, when they were ^{aa}sore, that ^{ab}two of the sons of Jacob, *Simon and Levi*, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the city ^{ac}unawares, and ^{ad}slew ^{ae}all the males.

r 210

s 150

²⁷ ^{af}The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister. ²⁸ They took their ^{ag}flocks and their herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was in the field; ^{29a} and all their ^{aj}wealth, and all their ^{ak}little ones and their wives, ^{29b} took they captive and ^{al}spoiled.

...^{29b} and all that was in the ^{am}house.

³⁰ And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have ^{an}troubled me, to make me to ^{ao}stink among the inhabitants of the land, *among the ^{ap}Canaanites and the Perizzites*: and, I being ^{aq}few in number, they will ^{ar}gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be ^{as}destroyed, I and my house. ³¹ And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an ^{at}harlot?

35¹ And God said unto Jacob, ^{au}Arise, go up to ^{av}Beth-el, and dwell there: ^{aw}and ^{ax}make there an altar unto God, ^{ay}who appeared unto thee

a 128

b 137

34¹⁰ The marriage of Shechem must have followed, as in ²⁰ Dinah is carried off by her brothers from his house.

^{26a} It can hardly be supposed that Simeon and Levi accomplished the entire slaughter themselves. The subject is rather the *Bnd Jacob* ¹³, and the insertion of the two names is probably due to the compiler, who has adopted them from J cp ³⁰.

^{29b} M Or, boldly.

²⁷ The peculiar style of the opening phrase, and the allusion in ^b cp ^{13b}, seem to indicate the activity of the compiler. The natural sequel of the slaughter of the males in ²⁶ is the spoiling of the city ²⁷.

²⁹ So ^p. T even. 'The house,' in contrast with 'the city' ²⁷, must be Shechem's ²⁸.

35¹ This clause may be an editorial allusion to the incident

J E

JE

E P

when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother. ² Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, ^a Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments: ³ and let us arise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went. ⁴ And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and the rings which were in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Shechem. ⁵ And they journeyed: and a great terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.

^{6a} So Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan (the same is Beth-el),

^{6b} [And Jacob came to Beth-el] he and all the people that were with him. ⁷ And he built there an altar, and called the place El-beth-el: because there God was revealed unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother. ⁸ And Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she was buried below Beth-el under the oak: and the name of it was called Allon-bacuth.

⁹ And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came from Paddan-aram, and blessed him. ¹⁰ And God said unto him, Thy name is Jacob: thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel. ¹¹ And God said unto him, I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins; ¹² and the land which I gave unto Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land. ¹³ And God went up from him in the place where he spoke with him.

c 27⁴⁵.
2 Liii b
2-4 L5a 7.
d Jv-h 24²³
e Cp 24²
f Cp Ex 19¹⁰

g 42²¹ Deut
31¹⁷ 21*
h Cp 32¹³ 5
i Ex 32²
j Ex 21¹² Josh
26 21.*
k Cp Josh 24²⁶
l 5†
m 28¹⁹
n Cp 23²
o Cp 32⁷ Josh
85 11
p Liodg
q Cp 21⁸¹
r Cp 20^{18N}

r Ct 24⁵⁹
s Cp Judg 4⁵

t 17¹

u 25¹¹ cp 33
v 17⁵ ct 32²⁷.

w Cp 17⁶ 18 28³

x 17⁸

y 17²²

of 37, suggested by the language of 3^b which is much more in the style of E1 cp 28²⁰.

^{8a} The change of subject here to 'the sons of Jacob' points to the story in 34, so that this verse is dependent on the redaction of that chapter.

^{8b} M 5 a terror of God.—Cp 30⁸ and 23⁶.
⁹ The continuation of 31¹⁸, so = and 5. Luz is employed by P with archaeological propriety as the ancient name (cp Kiriath-arba 23²), as he has yet to relate the theophany on which the name Beth-el was founded. In ^{6b} E must have originally contained some similar notice of Jacob's arrival at Beth-el, as the sequel of 3.
⁷ M That is, The God of Bethel.

^{8a} This verse is assigned on the whole to E, though the only previous reference to Rebekah's nurse comes from J 24⁵⁹, where, however, she is not named. (For E's love of names cp 15² Ex 1¹⁵; and for a similar record of death and burial cp Num 20¹⁹.) But as all three sources J E P locate Isaac in the South, it is not apparent how the aged family servant should be travelling with Jacob through middle Canaan. The passage seems altogether dislocated from its original connexion in the story of Isaac and Rebekah, and its proper place is lost.

^{8b} M That is, The oak of weeping.
⁹ P's account of the Beth-el revelation, the counterpart of that to Abraham in 17 (cp Introd V 3a). In reference to 28¹⁰, the editor has inserted the word 'again.' 5 adds 'in Luz.'

¹⁰ Both ¹⁰ and ¹¹ begin with the same words. A comparison of this passage with 17¹ suggests that originally the announcement of the Divine Presence preceded the change of Jacob's name in ¹⁰. The displacement may be accidental, or due to some curtailment of the whole section. The promises are much briefer than in 17; if any omissions have been made in the process of compilation, the recurring phrases in ¹⁰ may have been brought nearer together. It is, however, a curious circumstance that P does not employ the name Israel for Jacob in his subsequent narrative, cf 'Abraham' 17⁶ 9 16 & c: it is used only in the phrase 'children of Israel.' May it be inferred that ¹⁰ is an editorial afterthought, to provide in P a parallel to J's story in 32²⁸? This would account for its unexpected position, and for the final clause 'and he called his name Israel,' which is not after the manner of P in 17. It is noticeable also that no explanation is given of the new name was its meaning already so familiar that it needed none?

¹¹ M 5 El Shaddai.—cp 17¹.
¹² The parallel in 17⁸ suggests that the clause originally ran 'to thee will I give it and to thy seed after thee.' But the whole may possibly be an addition.

¹³ The corresponding phrase in 17²² contains no local reference; ^{13b} seems derived from 15: Ball, however, regards it as an accidental dittograph of ¹⁴, and restores from 17²² 'when he had left off speaking with him.'

	J	JE	E	P	
14 ^{15g} 70 ^{1w} 1 2 ^{2e} 2818		14 ^{1N} And Jacob ^k set up a ² pillar in the place where he spake with him, a pillar of stone: and he ^a poured out a ^b drink offering there- on, and ^c poured oil thereon.		15 And Jacob ^d called the name of the place where God spake with him, Beth-el.	k 215 ^o
^a 2 Sam 25 ¹⁶ ² Kings 16 ¹³ ^b Cp ² Ri 8 ^c 2818 ² 128 ^d Ct 28 ¹⁹					
^e 487 2 Kings 51 ⁴ ^f Cp Ex 13 ¹⁵ ⁵ ^g 38 ²⁸ Ex 116. ⁺ ^h 30 ²⁴ et 24 26b cp 29 ³ ⁵ ⁱ Cp 1611a ⁸		16 ^N And they journeyed from Beth-el; and there was still ^c some way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had ^f hard labour. 17 And ^t it came to pass when she was in ^f hard labour, that the ^o midwife said unto her, ^m Fear not; for ⁿ now thou shalt have ^h another son. 18 And ⁱ it came to pass, as her soul was in departing (for she died), that ^u she called his name ⁿ Ben-oni: but his father called him ⁿ Benjamin. 19 ^N And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath (<i>the same is Beth-lehem</i>). 20 ^{1N} And Jacob ^k set up a ³ pillar upon her ^g grave: the same is the Pillar of Rachel's grave ^o unto this day.			l 127 ^b m 154 n 126
20 ^{25g} ^b ³ Cp 14 et 31 ⁴⁵ ^k 49 ³⁰ Deut 34 ⁶ ⁸ ^l 128 ^m Am 5 ²⁷ Jer 23 ¹⁴ ⁿ Mic 4 ⁸ ^o 22 ²⁴		²¹ ^N And ⁿ Israel journeyed, and ^v spread his ^m tent ^m beyond the tower of ⁿ Eder. 22 ⁸ And ⁱ it came to pass, while ⁿ Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and ^l lay with Bilhah his father's ^o concubine: and Israel heard of it. . . .			o 142 ^b p 49 q 220 r 175
^p 36 ⁵ 46 ²⁷ cp 4 ²⁵		22 ^b Now the sons of Jacob were twelve: 23 the sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun: 24 the sons of Rachel; Joseph and Benjamin: 25 and the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Dan and Naphtali: 26 and the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad and Asher: ^t these are the sons of Jacob which ^v were born to him in ⁿ Paddan-aram. 27 And Jacob came unto Isaac his father to Mamre, to ⁿ Kiriath-arba (<i>the same is Hebron</i>), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. 28 And the ^u days of Isaac were an ⁿ hundred and fourscore years. 29 And ^v Isaac ⁿ gave up the ghost, and died, and was ^g gathered unto his people, ^r old and full of days: and Esau and Jacob his sons ^v buried him.			s 188 t 3 u 181 v 93 w 51 x 75
^a Ct 9		36 ¹ ^{1N} AND ^a THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of ^a Esau (<i>the same is Edom</i>).			a 77 ^o

3514 This verse is now felt to be inappropriate to P who nowhere also recognizes any sacred pillars, or ascribes any acts of sacrifice to the patriarchs (cf *Isidore* XIII 2y). It may be the sequel of J's story of the origin of the *mazzebra* in Beth-el cp 2811ax which the compiler has inserted where P's narrative of the Beth-el revelation supplied a fresh occasion. It is, however, possible that the latter half of the verse has received editorial enrichment. The *chrism* has its parallel in 2818 and may belong to the antique story. But the preceding description of the libation, though not without older counterpart elsewhere, may have taken form here under the influence of the Levitical ritual.

¹⁶ In 18-22 the narrative of Jacob's advance is resumed. The determination of the sources is not free from difficulty, many critics assigning 16-20 to E. But as in ¹ Jacob had been commanded to remain at Beth-el, and no motive is assigned for his departure, it would seem more natural to recognize a change of document. Holzinger assumes that both narratives related the birth of Benjamin in connexion with the death of Rachel, and finds traces of duplication in 16b and 17a. On the other hand, Rachel is apparently still alive in 37¹⁰ (E), and this contradiction is hardly removed by the supposition that the symbolism of the dream may be independent of the facts. The parallel in 17b certainly points to J, and 16-18, therefore, is assigned (though not without hesitation) to J.

182 M That is, *The son of my sorrow.*

18^b **M** That is, *The son of the right hand.*

¹⁹ Further embarrassment arises in 10. 10 resembles 8 in form, and might therefore naturally be ascribed to E, but for the difficulty of 37¹⁰ (which might, however, be more easily evaded on the hypothesis that the dream-story was well fixed in tradition before the family history was organized into a consecutive narrative). Moreover, the opening words seem superfluous after the parenthetic remark in 18, and lend

additional strength to the ascription to El. It may, however, be argued that the reference to the burial-place (cp parallels in J) required the formal announcement of the death; and the words 'for she died' may be a copyist's or editor's gloss. The verse be El's, what later place can be found for it in the Jacob-Joseph cycle after 37¹⁰? Dillmann allots it to P, but see 48⁷⁸. The identification of the grave with Beth-lehem seems a late error, cp 1 Sam 10:2 Jer 31¹⁶.

²⁰ The statement of erection resembles that in 14; E in each reference to a sacred pillar employing a different word in 31¹⁶ Ex 24⁴. The verse is therefore ascribed to J. On the other hand the name Jacob, contrasted with Israel 21, seems to imply divergence, and many critics attribute ³⁰ to E. But ³¹⁻¹⁰ still staves them in the face. Moreover the name Jacob has been used by J since 32²⁸ e.g. 33^{1 10 17} and perhaps in 34. The objection, therefore, does not seem conclusive, cp 21¹⁸.

²¹ At this point begins a series of passages marked by the name Israel *cp* ²⁵49. This appears to be characteristic of some fresh cycle. The description of Bilhah as Israel's 'concubine' instead of 'handmaid' 30⁴, lends some slight confirmation to this view.

36¹ After the death and burial of Abraham P proceeded at once to enumerate the descendants of Ishmael, before dealing with the line of Isaac. So here with Esau (T *now*, § and) before Jacob's *tol'doth* 3². But the list of the descendants of Esau presents many marks of composite origin. The recurring title 'and these are the generations of Esau' § 1⁹ at once points to the union of material from different sources, and this expectation is confirmed by the diversity of the contents of the several sections. In 1-6 the names of Esau's wives cannot be harmonized with those in 26³⁴ 28⁹ ('Zibeen the Hivite' וְיָרָא should read 'Horite' וְיָרָא cp 20.,). Within the framework 12a (7)^{db}, therefore, fresh data have been incorporated in agreement

J

P

b Ct 26³⁴ 28⁹c Cp 35²⁶d 12⁵e 31¹⁸ op 32⁸f 13⁵ et 27 33¹⁶

g Ct 15

h Cp 13. 16-20

i = children
21-28j Cp 16-19 21 28.
40-43 Ex 15¹⁶*31 14k²

² Esau took his wives of the ^bdaughters of Canaan; ^bAdah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the ^adaughter of Zibeon the Hivite; ^c and Basemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebaioth. ⁴ And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz; ⁵ and Basemath bare Reuel; and Oholibamah bare Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah: ⁶ these are the sons of Esau, ⁷ which were born unto him in the ^dland of Canaan.

⁸ And Esau ^dtook his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the ^esouls of his house, and his ^ccattle, and all his beasts, and all his ^fpossessions, which he had ^ggathered in the ^dland of Canaan; and went into a land away from his brother Jacob. ⁷ For their ^bsubstance was ^htoo great for them to dwell together; and the ⁱland of their sojournings could not ^jbear them because of their cattle. ⁸ And Esau dwelt in mount Seir: *Esau is Edom.*

⁹ And ^athese are the generations of Esau the father of ^bthe Edomites in mount Seir: ¹⁰ ^cthese are the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Basemath the wife of Esau. ¹¹ And the ^esons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, ¹² Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz. ¹³ And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these are the ^bsons of Adah Esau's wife. ¹⁴ And these are the sons of Reuel; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. ¹⁵ And these were the sons of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.

¹⁶ ^aThese are the ⁱdukes of the sons of Esau: the ^esons of Eliphaz the firstborn of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, ¹⁷ duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, duke Korah, duke Gatam, duke Amalek: these are the dukes that came of Eliphaz in the ^dland of Edom; these are the sons of Adah. ¹⁸ And these are the sons of Reuel Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these are the dukes that came of Reuel in the ^dland of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. ¹⁹ And these are the sons of Oholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jalam, duke Korah: these are the dukes that came of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. ²⁰ These are the sons of Esau, and these are their dukes: the same is Edom.

²¹ ^aThese are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants of the land; Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah, ²² and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the dukes that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the ^dland of Edom. ²³ And the children of Lotan were Hori and ^bHemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna. ²⁴ And these are the children of Shobal; ^cAlvan and Manahath and Ebal, ^dShepho and Onam. ²⁵ And these are the children of Zibeon; Aiah and Anah: ^ethis is Anah who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father. ²⁶ And these are the children of Anah; Dishon and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah. ²⁷ And these are the children of ^fDishon; ^gHemdan and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. ²⁸ These are the children of Ezer; Bilhan and Zaavan and ^hAkan. ²⁹ These are the children of Dishan; Uz and Aran.

³⁰ These are the dukes that came of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah, ³¹ duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: these are the dukes that came of the Horites, ^kaccording to their dukes in the land of Seir.

³¹ ^aAnd ^athese are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.

with 10 14 20., perhaps replacing some earlier enumeration. The migration of Esau ⁶ is obviously parallel with the similar migrations of Abraham and Jacob: the separation of the brothers which here follows the death of Isaac is clearly independent of the representations of JE in 27 and 33, though it is possible that it may once have occupied an earlier place in the narrative, e.g. after 35²⁹. In 9-19 further difficulties appear. The title is repeated ^cop 1 with a fresh identification of Esau; the names of Esau's wives ¹⁰ 14 agree with 2. (though their nationalities are omitted), so that the two lists have been brought into relation with each other, ^{12a} having been added, and the awkward phraseology of ¹⁴ implying editorial treatment. The frequent repetitions in this section seem due to repeated revisions and insertions; in ¹⁶ Korah is evidently out of place ^cop 14 ¹⁸, and Gatam should precede Kenaz ¹⁶ ^cop 11. On the whole, therefore, this section must be regarded as secondary. The material in 20-30 is similarly composite, 29. being a brief equivalent of 20-28 where the pedigree of Oholibamah indicates connexion with 2b. and 14.. The parallel to the 'dukes of the Horites' ²⁹ is found in the 'dukes of Esau' ³¹ 40-43 where the names differ so widely from those in 9-19 (cp Timna ¹² Oholibamah ¹⁴ who here appear as 'dukes') that the passage cannot be ascribed to the same source. As the phraseology of ⁴⁰ and ⁴³ coincides with that of P, this section (and probably ²⁹.) may

be regarded as part of the original *tol'dhoth* of Esau. From what sources the compiler drew his materials outside P must remain undetermined. Holzinger conjectures a base for 15-19 in J ^cop 31¹⁸, but there is nothing either in form or in substance to determine it.

³⁶ ³ M Some ancient authorities have, *son*. See 24.

⁹ ³ M ⁵ Edom.

¹¹ ³ M In 1 Chron ³⁶, *Zephi*.

^{15a} The list of dukes in 15-19 is founded on the same material as that embodied in 1-6, and differs widely from that in 40-43. It must therefore be regarded as secondary.

^{15b} ³ M Or, *chiefs*.

²⁰ Further secondary lists are found in 20-30, where 29. seems a duplicate of 20., et 'land of Edom' ²¹ and 'land of Seir' ³⁰. The material seems to lie outside of the usual limits of P and some of it (as in 24) is probably of great antiquity, but it has been cast by a compiler into P's forms

²² ³ M In 1 Chron ³⁶, *Homam*. ^{23a} ³ M In 1 Chron ¹⁴⁰, *Alian*.

^{23b} ³ M In 1 Chron ¹⁴⁰, *Shephi*. ^{24a} ³ M ⁵ Dishan.

^{26b} ³ M In 1 Chron ¹⁴¹, *Hamran*. ²⁷ ³ M In 1 Chron ¹⁴², *Jaakan*.

³¹ With this verse R introduces an extract 32-39 from a document wholly different in style from the context. Its source is unknown, but on the analogy of other passages of composite origin, e.g. 10, it is provisionally assigned to J.

J	JE	E	P
j Num 21 ²⁰	³² And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom ; and the name of his city was Dinhabah. ³³ And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. ³⁴ And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead. ³⁵ And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the ^jfield of Moab, reigned in his stead : and the name of his city was Avith. ³⁶ And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. ³⁷ And Samlah died, and Shaul of Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. ³⁸ And Shaul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead. ³⁹ And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and ^hHadar reigned in his stead : and the name of his city was ^hPau ; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.		
k 25 ¹⁸ Num 3 ¹⁷	⁴⁰ ^hAnd ^hthese are the names of the dukes that came of Esau, according to their ^hfamilies, ^hafter their places, ^hby their names ; duke Timnah, duke ^hAlvah, duke Jetheth ; ⁴¹ duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon ; ⁴² duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar ; ⁴³ duke Magdijel, duke Iram : ^hthese be the dukes of Edom, ^haccording to their habitations in the land of their ^hpossession. This is Esau the father of ^hthe Edomites.	l 65 ^b m 18 ² n 18 ² o 127 ^b	
a Cp 13 ¹²			
	^{37¹} And Jacob ^hdwelt in the ^hland of his father's sojournings^a, in the ^hland of Canaan. ^{2a} ^hTHESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Jacob. ^hJoseph, being seven-teen years ^hold, was	a 145 ^a b 4 c 77 ^a d 119 ^a e 208 f 235	
	^{2b} [And Joseph was] ^hfeeding the flock with his brethren ; and he was a ^hlad ;		
b Num 13 ³² 14 ³⁶ . (P ^a)	²⁴ and Joseph brought the evil ^hreport of them unto their father. ³ ^hNow ^hIsrael ^hloved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his ^hold age : and he made him ^ha coat of many colours. ⁴ And his brethren saw that their father ^hloved him more than all his brethren ; and they ^hhated him, and could not speak ^hpeaceably unto him.		
c Cp 43 ²⁷ Ex 18 ⁷	⁵ And Joseph ^hdreamed a dream, and he ^htold it to his brethren : ^hand they hated him yet the ^hmore. ⁶ And he said unto them, Hear, ^hI pray you, this dream which I have dreamed : ⁷ for, behold, we were ^hbinding ^hsheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and ^halso ^hstood upright ; and, behold, your sheaves came round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf. ⁸ And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou ^hindeed reign over	g 49 h 180 i 63 j 167 k 101 l 218 m 123 n 183 o 126 p 215 ^b q 237	
d 5 ^a			
e Ps 126 ⁴			

³⁶^{39a} M In : Chron 1⁵⁰, and some ancient authorities, *Hadad*.
^{39b} M In : Chron 1⁵⁰, *Pai*.

^{40a} In 40-43 the style of P is again clearly marked. Cp the list of Ishmael's descendants 25¹³⁻¹⁸ immediately following the record of the death of Abraham.

^{40b} M In : Chron 1⁵¹, *Aliah*.

⁴³ M 5 Edom.

³⁷^{2a} At this point the Editor has inserted into the brief framework of P the rich group of stories concerning Joseph and his brethren. Their composite character becomes clear as the combined narrative proceeds, though much uncertainty still attaches to many of the details. For the general distribution of 37 cp 38 18ⁿ. In 2 clause b is assigned to J, as P nowhere describes the shepherd-life of the patriarchs on which J loves to dwell ; nor does he employ the word 'lad' (cp margins). ^{2d} likewise involves a view of family relations and a play of character and motive unlike P's treatment of the pre-Mosaic age, and is consequently also allotted to J. But in the final redaction of the Hexateuch some critics detect the hand of a reviser, who seems to have added various touches

more or less characteristic of later style, especially as exemplified in P. Cp Kuenen, *Hex* 327-8. Thus in 2 the phrase 'the evil report of them' excites some suspicion by its grammatical difficulty, while the word 'report' only occurs elsewhere in Num 13³² 14³⁶. P in *Hex*, and Jer 20¹⁰ Ezek 36³ Ps 31¹³ Prov 10¹⁸ 25¹⁰+. Cp 40²ⁿ.

^{3a} That the narrative in 37 is derived from two sources is clearly proved by the divergences in 25b-27 and 28, cp 18ⁿ. It is natural, therefore, to expect traces of duplicate origin in the earlier portion. The following clues may be added to the marginal indications :—

J Israel 37¹⁸ || Jacob 37²⁴ E.

J Coat of many colours 3 (25b) 32 || coat 23a 31 32b 33 E.

J hated 4 (25 8b) || envied 11 cp 30¹ E.

J cause of ill-will, Israel's partiality 3. || Joseph's dreams 6-11 E.

^{3b} M Or, a long garment with sleeves.

⁵ A harmonizer's touch, referring to 4, not contained in 5 cp 6. E postpones the mention of the brothers' jealousy till 11, when all the dreams have been told.

J

JE

E

P

us? or shalt thou ⁹indeed have dominion over us? And they ⁹hated him yet the ⁹more for his dreams, and for his ⁹words. ⁹ And he dreamed yet another dream, and ⁹told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed yet a dream; and, behold, the sun and the moon and eleven stars made obeisance to me. ¹⁰ And he ¹⁰told it to his father, ¹⁰and to his brethren; and his father ¹⁰rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren ¹⁰indeed come to ¹⁰bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?

¹¹ And his brethren ¹¹envied him; but his father kept the ¹¹saying in mind.

¹² And his brethren went to ¹²feed their father's flock in ¹²Shechem.

^{13a} And ^{13a}Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren ^{13a}feed the flock in Shechem? ^{13b}come, and I will send thee unto them.

... ^{13b} And he said to him, ^{13b}Here am I. ^{14a} And he said to him, ^{14a}Go ^{14a}now, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flock; and ^{14b}bring me word again.

^{14b} So he sent him ^{14b}out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.

¹⁵ ¹⁵And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was ¹⁵wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou? ¹⁶ And he said, I seek my brethren: ¹⁶tell me, I pray thee, where they are feeding [the flock]. ^{17a} And the man said, They are departed hence: for I heard them say, Let us go to ^{17b}Dothan.

^{17b} And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.

^{18a} ^{18a}And they saw him ^{18a}afar off.

... ^{18b} And ^{18b}before he came near unto them, they ^{18b}conspired against him to ^{18b}slay him.

¹⁹ And they said ¹⁹one to another, Behold, ¹⁹this ¹⁹dreamer cometh.

²⁰ Come now therefore, and let us ²⁰slay him, ²⁰and cast him into one of the ²⁰pits, and we will say, An evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.

²¹ And ²¹Reuben heard it, and ²¹delivered him out of their hand; and said, Let us not ²¹take his life.

²² And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood; cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, but ²²lay no hand upon him: that he might ²²deliver him out of their hand, to restore him to his father. ²³ And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph of his coat, ²³the coat of many colours that was on him; ²⁴ and they took him, and cast him into the pit: and the pit was ²⁴empty, there was no water in it. ^{25a} And they sat down to eat bread.

^{25b} And they lifted up their eyes and ^{25b}looked, and, behold, a ^{25b}travelling company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their ^{25b}camels bearing ^{25b}spicery and ^{25b}balm and ^{25b}myrrh, going to ^{25b}carry it down to Egypt.

²⁶ And Judah said unto his brethren, What ²⁶profit is it if we ²⁶slay our brother and conceal his blood? ²⁷ Come, and let us ²⁷sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother, our ²⁷flesh. And his brethren hearkened unto him.

f 30¹ ct 4
g 33¹⁸.

h 31⁴⁴ cp 162

i Num 13²⁶ 22²⁸
Deut 12²⁵
Josh 14⁷
j 20¹³

k 2 Kings 6¹³†

l 22⁴

m Num 25¹⁸
Mal 14¹⁴ Ps
105²⁶† cp 28¹
n 18²⁵
o 24⁵⁵ §†

p Ct 18^b § cp
q Ex 21³³ ct Gen
40¹⁵ Ex 12²⁹ §
r 32¹¹

s Deut 19⁶ 11 §

t 22¹²

u 41²⁷ Deut 32⁴⁷*

v Is 21¹³†

w Ex 18²¹*

x 27¹⁴ d n
y 28^b 45⁴

y 29¹⁴

r 232

s 219

t 12^a

u 104

v 132

w 112

x 107

y 55

z 16

37¹⁰ The dream has been already narrated to his brothers in 9. (J omits 10a and inserts 'his father' before 'his brethren' in 9.

14a A duplicate of 'come' in 13.

14b It is doubtful whether J ascribed to Jacob a sojourn in Hebron: these words may be due to R. Cp Kuenen, *Hexateuch* 225.

15 In 15-17a R¹⁰ seems to have supplied the connexion between J's Shechem and E's Dothan.

18a The divergence in the following passage between the Ishmaelites who buy Joseph from his brothers, and the Midianites who kidnap him, points plainly to the amalgamation of two narratives. The analysis is founded on the subjoined doublets:—

J the plot to kill Joseph 18b || proposal to slay him 20 E.

J intervention of Judah 21a 25 cp 43³ 8 44¹⁴ 18 || Reuben 22 29 cp 42²² 37 E.

J Joseph is sold 27-28b 45⁴ || kidnapped 28a 40¹⁵ E.

J to Ishmaelites 25 27 28b 39¹ || by Midianites 28a 38 E.

J Sold in Egypt to an unnamed Egyptian 39¹ 2 5, his master 3 7. 16 19. || Potiphar 39 40³. 41¹⁰ 12 E.

J Favoured by the keeper of the prison but a prisoner 39²⁰⁻²³ 40^{3b} 15b 41^{14b} || servant of the captain of the guard 39 40 4 7 14 41¹⁹ E.

18b The late use of this word, and the peculiarity of its construction here, lead Kuenen to see in it a sign of R's activity, *Hex* 328. 19 M. § master of dreams.

20 Perhaps an editorial preparation for Reuben's proposal 22. 21 Elsewhere in J Judah is the spokesman, cp 28 43 5 8 44¹⁶ 18. It is believed that Judah's name stood here originally, and was afterwards altered either by design or inadvertence so as to conform to the next verse. For Reuben see 42²². The second 'and said' 22 points to a change of source.

23 A harmonizing addition.

24a M Or, gum tragacanth. Or, storax.

25b M Or, mastic.

25c M Or, ladanum.

J

JE

E

P

28 L²¹ z
z 34¹⁰a' Cb bring down
28 39¹
1/ Cp 34 Num 14⁶
c' 42¹⁸ 38 cp 5²⁴d' 27²³ 5 = dis-c' 27²³
e' Cp 20
f' 44²⁸
g' 44¹³ Josh 7⁶
h' Ex 33⁴ Num
14³⁹ ct 35
i' Num 20¹⁵ Josh
24⁷
j' Cp 42³⁸
k' 5⁵ cp 50¹⁰
l' 50⁸ ct 34
m' 40² 7
n' 21²²1-11 L¹ f¹
a 21²²
b 16 2 Sam 19
c 2 6 16^{1b}d 28 35¹⁶
e 24⁸
f 22²¹
g 10 cp 19⁸
h 18²⁵i Num 20²¹ 5†j Cp 26⁸ 5
k 31¹⁰l 25 1 Sam 4¹⁹ 21†
14-26 L¹ m¹
n 81^{3b}
o 19 2 Sam 20³
p 54^{4†}
q 24^{6b}
r Cp Cant 5¹⁴s Cp 15⁸ 5
t 34³¹

28^a ^LAnd there passed by Midianites, ^zmerchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit,

28^b And [they] ^zsold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver.

28^c and they ^wbrought Joseph into Egypt. 29 And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he ^brent his clothes. 30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child ^cis not; and I, whither shall I go? 31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat in the blood;

32^a And they sent the coat of many colours, . . .

32^b and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found: ^dknow now whether it be thy son's coat or not. 33^a And he ^dknew it, and said, It is my son's coat; an ^eevil beast hath devoured him.

33^b Joseph is ^qwithout doubt ^rtorn in pieces.

34 And Jacob ^erent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and ^hmourned for his son ⁱmany days.

35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to ^acomfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will ^jgo down to ^uthe ^vgrave to my son ^kmourning. And his father ^vwept for him.

36 And the ^uMidianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an ^mofficer of Pharaoh's, the ^mcaptain of the guard.

38¹ ^LAnd it came to pass ^aat that time, that Judah went down from his brethren, and ^turned in to a certain Adullamite, ^uwhose name was Hirah. 2 And Judah saw there a daughter of a certain Canaanite

^uwhose name was Shua; and he took her, and went in unto her. 3 And she ^uconceived, and bare a son; and ^uhe called his name Er. 4 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and she called his name Onan. 5 And she yet again bare a son, and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, ^uwhen she bare him. 6 And Judah ^took a wife for Er his

^ffirstborn, ^uand her name was Tamar. 7 And Er, Judah's firstborn, was ^uwicked in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh ^uslew him. 8 And Judah said unto Onan, Go in unto thy brother's wife, and ^uperform the duty of an husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed to thy brother. 9 And Onan knew that the seed should not be his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground,

^ulest he should ⁱgive seed to his brother. 10 And the thing which he did was ^uevil in the sight of Yahweh: and he slew him also. 11 Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow in thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown up: for he said, Lest he also die, like his brethren. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house. 12 And in ^jprocess of time Shua's daughter, the wife of Judah, died; and Judah was ^ucomforted, and went up unto his ^usheepshearers to Timnah, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite. 13 And it was told Tamar, saying, Behold, thy ^ufather in law goeth up to Timnah to ^ushear his sheep. 14 ^LAnd she ^mput off from her the garments of her

^uwidowhood, and ^ucovered herself with her ^uveil, and ^uwrapped herself, and sat in the gate of Enaim, which is by the way to Timnah; for she saw that Shelah was grown up, and she was not given unto him to wife. 15 When Judah saw her, he ^uthought her to be an ^uharlot; for she had covered her face. 16 And he ^uturned unto her by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee: for he knew not that she was his daughter in law. And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me? 17 And he said, I will send

37³⁵ M. 5 Sheol, the name of the abode of the dead, answering to the Greek Hades, Acts 2²⁷.

38^a M. 5 Medianites. 38^b M. 5 chief of the executioners.

38¹ This narrative, which breaks the sequence of the Joseph story, bears many marks of the style and language of J, and is accordingly assigned to the group thus designated. But of its ultimate source nothing is known, though it doubtless belongs to the cycle of traditions relating the origins of tribal

clans; for Er 3 cp 1 Chron 4²¹. It appears designed to illustrate and justify the Levirate law, but it has also been thought to have some affinities with the story at the base of Judges 19. As that narrative partly depends on Gen 19, so here in 27-30 there is a distinct parallel with 25²⁴⁻²⁶. On the chronological difficulty cp Introd IV 1^y.

3 (5) Sam 3, she called, as in 4. Cp 16¹¹⁸.

8 M. See Deut 25⁸.—5†.

J

JE

E P

2 27⁹
2 20 5†
2 Ex 28²¹
2 25 ct Ex 28⁷ 8

2 26⁷

2 Prov 12²⁴†

2 16¹¹
2 Hos 12 24 al
2 Ct Lev 21⁹

2 5†
2 Cp 199

2 31¹⁰
2 25²⁴

2 35¹⁷
2 Josh 218 21

2 37²⁵ 43⁷ 44²¹
2 13 cp 12¹⁰
2 17²⁸

2 47¹⁹
2 37²⁵ 28b

2 26²⁸

2 5 41²⁴ ct 40⁴ 5
2 8 32¹⁶
2 Ex 410 523 924
2 Josh 14¹⁰
2 12¹³

2 29¹⁷ 5
2 12 21^{1c}

2 5 = lifted up cp
2 17^{6a}

thee a 'kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give me a 'pledge, till thou send it? ¹⁸ And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy 'signet and thy 'cord, and thy staff that is in thine hand. And he gave them to her, and came in unto her, and she conceived by him. ¹⁹ And she arose, and went away, and 'put off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her 'widowhood. ²⁰ And Judah sent the 'kid of the goats by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive the 'pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not. ²¹ Then he asked the 'men of her place, saying, Where is the 'harlot, that was at Enaim by the way side? And they said, There hath been no 'harlot here. ²² And he returned to Judah, and said, I have not found her; and also the 'men of the place said, There hath been no 'harlot here. ²³ And Judah said, Let her take it to her, lest we be 'put to shame: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her. ²⁴ And it came to pass about three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and moreover, behold, she is 'with child by 'whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be 'burnt. ²⁵ When she was brought forth, she sent to her 'father in law, saying, By the man, whose these are, am I 'with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the 'signet, and the cords, and the staff. ²⁶ And Judah acknowledged them, and said, She is more 'righteous than I; 'forasmuch as I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he 'knew her again no more. ²⁷ And it came to pass 'in the time of her travail, that, behold, 'twins were in her womb. ²⁸ And it came to pass, when she travailed, that one put out a hand: and the 'midwife took and 'bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying, This came out first. ²⁹ And it came to pass, as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his 'brother came out: and she said, 'Wherefore hast thou 'made a breach for thyself? therefore his name was called 'Perez. ³⁰ And afterward came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon his hand: and his name was called Zerah.

³⁰ And Joseph was brought 'down to Egypt; and 'Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, 'bought him of the hand of the 'Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither. ² And Yahweh was 'with Joseph, and he was a 'prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian. ³ And his master 'saw that Yahweh was 'with him, and that Yahweh made all that he did to 'prosper in his hand. ^{4a} And Joseph 'found grace in his sight,

^{4b} and he 'ministered unto him: ^{4c} and he made him 'overseer over his house, and all that he 'had he 'put into his hand. ⁵ And it came to pass 'from the time that he made him 'overseer in his house, and over all that he 'had, that Yahweh 'blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's 'sake; and the blessing of Yahweh was upon all that he 'had, in the house and in the field.

^{6a} And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand.

^{6b} And 'he knew not aught [that was] with him, save the bread which he did eat.

^{6c} And Joseph was 'comely, and well favoured. ^{7a} And it came to pass 'after these things . . .

^{7b} And his master's wife 'cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. ⁸ But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master 'knoweth not what is with me in the house, and he hath 'put

d 35
e 50

f 14
g 80

a 130
b 66

c 31^a
d 109
e 84

f 10^a

g 95

38²¹ 22 M 5 kedeshah, that is, a woman dedicated to impure heathen worship. See Deut 23¹⁷ Hos 4¹⁴.

20a M Or, how hast thou made a breach! a breach be upon thee.

20b M That is, A breach.

39¹ An editorial insertion, accommodating the data of E, 37²⁶, into J.

^{4b} This clause has probably been incorporated from E, cp the usage of the verb 'ministered' 40⁴ Ex 24¹³, and was perhaps originally continuous with 37²⁶. Similar traces probably exist in 6, ct 'all that he had' 5^{6a}. Other passages may contain further material now amalgamated beyond recognition.

^{6b} M Or, with him he knew not.

⁸ M Or, knoweth not with me what is &c.

⁷ So 5. T that.

J

JE

E P

k 47⁴⁰
l 20⁸
m 28 5*
n 5 = *hurl* 26²⁹
cp 32²⁹
o Ex 16^{5*}

p Ct 177
q Cp 21 Josh
88 23
r Ex 4³

s 32⁵⁰
t 17 19¹⁴

u Cp 185

v 20-23 40⁸ 5†

ac Cp 57

a Ct 2 *chief of the butlers*
b Ct 2 *Pharaoh*
c 5 = *sin against* 30⁹
d 5 = *master* 30²
e 41¹⁰ Deut 19⁴ al
f 37³⁰
g 41¹⁰
h Cp 30²⁰⁸
i Ct 30⁴
j Cp 4³

k 25⁹ 47⁴⁸ 47⁴ 5
l Prov 19³
2 Chron 26¹⁹
Dan 12^{1†}

all that he 'hath into my hand; ⁹ 'there is none ^kgreater in this house than I; neither hath he 'kept back any thing from me but thee, 'because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great 'wickedness, and sin against God? ¹⁰ And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph 'day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, [or] to be with her. ¹¹ And it came to pass about this time, that he went into the house to do his 'work; and there was none of the men of the house there within. ¹² And she 'caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and 'fled, and got him 'out. ¹³ And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth, ¹⁴ that she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them, saying, 'See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to 'mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice: ¹⁵ and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled, and got him out. ¹⁶ And she laid up his garment by her, until his master came home. ¹⁷ And she spake unto him 'according to these words, 'saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me: ¹⁸ and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled out. ¹⁹ And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, 'After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled. ²⁰ And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the 'prison, 'the place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison. ²¹ But Yahweh was 'with Joseph, and shewed 'kindness unto him, and 'gave him favour in the sight of the ^kkeeper of the prison. ²² And the keeper of the prison 'committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it. ²³ The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand, 'because Yahweh was 'with him; and that which he did, Yahweh made it to ^bprosper.

40¹ 'And it came to pass 'after these things,—[that] the 'butler of the 'king of Egypt and his 'baker 'offended their 'lord the 'king of Egypt—² 'that Pharaoh was 'wroth against his two 'officers, against the 'chief of the butlers, and against the 'chief of the bakers. ³ And he put them in 'ward in the house of the 'captain of the guard, into the 'prison, the place where Joseph was bound. ⁴ And the captain of the guard 'charged Joseph with them, and he 'ministered unto them: and they continued a 'season 'in ward. ⁵ And they 'dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream, in one night, each man according to the 'interpretation of his dream, 'the 'butler and the 'baker ^kof the 'king of Egypt, which were bound in the 'prison. ⁶ And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and saw them, and, behold, they were 'sad. ⁷ And he asked Pharaoh's

h i

i 2

j 31^b
k 19¹

a 95

b 19¹

c 109

d 101

e 106

39⁹ M. Or, he is not.

40². Apparently an editorial preparation for the narrative in 40², which is founded on the idea that Joseph's master, a high court-officer 40³ 37³⁰, was himself in charge of offenders against the royal pleasure. It is noteworthy that both the keeper of the prison 30²¹⁻²³ and the captain of the guard 40³, are designated by the same title *sar*.

40¹ The opening words of this verse contain one of E's recurring phrases, and probably led direct to ². R appears to have incorporated words from a similar narrative of J.

³ P And. The narrative of Joseph's life as a slave in the house of the captain of the guard, and his interpretation of the dreams first of the royal servants and then of Pharaoh himself, is derived almost wholly from E, as the criteria noted in the margins will show. In a few passages 40⁸ 10 the harmonist has endeavoured to combine E's conception with J's story of his imprisonment in consequence of the false charge of Potiphar's wife; and from this source is probably derived the statement in 41^{14b}. Both documents, however, appear to have narrated his prediction of the years of plenty and famine, and his elevation to the post

of Pharaoh's chief minister. From 41³⁰ onwards the narrative exhibits frequent signs of diversity of material, but its resolution into its original factors can only be attempted with much reserve as to detail. The critical problem is further complicated by the occasional appearance of words or expressions indicating that this whole group of narratives has passed through a much later redaction, cp Giesebrecht, *ZATW* 1 237, and Kuenen, *Hex* 328. Instances will be found in 40¹³ 41¹³ 47 42² 43¹⁴ 45¹⁹ 25. To these may be added the recurring formulae 'land of Canaan' 42⁵ 'to 44 (though this may be naturally explained as due to contrast with the 'land of Egypt) and 'spake ... saying' 30¹⁷ 18 42¹⁴ 50⁴ cp 185⁸, elsewhere in Gen JE only in an allied phrase 185⁴. In 42⁵ the appearance of the 'sons of Israel' has been attributed to the same influence cp 46⁵, but (as it would seem) unnecessarily. The frequency of the expression 'land of Egypt' (usual in P), eg fifteen times in JE 41¹⁸⁻³⁸ et 57 42¹⁻³ 43¹⁶ &c has also been quoted in this connexion; but its repeated recurrence (for example) in JE Ex 9-11 renders this explanation doubtful, unless, indeed, it be extended to this group of narratives also.

J

JE

E P

m Ct 35²⁰
 n Neh 2² 5†
 o 4r 16 38.
 p 12 Joel 17†
 q Cp Num 17⁵
 r Cp Is 18⁵ Job
 153†
 s Num 13²⁸
 Deut 32³²*
 t 5 Hiph†
 u 49¹¹ Num
 13³⁰ 23 al
 v 18 21 5* ct 44²
 w 5†
 x 19 Josh 11
 y 2 Kings 25²⁷
 z 4r 13 cp Dan
 117 20 38
 a' Cp Josh 615
 ct Lev 510 5
 b' 12¹³
 c' 37²⁸ cp 117
 d' 22⁵
 e' 41¹⁴ Ex 12²⁹
 f' Ex 29³ Judg
 619
 g' 22 4r 13 Josh
 82⁵ 10⁶ Job
 Deut 21²²*
 h' 24 cp 119†
 i' Ezek 164†
 j' 21⁸ cp 155

k' 27^{40b} 41³⁰
 n 80
 o Cp 29¹⁴ 5
 c 37 24³⁰
 d 18 Job 81†
 e 17 Ex 23 7¹⁵
 f 7 21 ct 281⁶
 g 221*
 h 5*
 i Ct Ex 25³¹
 j 23 27 5†
 k 40⁶
 l Dan 23 cp Ps
 77⁴
 m 14 31⁴
 n Cp 218⁵
 o 40²
 p 40³.

officers that were ^swith him ^qin ward in his master's ^mhouse, saying, Wherefore ⁿlook ye so sadly to-day? ⁸ And they said unto him, We have ^adreamed a dream, and there is none that can ^einterpret it. And Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong to ^oGod? tell it me, I pray you. ⁹ And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine was before me; ¹⁰ and in the vine were three ^bbranches: and it was as though it ^qbudded, [and] its ^bblossoms shot forth; [and] the ^eclusters thereof ^rbrought forth ripe ^r"grapes: ¹¹ and Pharaoh's ^vcup was in my hand; and I took the grapes and ^wpressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. ¹² And Joseph said unto him, This is the ^uinterpretation of it: the three branches are three days; ¹³ ^wwithin yet three days shall Pharaoh ^vlift up thine head, and restore thee unto thine ^uoffice: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former ^amanner when thou wast his butler. ¹⁴ ⁿBut have me in thy remembrance when it shall ^bbe well with thee, and ^wshow kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house: ¹⁵ for indeed I was ^estolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: ^aand ^dhere also have I done nothing that they should put me into the ^edungeon. ¹⁶ When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold, three ^fbaskets of ^wwhite bread were on my head: ¹⁷ and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head. ¹⁸ And Joseph answered and said, This is the interpretation thereof: the three baskets are three days; ¹⁹ ^wwithin yet three days shall Pharaoh ^vlift up thy head from off thee, and shall ^ehang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee. ²⁰ And it came to pass the ^hthird day, which was Pharaoh's ^vbirthday, that he made a ^jfeast unto all his servants: and he ^vlifted up the head of the chief butler and the head of the chief baker among his servants. ²¹ And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand: ²² but he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had interpreted to them. ²³ Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but ^kforgot him.

41¹ And it came to pass at the ^eend of two ^bfull years, that Pharaoh ^adreamed: and, behold, he ^estood by the ^wriver. ² And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, well favoured and fatted; and they fed in the ^dreed-grass. ³ And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the other kine upon the ^bbrink of the river. ⁴ And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh ^aawoke. ⁵ And he ^eslept and ^adreamed a second time: and, behold, seven ^hears of corn came up upon one ⁱstalk, ^wrank and good. ⁶ And, behold, seven ears, thin and ^jblasted with the east wind, sprung up after them. ⁷ And the thin ears swallowed up the seven ^wrank and full ears. And Pharaoh ^aawoke, and, behold, it was a dream. ⁸ And it came to pass in the ^hmorning that his spirit was ^ttroubled; and he ^wsent and called for all the ^wmagicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but there was none that could ^binterpret them unto Pharaoh. ⁹ Then ^wspake the ^echief butler unto Pharaoh, ^wsaying, I ^ado remember my faults this day: ¹⁰ Pharaoh was ^wwroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, me and the chief baker: ¹¹ and we dreamed

f 57^b

a 101

b 106

40⁷ According to E Joseph is the slave of Pharaoh's chief executioner 37³⁶, but he is not himself a prisoner, as is implied in 'with him,' which must therefore be due to R.

14 The phraseology of this verse has echoes of J, and the last

clause 'bring me out of this house' is rather the language of a prisoner than a slave cp 10⁶. Had J also a story of the dreams?

41¹ M 5 Fear, that is, the Nile. ⁶ M 5 fat, ⁸ M Or, sacred scribes. ⁹ M Or, will make mention of.

J

JE

E P

g Cp 37^{18x}r 40⁹z 40¹³t 40¹⁹u 40¹⁵ cp 40^{2x}v 2 Sam 12²⁰ 45

Piel†

20 40⁸z Ct 44 14²⁴y 40⁸ 45⁸z 40⁹

a' 5†

b' 37²⁴c' 29-31 54 47 53
Prov 3¹⁰ Eccl
51²⁴d' 27³⁶e' 2²⁸f' 89 Deut 13 4⁶g' 39⁵

a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream. ¹² And there was with us there a young man, an Hebrew, ⁹servant to the captain of the guard; and we ¹⁰told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret. ¹³ And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; ¹¹me he ¹²restored unto mine ¹³office, and him he ¹⁴hanged. ¹⁴ Then Pharaoh ¹⁵sent and called Joseph, ¹⁶and they brought him ¹⁷hastily out of the ¹⁸dungeon: and he shaved himself, and ¹⁹changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh. ²⁰ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, ²¹"I have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, that when thou hearest a dream thou canst interpret it. ²² And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, ²³"It is not in me: ²⁴"God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace. ²⁵ And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, ²⁶"In my dream, behold, I stood upon the brink of the river: ²⁷and, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in the reed-grass: ²⁸and, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness: ²⁹and the lean and ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine: ³⁰and when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still ill favoured, as ³¹at the beginning. So I ³²awoke. ³³ And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up upon one stalk, full and good: ³⁴and, behold, seven ears, ³⁵withered, thin, [and] ³⁶blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them: ³⁷and the thin ears swallowed up the seven good ears: and I told it unto the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to me. ³⁸ And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh is one: what ³⁹God is about to do he hath declared unto Pharaoh. ⁴⁰ The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one. ⁴¹ And the seven lean and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years, and also the seven ⁴²empty ears ⁴³blasted with the east wind; they shall be seven years of famine. ⁴⁴ That is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh; what ⁴⁵God is about to do he hath shewed unto Pharaoh. ⁴⁶ Behold, there come seven years of great ⁴⁷plenty throughout all the land of Egypt: ⁴⁸and there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land.

...³¹ And the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that ³²famine which followeth; for it shall be very ³³grievous.

³² And for that the dream was ³⁴doubled unto Pharaoh ³⁵twice, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will ³⁶shortly bring it to pass. ³⁷ Now therefore let Pharaoh ³⁸look out a man ³⁹discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.

³⁴ Let Pharaoh do [this], and let him ³⁵appoint ³⁶overseers over the land,

41¹³ M Or, I was restored . . . and he was hanged.

²⁹ The recital of Pharaoh's dreams is practically homogeneous, save for the insertion from J in ¹⁴. There are, indeed, some small phraseological differences in the repetition (e.g. ¹ 'by the river', ¹⁷ 'on the brink of the river'; חָרַר 2-4 and חָרַר 18, cp J in ³⁹ but also E 20¹⁷), but these seem altogether inadequate to establish any diversity of origin. The account of Joseph's counsel to the king, however, and his subsequent promotion shows various marks of its dual source. Thus ³⁰ and ³¹ seem to contain duplicate predictions: in ³³ Pharaoh is advised to nominate one minister with full responsibility, but in ³⁴ a fresh suggestion is made for the appointment of a number of officers, while the reservation of one-fifth of the produce is plainly different from the recommendation to collect 'all the food' of the coming plentiful years. But ³³ is the natural sequel of ³², and ^{36a} apparently refers to ²⁹ (the plural subject being an editorial accommodation). The food was to be stored in the

cities ^{35b} 48, where its sale was under Joseph's direction ^{36b} 42⁸; and this points to a different arrangement from the migrations rendered necessary in ⁴⁷²¹. The investiture of Joseph ⁴¹⁻⁴³ with power over 'all the land of Egypt' is described in terms harmonious with J, and contrasting with his elevation 'over Pharaoh's house' ⁴⁰ cp 45⁸. But many critics, it may be noted, attribute ⁴².. (in whole or part) to E. The name Poti-phera, however, bears a most suspicious likeness to Potiphar, Joseph's master, according to E 37³⁶. It seems possible that the same name was lodged in the traditions, but was variously applied in J and E. If ⁴⁶ is rightly assigned to J, the name in ⁵⁰ is due to the harmonist. The duplicates in ^{45b} and ^{46b} suggest that in ^{45b} 46a there is an extract from P's brief notice of Joseph's administration: the datum of age is in P's manner, and is hardly to be reconciled with the description of Benjamin's youth in JE.

J E

J E

J E P

h' 47⁵⁴

and 'take up the ^{h'}fifth part 'of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years,

i' 48 Josh 10⁶j' 49 Ex 31⁴

ct 48 j'

k' 39²² cp 169l' Cp 48 ct 47²¹m' Lev 62 4¹

n' j' = be not cut

o' j' Josh 9²³p' 34¹⁸ 45¹⁶q' 40²⁰q' 45⁸r' 45²¹s' 37¹⁰ Ex 33¹²t' j' = put 39⁸

ct 33

u' Ct Ex 23¹² cpv' 1a 3²¹w' Ezek 16¹¹+x' 46²³ Ex 14²⁵15⁴⁸

45 LXXA

y' 3²⁰

^{35a} And let them 'gather all the food of these good years that come.

^{35b} and 'lay up corn ^{l'}under the hand of Pharaoh for food,

^{35c} in the ^{l'}cities, and let them keep it. ^{35d} And the food shall be for a ^{m'}store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt;

^{36b} that the land ^{m'}perish not through the famine.

³⁷ And the thing ^{o'}was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of ^{p'}all his servants. ³⁸ And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the spirit of God is? ³⁹ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as ^{i'}God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so ^{j'}discreet and wise as thou: ⁴⁰ thou shalt be ^{q'}over my house, and ^{r'}according unto thy word shall all my people ^{be}ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. . . .

⁴¹ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'See, I have ^{t'}set thee over all the land of Egypt. ⁴² And Pharaoh took off his ^{u'}signet ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and ^{v'}arrayed him in vestures of ^{fine}linen, and put a gold ^{w'}chain about his neck; ⁴³ and he made him to ride in the second ^{x'}chariot which he had; and they cried before him, ^{Bow}the knee: and he ^{y'}set him over all the land of Egypt. ⁴⁴ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. ^{45a} And Pharaoh ^{u'}called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-phaera priest of On.

. . . ^{45b} And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt. ^{46a} And Joseph was thirty years ^{o'}old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt.

g 119^a

^{46b} And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and ^{u'}went throughout all the land of Egypt.

⁴⁷ And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by ^{u'}handfuls. ⁴⁸ And he ^{v'}gathered up all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the ^{l'}cities: the food of the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in the same.

⁴⁹ And Joseph ^{j'}laid up corn as the ^{b'}sand of the sea, ^{c'}very much, until he ^{d'}left ^{q'}numbering; for it was without number.

⁵⁰ And unto Joseph ^{j'}were born two sons before the year of famine came, which ^{o'}Asenath the daughter of Poti-phaera priest of On bare unto him.

⁵¹ And Joseph called the name of the firstborn ^{m'}Manasseh: For, ^{said}he, God hath made me forget all my ^{h'}toil, and all my ^{i'}father's house.

⁵² And the name of the second called he ^{Ephraim}: For God hath made me ^{j'}fruitful in the land of my ^{k'}affliction. ⁵³ And the seven years of plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, ^{v'}came to an end. ⁵⁴ And the seven years of famine ^{m'}began to come, according as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. ⁵⁵ And when all the land of Egypt was ^{m'}famished, the people ^{b'}cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; ^{o'}what he saith to you, do.

^{56a} And the famine was over ^{p'}all the face of the earth.

^{56b} And Joseph opened all the ^{n'}storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; ^{q'}and the famine was ^{r'}sore in the land of Egypt.

h 141

z' j' = passed 12⁶46^a Lev 2⁸ 5¹² 6¹⁵+cp Num 5²⁶l' 22¹⁷ 32¹²c' 15¹d' 11¹⁸e' 15⁵ j'f' j' 50²³ 42⁹

g' Cp 45

h' Num 23²¹Deut 26⁷ ai' 20¹³j' Cp 26²²k' 31⁴² Deut26⁷ nll' 21¹⁵

m' Cp 8

n' Deut 83

Hiph^ao' 31¹⁶

p' Cp 114 8.

q' Cp omits, cp

57^br' 47²⁰ ct 31 j'

41⁴⁰ M Or, order themselves. Or, do homage.—j' 'kiss' cp 143.

42 M Or, cotton.

43 M Abrech, probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning to kneel.

44 M That is, Making to forget.

45 M From a Hebrew word signifying to be fruitful.

55a Apparently a doublet of 54.

55b j' literally 'all in which was . . .' Sam adds 'corn,' 55c 55d point to words equivalent to the RV. j' is generally regarded as corrupt. The last clause, omitted by 55, may be due to RP.

J	E	J E P	
			⁵⁷ And all ⁿ countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; ⁿ because the famine was ^r sore in all the earth.
			⁴² ¹ Now Jacob saw that ^a there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye ^l look one upon another? . . .
a 5 Hithpa ^a			... ² And he said, ^b Behold, I have heard that ^a there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; ^c that we may live, and not die.
b 27 ⁶			³ And ^d Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn from Egypt.
c 43 ⁸ 47 ¹⁹			⁴ But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure ^e mischief befall him. ⁵ And the sons of ^f Israel came to buy among those that came: for the famine was in the ^g land of Canaan.
d Ct 5 cp 6			⁶ And Joseph ^h was the ^g governor over the land; he it was that ^h sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and ⁱ bowed down themselves to him with their ^j faces to the earth.
e 38 44 ²⁰ Ex 21 ²² †			⁷ And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but ^k made himself strange unto them, [^{7b} ^{7c} and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy ^l food. . .
f Cp 49			⁸ And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him. ⁹ And Joseph ^m remembered the ⁿ dreams which he ^o dreamed ^p of them,— ^{7b} ^{7c} and he spake ^r roughly with them;—and said unto them, Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come. ¹⁰ And they said unto him, Nay, ^{my} lord, but to buy food are ^{thy} servants come. ¹¹ We are all one man's sons; we are ^q true men, ^{thy} servants are no spies. ¹² And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come. ¹³ And they said, We ^{thy} servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one ^r is not. ¹⁴ And Joseph said unto them, That is it that I ^s spake unto you, ^{saying} , Ye are spies: ¹⁵ hereby ye shall be ^t proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither. ¹⁶ Send one of you, and let him ^u fetch your brother, and ye shall be ^v bound, that your words may be ^w proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies. ¹⁷ And he ^{put} them all together into ward three days. ¹⁸ And Joseph said unto them the ^x third day, This do, and ^y live; for I ^z fear God: ¹⁹ if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be ^{bound} in your prison house; but go ye, carry corn for the ^z famine of your
g Eccles 7 ¹⁹ 38 10 ⁵ 5†			
h 41 ^{66b}			
i 19 ¹ cp 37 ¹⁰			
j 5 Hithpa ^a			
k 43 ² 20 22 44 ²⁵			
l 40 ¹⁴ 23			
m 37 ⁵			
n Cp 18			
o 19 31-34 5 ^a			
p 36 37 ³⁰			
q Cp 218 ⁵			
r 5 ^a			
s 27 ⁴⁵			
t 19 24 cp 39 ³⁰			
u 46 ²⁹ Ex 14 ⁶			
v 5=gathered			
w 20 ²²			
x 22 ⁴ cp 119 ^d			
y 20 ⁷ 5			
z 38 Ps 37 ¹⁹			

⁴¹^{57a} 5 'all the earth' followed by a plural verb: cf the plural of the same noun in ⁵⁴ 'all lands.'

^{57b} This clause has somewhat the air of an editorial annotation, hardly needed after ^{56a}: the word 'was sore' is not J's usual phrase cp ^{56b}.

⁴²¹ The narrative in 42-45 presents the same general characteristics as that in 40-41; there are considerable portions which are clearly uncomounded; there are others in which the interlacing of different documents appears extremely close. To the indications already enumerated the following parallels and contrasts may be added:—

J
Israel 42⁵ 43⁸ 11 45²⁸.
Joseph recognizes his brethren 42¹.

He does not disclose himself but makes kindly inquiries 42^{1c} 43⁷. 27. . . His brothers describe him as 'the man' 43³⁻⁵ 7 &c.

The money is found in the mouth of the sacks, when one of them is opened for provender on the way 42²⁷ 28a 43¹² 18 21 44⁸.

J employs the word *amtahoth* for sack 42^{27b} 28 43¹² 18 21-23 28 44⁸ 11+.

E
Jacob 42¹ 38 45²⁷.
42⁸.

Speaks roughly and accuses them of being spies 7b v. . . 30. His brothers describe him as 'the man, the lord of the land' 42²⁰ 33.

The money is found in the sacks on being emptied when they reach Jacob, provision for the way being furnished separately 42²⁵ 35.

E uses *sag* 42²⁵ 35; its occurrence in 42^{27a} seems due to the compiler.

J
The brothers wait till the corn is consumed before making a second journey 43².

Judah takes the lead 43³ 8 44¹⁴ 18.

The analysis founded on these differences both of substance and form cannot, however, attain in many cases to more than various degrees of probability, and it is sometimes possible that a passage which seems to be simple may comprise diverse elements. Thus in 43⁹ 'of my hand shalt thou require him' may be a doublet (E) of 'surety' (J); so that ^{9b} 10 may conceivably be drawn from E. Similarly in 45¹ 'to preserve you a remnant' (J), and 'to save you alive' (E). The linguistic affinities are not by any means always decisive: an attempt is made in the margin to indicate their conflicting character: as in the story of Jacob, so here, the similarities of style are very close. Thus two words are used for corn, *shebher* 42¹. 19 28 43² 44² 47¹⁴ and *bar* 41³⁵ 49 42³⁻²⁵ 45²⁵. Both seem employed by each writer as by Amos 8⁵.

⁵ On the expression 'land of Canaan' 5 7 18 29 32 cp 40²⁸.
⁸ This clause may be due to R, cp the late usage of *wt*; in Chaldee frequent in Daniel and in Ezr 4²⁰ 7²⁴; cp 40²⁸.

^{7b} This clause seems out of place in the present text of 7, and appears to suit E's bitter accusation 'ye are spies' better than J's friendly inquiry 'whence come ye?' It is therefore transposed to ⁹.

J E

J E

J E P

y Cp Num 12⁷ 5
Deut 7⁹ 28⁵⁹
2 17¹⁹
a' 2 Sam 14¹³
Ezr 10¹⁹
b' 33³
c' Deut 32³⁸
d' 37 37²²

e' 37²²
f' 35 ct 27
g' 45²¹
h' Cp 32¹⁷ 46⁵ 5

i' 29⁵
j' Cp 1¹⁸ 43¹² 21
k' 18⁹ 5

l' 34¹⁰
m' 14¹⁴
n' Ct 27 43²¹

o' 28¹⁷
p' Ex 19¹⁶

q' Ex 1¹⁸ 21²⁹
cp Gen 18²⁵

r' 44²⁰ ct 13
s' 7²³ cp 69, ct
t' 44²⁰
u' 44²⁹ 31
v' Ct 15¹⁵ 5
w' 44²⁹ 31^a
x' 18³³ 5
y' 42⁷
z' 7 & 44²⁶ ct
aa' 20 33
ab' Ex 15²¹ 23
ac' Dent 42²
ad' e 44²³
ae' f 24⁴² 49 5^a
af' g 42²

h 19⁷

i 24⁴⁷ cp 23⁷

houses: ²⁰ and bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be ^verified, and ye shall not die. And they did so. ²¹ And they said ^eone to another, We are ^averily ^aguilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the ^bdistress of his soul, when he ^cbesought us, and we would not hear; ^btherefore is this ^bdistress come upon us. ²² And ^dReuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore also, behold, his blood is required. ²³ And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for there was an ⁱinterpreter between them. ²⁴ And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and he returned to them, and spake to them, and took Simeon from among them, and ^bbound him before their eyes. ²⁵ Then Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with corn, and to ^erestore every man's money into his ^jsack, and to ^ggive them provision for the way: and thus was it done unto them. ²⁶ And they ^hladed their asses with their corn, and departed thence.

...²⁷ And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass ⁱprovender in the ^jlodging place, he ⁱespied his money; and, behold, it was in the mouth of his ^jsack. ²⁸ And he said unto his brethren, My money is restored; and, lo, it is ^keven in my ^jsack: and their heart failed them".

²⁹ And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that had befallen them; ³⁰ saying, The man, the lord of the land, spake ⁿroughly with us, and took us for spies of the country.

³¹ And we said unto him, We are ^otrue men; we are no spies: ¹² we be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one ^pis not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the land of Canaan. ³³ And the man, the lord of the land, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are ^otrue men; leave one of your brethren with me, and take [corn for] the ⁿfamine of your houses, and go your way: ³⁴ and bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye are ^otrue men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall ^vtraffick in the land. ³⁵ And it came to pass as they ⁿemptied their ^jsacks, that, behold, every man's ⁿbundle of money was ⁿin his ^jsack: and when they and their father saw their bundles of money, they were ^oafraid. —^{28b} ⁿAnd they turned ^vtrembling ^eone to another, saying, What is this that God hath done unto us? —³⁶ And Jacob their father said unto them, Me have ye ^kbereaved of my children: Joseph ^pis not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are ⁿagainst me. ³⁷ And ^dReuben spake unto his father, saying, ^qSlay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will ^ebring him to thee again.

...³⁸ And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is ^vdead, and he only is ^vleft: if ^vmischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye ^vbring down my ^vgray hairs with ^vsorrow to ⁿthe ⁱgrave.

⁴³ ¹ And the famine was ^asore in the land. ² And it came to pass, when they had ^aeaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a ^blittle ^bfood. ³ And Judah spake unto him, saying, The ^cman did solemnly ^cprotest unto us, saying, ^eYe shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. ⁴ If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will ^ggo down and buy thee food: ⁵ but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for the ^cman said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. ⁶ And ^dIsrael said, Wherefore ^hdealt ye so ill with me, as to tell the ^cman whether ye had yet a brother? ⁷ And they said, The ^cman ⁱasked straitly concerning ourselves, and concerning our ^ekindred,

g 112

h 85

i 67

j 53

k 98

l 75

a 26

b 51

c 84

d 49

e 60

⁴² ²⁸ The rest of this verse ^{28b} is marked by E's phraseology, cp 'one to another,' 'Elohim,' and seems misplaced here. It appears most appropriate after ³⁵, when the discovery is made

that each man's money has been returned to him cp ⁴² ¹⁸.

³⁶ M. Or, upon.

³⁸ M. S. Sheol. See 37³⁵.

J E

J E

J E P

j Ex 34²⁷ Deut
17¹⁰, ct 4¹⁴⁰
5
k 11 12 39¹
l 42²
m 44^{32*} cp 38¹⁷
5
n 31³⁹
o 44³² cp 13^{18a}
p 31⁴²
q 19¹⁶
r Cp 27³⁸ 5
s 27³³
t 5^{*}
u 4³
v 37²⁵

w 5 = restored
28
x 42²⁷
y 42¹⁸
z 5[†]
aa Cp 39²¹
ab Cp 30 Deut
ac 13^{17*} Jer 42¹²
ad 42¹⁹ 24

ae Cp 39⁴⁴ 4⁴
af Ex 22¹ Deut
28^{31*}
ag 25 Josh 11¹ al
ah 25 Deut 28^{29*}

ai 12¹⁷

aj Deut 5¹⁸ 25
ak Ezek 10¹
al Hithpa[†]
am 18²³

an 24²²

ao 27. cp 29⁶ Ex
18⁷ Judg 6²⁸

ap 18⁴

aq Cp 26² 5
ar Cp 73
as 33⁵
at Ct 14 5
au 1 Kings 3²⁸
av Hos 12³ cp
aw Lam 3^{10†}
ax Ex 21⁵ 42⁴
ay Ex 8³ cp
az Judg 15¹
ba Sam 13¹⁰
bb 1 Kings 11⁵ 5

saying, Is your father 'yet alive? 'have ye [another] brother? and we told him 'according to the tenor of these words: could we in any wise know that he would say, 'Bring your brother down? ⁸ And Judah said unto 'Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may 'live, and not die, 'both we, and thou, and also our 'little ones. ⁹ I will 'be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou 'require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and 'set him before thee, then 'let me bear the blame 'for ever: ¹⁰ for 'except we had 'lingered, 'surely we had now returned a 'second time. ¹¹ And their father 'Israel said unto them, If it be so 'now, do this; take of the 'choice fruits of the land in your vessels, and 'carry down the 'man a 'present, a 'little 'balm, and a 'little honey, 'spicery and myrrh, 'nuts, and almonds: ¹² and take double money in your hand; and the money that was 'returned in the 'mouth of your 'sacks carry again in your hand; 'peradventure it was an 'oversight: ¹³ take also your brother, and arise, go again unto the 'man.

. . . ¹⁴ and 'God Almighty 'give you 'mercy before the 'man, that he may release unto you your 'other brother and Benjamin. And if I be 'bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

¹⁵ And the men took that 'present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph. ¹⁶ And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the 'steward of his house, Bring the men into the house, and 'slay, and 'make ready; for the men shall dine with me at 'noon.

¹⁷ And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house. ¹⁸ And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, 'Because of the money

that was 'returned in our 'sacks 'at the first time are we brought in; that he may 'seek occasion against us, and 'fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses. ¹⁹ And they 'came near to the 'steward

of Joseph's house, and they spake unto him at the door of the house, and said, ²⁰ 'Oh my lord, we came indeed down 'at the first time to buy food: ²¹ and 'it came to pass, when we came to the 'lodging place, that we opened our 'sacks, and, behold, every man's money was in the 'mouth of his sack, our money in full 'weight: and we have brought it again in our hand. ²² And other money have we 'brought down in our hand to buy food: we know not who put our money in our 'sacks. ²³ And he said, 'Peace be to you, fear not: your God, and the

'God of your father, hath given you 'treasure in your sacks: I had your money. 'And he brought 'Simeon out unto them. ²⁴ And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they 'washed their feet; and he gave their asses 'provender. ²⁵ And they 'made ready the 'present against Joseph came at 'noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there. ²⁶ And when Joseph came home, they brought him the 'present which was in their hand into the house, and 'bowed down themselves to him to the earth. ²⁷ And he asked them of their 'welfare, and said, Is your father 'well, the old man 'of whom ye spake? Is he 'yet alive? ²⁸ And they said, 'Thy servant our father is 'well, he is 'yet alive. And they 'bowed the head, and made obeisance. ²⁹ And he lifted up his eyes, and saw Benjamin his brother, his mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest brother, 'of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be 'gracious unto thee, my son. ³⁰ And Joseph 'made haste; for his 'bowels did 'yearn upon his brother: and he 'sought where to weep; and he entered into his 'chamber, and wept there. ³¹ And he washed his face,

43⁹ M 5 I shall have sinned against thee for ever.

11a M See 37²⁵.

14 M 5 Et Shaddai.—The occurrence of this name (cp 'x)

11b M That is, pistachio nuts.

seems due to the late redaction which has left its traces on other portions of the Joseph-cycle cp 40²⁸.

18 M 5 roll himself upon us.

J

JE

E P

and came out; and he ^{u'}refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.
 32 And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves,
 and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because
 the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an
^{v'}abomination unto the Egyptians. 33 And they sat before him, the
 firstborn according to his ^{w'}birthright, and the youngest according to
 his ^{z'}youth: and the men ^{l'}marvelled one with another. 34 And ^{h'}he took
 [and sent] ^{l'}messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's ^{l'}mess
 was five ^{x'}times so much as any of theirs. And they drank, and ^{y'}were
 merry with him.

44¹ And he commanded the ^asteward of his house, saying, Fill the
 men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, ⁿand put every man's
 money in his sack's mouth. 2 And put my ^bcup, the silver cup, in the
^csack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did ^aaccording
 to the word that Joseph had spoken. 3 As soon as the morning was
 light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. 4 [And] when
 they were gone out of the city, and were not yet ^dfar off, Joseph said
 unto his ^asteward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost
^eovertake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for
 good? ⁿ[Wherefore have ye stolen my silver cup?] 5 ^{z'}Is not this it
 in which my lord drinketh, and whereby he indeed ^ddivineth? ye have
^{u'}done evil in so doing. 6 And he ^eovertook them, and he spake unto
 them these words. 7 And they said unto him, Wherefore speaketh ^{h'}my
 lord ^asuch words as these? ^{h'}God forbid that ^cthy servants should do
 such a thing. 8 Behold, the money, which we found in our ^c'sacks'
 mouths, we ^{h'}brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: ^{h'}how
 then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? 9 With
 whomsoever of ^cthy servants it be found, let him ^ddie, and we also will
 be ^b'my lord's bondmen. 10 And he said, Now also let it ^b'be ^a'according
 unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my bondman;
 and ye shall be ^m'blameless. 11 Then they ^dhasted, and took down
 every man his ^csack to the ground, and opened every man his sack.
 12 And he ^{z'}'searched, [and] ^a'began at the eldest, and ^{z'}'left at the
 youngest: and the ^b'cup was found in Benjamin's ^csack. 13 Then they
^{z'}'rent their clothes, and ^{l'}'laded every man his ass, and returned to the
 city. 14 And ^{h'}Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; and
 he was ^{z'}'yet there: and they ^{z'}'fell before him on the ground. 15 And
 Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? know
 ye not that such a man as I can indeed ^d'divine? 16 And ^{h'}Judah said,
 What shall we say unto ^b'my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall
 we ^e'clear ourselves? God hath found out the ^{u'}'iniquity of ^c'thy servants:
^{z'}'behold, we are ^b'my lord's bondmen, ^{z'}'both we, ^{z'}'and he also in whose
 hand the cup is found. 17 And he said, ^{h'}God forbid that I should do so:
 the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my bondman; but
 as for you, get you up ^v'in peace unto your father.

18 Then Judah came near unto him, and said, ^{h'}Oh my lord, let ^c'thy
 servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ^{w'}'ears, and let not thine
 anger burn against ^c'thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh. 19 ^b'My
 lord asked ^{h'}'his servants, saying, 'Have ye a father, or a brother?
 20 And we said unto ^b'my lord, We ^{h'}'have a father, an old man, and a child
 of his ^{z'}'old age, a little one; and his brother is ^{z'}'dead, and he alone is
^{z'}'left of his mother, and his father loveth him. 21 And thou saidst unto
^c'thy servants, ^{z'}'Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon

43^{34a} M Or, messes were taken. 34^b M ^{h'} drank largely.

44¹ The return of each man's money a second time can hardly be part of the original story. The device of the cup is designed to test the loyalty of the brothers to Benjamin. But a repetition of the gift of the money (by which their honesty had been already successfully proved ^{z'}) has no further signi-

ficance. And when the sacks are opened ¹¹, nothing is said of its discovery, ct 42²⁷, and 42³⁵.

⁴ The words in brackets found in ^{h'} ^{z'} ^e seem to have dropped accidentally out of the text.

¹⁶ Some critics propose to read ^{z'}'they' as in 7. Judah seems first to act as spokesman in ¹⁸.

J E

JE

J E P

him. ²² And we said unto ^bmy lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for if he should leave his father, his father would die. ²³ And thou ^asaidst unto ^cthy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more. ²⁴ And ^kit came to pass^k when we came up unto ^cthy servant my father, we told him the words of ^bmy lord. ²⁵ And our father said, ^vGo again, buy us a ^blittle food. ²⁶ And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother ⁱbe with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the ^cman's face, except our youngest brother be with us. ²⁷ And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons: ²⁸ and the one went out from me, and I said, Surely ^dhe is torn in pieces; and I have not seen him since: ²⁹ and if ye take ^ethis one also from me, and ^f'mischief befall him, ^f'ye shall bring down my gray hairs with ^msorrow to ^mthe ^mgrave. ³⁰ Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that ^mhis life is bound up in the lad's life; ³¹ it shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not [with us], that he will die: and ^cthy servants shall ^f'bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to ^mthe ^mgrave. ³² For ^cthy servant became ^vsurety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then shall I ^v'bear the blame to my father for ever. ³³ Now therefore, let ^cthy servant, I pray thee, abide instead of the lad a bondman to ^bmy lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren. ³⁴ For ^vhow shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.

⁴⁵^{1a} ^mThen Joseph could not ^arefrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me.

^{1b} And there stood no man with him, while Joseph ^bmade himself known unto his brethren. ² And he ^m'wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard, ^{2b} and the ^dhouse of Pharaoh heard.

³ And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; ^edoth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they ^f'were troubled at his presence,

⁴ And Joseph said unto his brethren, ^vCome near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye ^hsold into Egypt. ^{5a} And now be not ^a'grieved,

... ^{5b} ^mAnd be not ^a'angry with yourselves,

^{5c} that ye ^hsold me hither;

... ^{5d} for God did send me before you to ^v'preserve life. ⁶ For these two years hath the famine been ^kin the land: and there are yet five years, in the which there shall be neither ^v'plowing nor ^m'harvest. ⁷ And God sent me before you to preserve you a ^m'remnant in the earth, and to ^v'save you alive ^a'by a great ^v'deliverance. ⁸ So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his ^v'house, and ^v'ruler over all the land of Egypt.

⁹ ^bHaste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy

44^{29a} 81 M ^hevil.—Op Ex 32¹² ^h.

29b 81 M ^hSheol. See 37³⁵.

80 M Or, his soul is knit with the lad's soul. See 1 Sam 18¹.

45¹ The narrative of Joseph's disclosure of himself and the subsequent invitation to his father and brethren is obviously composite, but some uncertainty still hangs about the details. The opening seems to be derived from J in sequel to the pleading of Judah, and with this is associated the allusion to the transaction with the Ishmaelites ⁴. Joseph's message to his father follows in ⁹ with the promise of residence in Goshen ¹⁰. The urgency of ⁹ is repeated in ¹³; in ¹⁴ Joseph falls on Benjamin's neck cp ²⁸; the 'little ones' ¹⁹ also seem to belong to J, and in ²⁸ it is Israel who accepts his son's proposal. On the other hand a number of indications plead

for E. In ^{1b} 'stood' represents a different ^h compared with ^{1a}; 'made himself known', 'wept aloud' each occur but once elsewhere and both in E; the question in ⁸ is E's parallel to the inquiry in 43²⁷; in ^{5b-8} the use of Elohim makes for E (cp the marginal passages) as do the parallels to ¹² and ¹⁶. The account of Pharaoh's command to Joseph ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ is a duplicate of Joseph's instructions ⁹⁻¹¹, while the gifts of Joseph in ^{21b-23} produce the desired effect on Jacob ²⁵⁻²⁷ (cp Israel ²⁸). In the sequel J represents Joseph as only informing Pharaoh about his family when they have actually reached Goshen 46²⁸...: there is thus a clear divergence between the two narratives.

² M ^h gave forth his voice in weeping.

⁶ So ^h, T nor angry with yourselves.

⁷ M Or, to be a great company that escape.

J E

J E

J E P

son Joseph, ¹⁰God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: ¹⁰ and thou shalt dwell in the land of 'Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy ¹¹flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast: ¹¹ and there will I ¹²nourish thee; for there are yet ¹²five years of famine; lest thou ¹³come to poverty, thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast.

¹² And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you.

¹³ And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall ¹⁴haste and bring down my father hither.

¹⁴ And he ¹⁵fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck.

¹⁵ And he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him. ¹⁶ And the ¹⁷fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it ¹⁸pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants. ¹⁷ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; ¹⁹lade your ²⁰beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; ¹⁸ and take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the ²¹good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.

¹⁹ Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you ²⁰wagons out of the land of Egypt for your ²¹little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come. ²⁰ Also ²²regard not your stuff; for the ²³good of all the land of Egypt is yours. ²¹ And the ²⁴sons of Israel ²⁵did so:

²¹ And Joseph gave them ²⁶wagons, ²⁷according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and ²⁸gave them provision for the way. ²² To all of them he gave each man ²⁹changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and ³⁰five changes of raiment. ²³ And to his father he sent ³¹after this manner; ten asses laden with the ³²good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn and bread and ³³victual for his father by the way. ²⁴ So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye ³⁴fall not out by the way. ²⁵ And they went up out of Egypt, and ³⁵came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father. ²⁶ And they told him, saying, Joseph is ³⁶yet alive, and he is ³⁷ruler over all the land of Egypt. And his heart ³⁸fainted, for he ³⁹believed them not. ²⁷ And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the ⁴⁰wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father ⁴¹revived.

²⁸ And Israel said, It is ⁴²enough; Joseph my son is ⁴³yet alive: I will go and see him before ⁴⁴I die.

⁴⁵ And ⁴⁶Israel ⁴⁷took his journey with ⁴⁸all that he had, ⁴⁹and came to Beer-sheba.

² And God ⁵⁰spake unto ⁵¹Israel in the ⁵²visions of the night, and said, ⁵³Jacob, Jacob. And he said, ⁵⁴Here am I. ³ And he said, I am God,

⁴⁷ 12 50²¹
¹ Cp 6
² Niph Prov
²⁰ 18 23 21 30²⁴

² Ct 2b

²⁰ 41³⁷

² 6¹ Ct 44¹³

³ Ex 22⁵ cp

Num 20⁴

²⁰ 28 23 24¹⁰

² 21 27 46⁵ Num
⁷ 3 8 8⁸

¹ Cp Deut 7¹⁶

² 42⁵

² 29²⁸ Ex 17⁶

Josh 5¹⁵

¹ Cp 19

² 42²⁶

² 41¹⁴

² 43³⁴

² Josh 7²⁰⁸

² 2 Chron 11²³

Dan 4¹² 21⁴

² 5 = tremble

Ex 15¹⁴ Deut

23³

¹ 42²⁹

¹ Cp 3

² Hab 1⁴ Ps 77³

38⁸

² 15⁶

² 5 lived cp Ps

22²⁶ 65³²

² 42²⁶

² 43²⁷

² 45³⁰ 27⁴

² 11²

² 22³

² Num 12²⁸ cp

15¹

² Cp 22¹¹

o 39

d 33

o 28

f 52

a 49

b 124

c 104

⁴⁵ The language of this verse is not inconsistent with J ⁴⁶haste' ⁴⁷43, 'tarry not' ⁴⁸19¹⁷ cp Josh 10¹⁹ except in the use of 'Elohim' which is no longer dramatically appropriate as in ⁴⁹43²³ ⁵⁰44¹⁶ between supposed strangers, and may be due to editorial assimilation, cp 50⁴⁴. The words can hardly be referred to E who ascribes to Pharaoh ⁵¹17, the first invitation to Jacob and his sons to settle in Egypt.

⁵² The first words of this verse 'now thou art commanded' do not seem to cohere with what precedes or follows. The instructions begin in ⁵³17, from Pharaoh to Joseph: they are continued without a break in ⁵⁴19 from Joseph to his brethren. ⁵⁵19 appears to come from another hand. In the opening phrase the Hebrew conjugation (found elsewhere only in P Ex 34³⁴ Lev 8¹⁵ 10¹³ Num 3¹⁶ 36², and Ezek 12²⁴ 37¹) is unusual; (6) reads 'command thou,' Sam 'I have commanded.' The uncertainty of the text is probably due to editorial touches which cannot now be fully traced. But it does not seem

necessary to ascribe the whole of ⁵⁶19, to R cp 46³¹: the peculiar phrase in ⁵⁷20a, 'your eye shall not pity,' though common in D 43^b in another application, is not exclusively Deuteronomic Ezek 5¹¹ 7⁴ 9 &c Is 13¹⁸ cp 1 Sam 24¹⁰: in ⁵⁸20b 'the good of all the land' seems an original parallel to ⁵⁹18, rather than an editorial addition which would have been superfluous. But the union of ⁶⁰19, with ⁶¹17, begot some slight touches in ⁶²21 from R. It would seem from ⁶³9, 46³¹ that the initiative in sending for Jacob, according to J, lay with Joseph: E also ascribes the gift of wagons to him ⁶⁴21 27; the references to Pharaoh, therefore, in ⁶⁵21 and ⁶⁶46 must be later editorial interpretations of Joseph's action.

⁶⁷46¹ This clause is probably due to the editor who combined J and E. In 37¹⁴ (J) Israel seems to be living in Hebron: while E 46⁶ apparently regards Beer-sheba as his home. ⁶⁸1b seems the sequel of the vision in ⁶⁹3, and is therefore placed after ⁷⁰4.

⁷¹ Probably Jacob originally as in ⁷²2b.

J	JE	E	P	
e 31 ⁵ Ex 3 ⁶ cp 150 f 21 ¹³ g Cp 28 ²⁰ 31 ⁵ h 17a, i 31 ⁵⁴	the 'God of thy father: ^d fear not to go down into Egypt; for 'I will there 'make of thee a great nation: ⁴ I will go down 'with thee into Egypt; and I will 'also 'surely 'bring thee up again: and Joseph shall 'put his hand upon thine eyes.— ^{1b} L ⁸ And [he] 'offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac.— ⁵ And Jacob 'rose up from Beer-sheba. 'And the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their 'little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.			d 154 e 193 f 126 g 237 h 136 i 194 j 128 k 52
i 12 ⁵	... ^c And they 'took their cattle, and their 'goods, which they had 'gotten in the 'land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, 'and all his seed 'with him: ⁷ his sons, and his sons' sons 'with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.			l 155 m 4 n 162 o 176
j 387 10	⁸ And 'these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn. ⁹ And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch, and Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi. ¹⁰ And the sons of Simeon; 'Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and 'Jachin, and 'Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. ¹¹ And the sons of Levi; 'Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. ¹² And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Perez, and Zerah: but Er and Onan 'died in the 'land of Canaan. And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. ¹³ And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and 'Puvah, and Iob, and Shimron. ¹⁴ And the sons of Zebulun; Seread, and Elon, and Jahleel.			p 188
k Ct 35 ²⁸ 30 ²¹	¹⁵ 'These are the sons of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in 'Paddan-aram, 'with his daughter Dinah: all the 'souls of his sons and his daughters were thirty and three. ¹⁶ And the sons of Gad; 'Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and 'Ezbon, Eri, and 'Arodi, and Areli. ¹⁷ And the sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah, and Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel. ¹⁸ 'These are the sons of Zilpah, which Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob, even sixteen 'souls. ¹⁹ The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph and Benjamin. ²⁰ And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which 'Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On bare unto him. ²¹ And the sons of Benjamin; 'Bela, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, 'Ehi, and Rosh, 'Muppim, and 'Huppim, and Ard. ²² These are the sons of Rachel, which 'were born to Jacob: all the souls were fourteen. ²³ And the sons of Dan; 'Hushim. ²⁴ And the sons of Naphtali; 'Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and 'Shillem. ²⁵ These are the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob: all the souls were seven. ²⁶ All the 'souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which 'came out of his loins', 'besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six; ²⁷ and the sons of Joseph, which 'were born to him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, 'were threescore and ten.			q 6 r 146
l 41 ⁵⁰ m Num 26 ⁵⁸ ..	²⁸ 'And he sent 'Judah before him unto Joseph, to 'shew the way before him unto 'Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. ²⁹ And Joseph 'made ready his chariot, and went up to 'meet 'Israel his father, to 'Goshen; and he presented himself unto him, and 'fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. ³⁰ And 'Israel said unto Joseph,			s 31
o Ex 1 ⁵⁴				t 39 u 183 v 28
p 35 ²⁶ q Ex 1 ⁵ cp Deut 10 ⁷²				
r Cp 43 ³ 44 ¹⁸ s G Sam & pre- sent himself 29 t G = bound Ex 14 ⁶				

46^{1b} This clause may originally have followed the theophany in 2-4 cp 12⁷ 26²⁴. 31²⁴ 54.

⁵ An addition by R, perhaps on a basis of J cp 45¹⁹ 21. In 45²⁷ the wagons were sent by Joseph. The designation 'sons of Israel' may be due to R² cp 8; but cp 45^{21b}.

⁸ This list appears to be of a secondary character. It possesses many of the marks characteristic of P, but on the other hand it is by no means in entire accord with other data, cp 21 with Num 26⁵⁸.. The variations in G show to how late a date editorial manipulation continued. One of the difficulties was to fill up the traditional number of seventy persons 47 cp Deut 10⁷².. The method of the table is not quite consistent. According to 8-15 Dinah is not reckoned in the computation, but in 16-18 Serah the daughter of Asher is counted. The reference in 12^b seems to exclude Er and Onan; but the total thirty-three in 15 is only reached by including them or else adding in Dinah and Jacob himself. If 12^b be the correction of an editor acquainted with 38, the latter solution is possible (Dillmann); but the statement in 8 'which came into Egypt' must not be taken too literally; ²⁰ includes Joseph's sons who were born in Egypt, and Er and Onan may be therefore counted loosely among the children of Israel. The general evidence

points to a writer familiar with P, but also acquainted with other documents besides; and the list will belong to the group of later materials designated as P³ cp Introd XIII 10.

10a M In Num 26¹² i Chron 4²⁴ Nemuel.

10b M In i Chron 4²⁴ Jarib.

10c M In Num 26¹³ i Chron 4²⁴ Zerah.

11 M In i Chron 6¹⁸ Gershon.

12 M In i Chron 7¹ Puvah, Jashub. See Num 26²³..

13a M In Num 26¹⁶ Zephon.

13b M In Num 26¹⁶ Ozi.

14 M In Num 26¹⁷ Arod.

15a M In Num 26¹⁸ Ahrum.

15b M In Num 26¹⁹ Shephupham, in i Chron 7¹² Shuppim.

15c M In Num 26¹⁹ Hupham.

16 M In Num 26¹² Shuham.

24a M In i Chron 7¹³ Jahziel.

24b M In i Chron 7¹³ Shallum.

28 M Or, souls belonging to Jacob that came.

²⁸ The sequel of 46^{1a}: the reference to Goshen shows that the story follows on 45¹⁰. As it appears from 47¹.. that Pharaoh hears of the arrival of Joseph's family for the first time, it is plain that the invitation in 45¹⁷.. is from a different hand.

* Strack has pointed out a curious instance of artificial arrangement. Leah's descendants number thirty-two without Dinah while Rachel has fourteen. The numbers for the corresponding handmaids are halved, Zilpah having sixteen and Bilhah seven. See Genesis (in Kurzgefaßte Comm.) 149.

J

JE

E

P

u 45²⁸ cp 9^{1b}

"Now let me die, since I have ^{*}seen thy face, that thou art "yet alive.
³¹ And Joseph said unto his brethren, and unto his ⁷father's house, I will go up, and ²tell Pharaoh, and will say unto him, My brethren, and my ⁷father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are come unto me; ³² and the men are ^{*}shepherds, *for they have been keepers of ^vcattle*; and they have brought their ^cflocks, and their ^cherds, and ^aall that they have.
³³ And ^{it} shall come to pass, ^{when} Pharaoh shall ^ccall you, and shall say, What is your ^uoccupation? ³⁴ that ye shall say, ⁷Thy servants have been keepers of ^vcattle from our ^yyouth even ^uuntil ^snow, ^hboth we, and our fathers: ⁷that ye may dwell in the land of ⁴Goshen; for every ^sshepherd is an ^aabomination unto the Egyptians.

v 12¹² cp 3w 47³ Ex 3¹³x 82¹y 32⁴z 43²²a 46³¹b Cp 43⁸⁴c 46³³d 46³⁴e 12¹⁰f 5⁷ cp 16⁵

⁴⁷ Then Joseph went in and ^atold Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have, are come out of the ^aland of Canaan; and, behold, they are in the land of ^bGoshen. ² And from among his brethren he took ^bfive men, and ^cpresented them unto Pharaoh. ³ And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your ^uoccupation? And they ^csaid unto Pharaoh, ⁴Thy servants are shepherds, ^hboth we, and our fathers. ⁴ ^hAnd they said unto Pharaoh, To ^ssojourn in the land are we come; for there is no ^vpasture for thy servants' flocks; for the ^ffamine is sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of ^bGoshen. ^hAnd Pharaoh said unto Joseph—^{6b} In the land of ^bGoshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest ^aany ^aable men among them, then make them rulers over my ^bcattle.—

g 46³h 46⁸ 28. ct 28i 41⁴⁶j Ct 46³¹k 34¹⁰l Ex 22⁵ 1 Samm 11 Lev 23⁴³n 25⁷o Ct 44⁴ Exp 14⁹r Ct 6^bq 45¹¹r Cp 19^bs Prov 26¹⁸ cpt 19¹¹ 5u Lev 19⁹ 23²²v Pi^a cp 31⁴⁶w 19¹⁵x 42²

And ⁷Jacob and his sons ^hcame into Egypt to Joseph. And Pharaoh the ⁷king of Egypt heard.] ⁵ ^hAnd Pharaoh ^sspake unto Joseph, saying, ⁷Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: ^{6a} the land of Egypt is ⁱbefore thee; in the ^bbest of the land make thy father and thy brethren to ^udwell; ⁷ And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and ^sset him before Pharaoh: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. ⁸ And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, How many are the ^udays of the years of thy life? ⁹ And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my ^usojournings are an ^hhundred and thirty years: few and evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they have not ^aattained unto the days of the ^myears of the life of my fathers in the days of their ^usojournings. ¹⁰ And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from the presence of Pharaoh. ¹¹ And Joseph ^mplaced his father and his brethren, and gave them a ^apossession in the land of Egypt, in the ^bbest of the land, in the land of ^pRameses, as Pharaoh had commanded:

¹² And Joseph ⁿnourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, ^uaccording to the number of their ^ulittle ones.

¹³ ^hAnd there was no bread in all the land; for the ^ffamine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt *and the land of Canaan* ^afainted by reason of the famine. ¹⁴ And Joseph ^ggathered up all the money that was ^afound in the land of Egypt, *and in the land of Canaan*, for the ^vcorn which they

⁴⁷ These words are perhaps repeated accidentally from ³.
⁴⁸ The text here adopted in ⁶ is derived from the Greek which places ^{6b} between ⁴ and ⁵; the words found in ⁶ but absent from ⁵ are inserted in brackets.

^{6b} M Or, men of activity.—Cp Ex 18²¹ 25⁴.

⁶ P's parallel to the preceding story of Israel's settlement in J: ct 7 with ³, 'land of Rameses' ¹¹ with 'land of Goshen'

⁴ 6: the sequel is found in 27^b 28.

⁹ So M. T pilgrimage.

¹² So M. T according to their families.

¹³ The account of the progress of the famine, leading up to the explanation of Egyptian fiscal arrangements in ²⁸, has seemed to some critics out of place here. Wellhausen finds it appropriate neither to J nor E in its present connexion and suggests that it was derived originally from some parallel to 41. Others more confidently attach it to 41⁵⁶. It is supposed that

the second year ¹⁸ would then fit the date in 45⁶ ¹¹. The marks of J's authorship are, however, numerous, cp the margins, and the parallels especially in ¹⁸ 24¹. Yet one or two peculiarities, at least, may be detected: thus the word ⁷'give' ¹⁵ is used with an object as in 26³¹ 30¹ E, contrasted with J's employment of it as an interjection cp 16⁴: and the phrase ⁷'the famine was sore' ²⁰ is identical with that in 41⁵⁶. These instances are hardly adequate to support a plea for E's presence when the text shows none of the incongruities of a composite narrative: but the possibility of it must at any rate be admitted, though further proof seems wanting (Holzinger thinks the probability especially strong in ¹⁸–28). The references to 'the land of Canaan' ¹³–16 can hardly have belonged originally to the narrative which related how the soil of Egypt was gradually bought up for Pharaoh, and must be assigned to R.

J E

JE

J E P

¹⁰ 18 cp Josh 3¹⁶
²⁰ Cp 29²¹ 30¹ 5
³ Is 26⁴ 29²⁰ Ps
⁷ 7²⁴
² Sam 8 bread
^a Ex 9⁸

¹⁷ Josh 7¹⁹ Pi*
^e 42³⁸
^d 5⁺
^e 39¹
^f 44⁹
^g 42²
^h Lev 26²² .
 Num 21⁸⁰
² 41⁵⁶

^j 41³⁵
^k 19⁴ 5
¹⁷ Ezek 16²⁷
 Prov 30⁸ 31¹⁵

^m Ezek 16⁴⁸†
ⁿ 26¹²
^o 43⁸⁴

² 19¹⁹

²⁶ Ir-a/
^q 1 Sam 30²⁵

^r Cp 9

^s 5 = the days
 Dent 31¹⁴
 1 Kings 2¹⁴
 cp Gen 27⁴¹
^t 24²
^u Dent 31¹⁶*
^v 5 = bring
⁴⁵ 18²⁷
²⁷ 35²⁰
²⁸ 24⁹
^y 48^{2b} 49^{28b} Ex
 88⁸

"bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. ¹⁵ And when the money was "all spent in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, "Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for [our] money "faileth. ¹⁶ And Joseph said, Give your "cattle; and I will give "you for your cattle, if money "fail. ¹⁷ And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for the "horses, and for the "flocks, and for the herds, and for the asses: and he "fed them with bread in exchange for all their cattle for that year. ¹⁸ And when that year was "ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not "hide from "my lord, how that our money is "all spent; and the herds of cattle are my lord's; there is nought "left in the sight of my lord, "but our "bodies, and our lands: ¹⁹ wherefore should we die before thine eyes, "both we and our land? "buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land "will be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, "that we may live, and not die, and that the land be not "desolate. ²⁰ So Joseph "bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine was "sore upon them: and the land became Pharaoh's. ²¹ And as for the people, "he removed them "to the "cities from one "end of the border of Egypt even to the other end thereof. ²² "Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the priests had a "portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; "wherefore they sold not their land. ²³ Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have "bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: "w¹⁰lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall "sow the land. ²⁴ And it shall come to pass at the ingatherings, that ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four "parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your "little ones. ²⁵ And they said, Thou hast "saved our lives: let us "find grace in the sight of "my lord, and we "will be Pharaoh's servants. ²⁶ "And Joseph "made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt "unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's.

^{27a} And "Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the land of "Goshen.

^{27b} "And they "gat them possessions therein, and were "fruitful, and multiplied exceedingly.

²⁸ And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt "seventeen years: so the days of Jacob, "the years of his life, were an "hundred forty and seven years.

²⁹ "And the "time drew near that "Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have "found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, "thy hand under my thigh, and "deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt: ³⁰ but when I "sleep with my fathers", thou shalt "v¹carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in "their "buryingplace. And he said, I will do "as thou hast said. ³¹ And he said, Swear unto me: and he "swore unto him. And "Israel bowed himself upon the "v¹bed's head.

⁴⁸ "And it came to pass "after these things, that one said to Joseph,

⁴⁷ 17a M 5 cattle of the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds.—
²⁶ 14 2 Chron 32²⁹† cp 33.

^{17b} M 5 led them as a shepherd.—Cp Ex 15¹³ Hithpa 33¹⁴.*

^{21a} M According to Sam 8 2, he made bondmen of them, from &c.

^{21b} M Or, according to their cities.

²² The clauses relating to the priests' land 22 31 may possibly be later additions. ^{27b} The sequel of 11.

²⁹ The manner of the oath exacted by Israel from Joseph presents an unmistakable parallel to that demanded by Abraham from his servant 24³, and is unanimously assigned to J.

³⁰ This verse seems to have been altered by the harmonizer who has in view the statements of 49²⁸. 50^{12b} 13. The oath subsequently recited by Joseph 50⁵ specifies Jacob's own burying-place. Bruston has conjectured, ZATW 1887, 206 ff, that the original form of 48⁷ once stood between ²⁹ and ³⁰, and that J represented Jacob as desirous of interment in Rachel's grave.

⁴⁸ 1 With the exception of 3-7 which is at once recognized as belonging to P, this chapter presents several perplexities. The burial-oath in 47²⁹⁻³¹ is the preparation for the funeral solemnities of 50¹⁻¹⁰, but before the narrative of Israel's death both J and E seem to have included a special blessing on

J E

JE

J E P

a 5* at 47²⁰
b 41⁵⁰

Behold, thy father is ^asick: and he took with him his ^btwo sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. ^{2a} And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee:

c Num 13^{20*}
d 47³¹

...^{2b} and ^bIsrael 'strengthened himself, and sat upon the ^dbed.

b 49

e 35⁶ cp 35^{9N}

³ And Jacob said unto Joseph, ^aGod 'Almighty appeared unto me at ^cLuz in the ^dland of Canaan, and ^bblessed me, and said unto me, ⁴ 'Behold, I will make thee ^efruitful, and multiply thee, and I will ^fmake of thee a ^gcompany of peoples; and will ^hgive this land to ⁱthy seed after thee for an ^j'everlasting ^k'possession. ⁵ And ^know thy two sons, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben, and Simeon, shall be mine. ⁶ And thy ⁱ'issue, which thou ^u'begettest after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance. ^{7 N} And as for me, when I came from ^aPaddan, Rachel died ^uby me in the ^dland of Canaan in the way, when there was still some way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way to Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem).

c 1

d 4

e 73

f 162

g 62

h 127

l Ct 26⁶

⁸ And ^bIsrael 'saw Joseph's sons, and said, ^mWho are these? ^{9a} And Joseph said unto his father, They are my sons, whom God hath given me here.

i 30

j 94

k 6

m 33⁵

^{9b} And he said, ^b'Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them. ^{10a} Now the ^e'eyes of ^bIsrael were ⁱ'dim for age, so that he could not see.

l 78

n 45¹⁸o 27¹

^{10b} And he brought them near unto him; and he ^r'kissed them, and ^e'embraced them. ¹¹ And ^bIsrael said unto Joseph, I had not ^r'thought to ^e'see thy face: and, lo, God hath let me see thy seed also. ¹² And Joseph brought them out from between his knees; and he ^m'bowed himself with his face to the earth.

m 12^ap Cp 173^Nq 20^{13..}r 5 Piel^as Cp 119^a

¹³ And Joseph ^t'took them both, Ephraim in his right hand toward ^bIsrael's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and ^u'brought them near unto him. ¹⁴ And ^bIsrael stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who was the ^u'younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, ^u'guiding his hands wittingly; for Manasseh was the firstborn. ¹⁵ And he blessed ^rJoseph, and said, The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did ^w'walk, the God which hath ^w'fed me ^w'all my life long unto this day, ¹⁶ the ^r'angel which hath ^w'redeemed me from all evil, ^u'bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them ^u'grow into a ^m'multitude in the midst of the earth.

n 92

t 5 =bring 9b

ct 10b 5

u 27²⁵ ct 10br 24⁴⁰w Num 22³⁰ 5†

cp 91

x Cp Ex 6⁶

y 5†

z 30⁵⁰

o 208

p 4

q 10^a

Joseph's house. Two blessings are here recorded ¹⁵, and ²⁰, one being pronounced on 'the lads' ¹⁶, the other being uttered in the singular 'in thee' ²⁰. Moreover, the two sons of Joseph are twice 'brought near' to their grandfather ^{10b} and ^{13b}. The narrative therefore shows signs of composition from two sources. In 48^{1-2a} the indications point slightly to JE, while ^{2b} is obviously connected with 47³¹. At ⁸ the reappearance of the name 'Israel' suggests J once more; but the statement that Israel 'saw' Joseph's sons conflicts with 'could not see' ¹⁰, and it appears better therefore to attribute the clause to E, the use of 'Israel' for 'Jacob' being due to E cp 11²¹. The sequel of ^{9b} ^{10a} is found in ¹³, where Joseph fulfils the injunction of ^{9b}, while ¹¹ belongs to ⁸. The action of ¹², where Joseph removes his sons from Jacob's embrace, presupposes ^{10b}, while he reverently prepares to receive his father's blessing himself. The incident in ¹³, 17-19 has been regarded by Kuenen as a later insertion in E's narrative: but these verses are entirely coherent with the passage previously assigned to J, and the marginal references confirm the ascription. On the blessings cp 15^x.

49³ M 5 Et Shaddai.

6 M Or, hast begotten.

7a This verse has no connexion with the prophecy about Ephraim and Manasseh. In its present form it depends on 35¹⁵. It has been conjectured that a reference to Rachel may have followed 49³¹. If P supposed Rachel to have been buried

with Leah at Machpelah, the discrepancy, when JE was combined with it, may have been too glaring, and the present passage may have been inserted editorially, based on the older document.

7b M Or, to my sorrow.

8 T beheld. 5 = saw, ct 10a 'could not see,' cp 11 'see thy face,' 'see thy seed.' By analogy with ¹⁷ the sequence of verbs in 8 might be translated 'and when Israel saw Joseph's sons, he said.'

14 M Or, crossing his hands.—5 Piel† cp Gen 3⁶ Deut 29⁸ 32²⁹ Josh 17. Hiph^a.

15 5 them. A confusion seems to have arisen in the combination of the two stories. According to ^{9b} Israel desires to bless his grandchildren, and Joseph brings them to him ¹³. It would be natural for the blessing to follow, and it is found accordingly in ¹⁵, cp 'walk' ²⁴, the references to the fathers cp 28¹³, the phrases 'all my life long,' 'grow into a multitude,' and the general prophetic character. But in ²⁰ another blessing is pronounced on 'them,' yet it is delivered in the singular, 'in thee.' It would seem that this is the benediction on Joseph cp ¹⁵, for which preparation was made as he prostrated himself to receive it ¹². In J, therefore, the blessing on 'the lads' has been accidentally transferred to Joseph: in E the benediction on Joseph alights upon his sons. The critical difficulty would perhaps be most easily settled by transposing the two introductions ^{15a} and ^{20a}.

J E

J E

J E P

a' Cp 38¹⁰ 5
b' Cp Ex 17¹²*
c' Ex 10¹¹

d' 5 = but 28¹⁹

e' 25³² ct 50⁵ .
f' 5 = restore
g' 31²²
h' 31²⁸*

i' Josh 24¹²a 28¹ cp JE119

b 29⁵
c 42⁴ 88
d 41³⁵ Josh 10⁶

e 20³²
f 4¹² Ex 9¹⁶ al
g Deut 31¹⁷
h Cp 4⁷ 5
i Ex 15² 13
j 5[†]
k 35²²
l 5^{*}

m 34²⁵
n 34²⁵

o Fe 16⁹ 57⁸
p Is 14²⁰ 18⁸
q 83¹⁴
r 24²⁸
s Josh 10⁶ 9^{*}
t 5 = strong cp
u Ex 14²¹ Num
v 13²⁸
w 5^{*} Am 1¹¹
x 5 = hard 35¹⁷
y 11⁸
z 29³⁵

aa Deut 33²²
ab Nah 2¹³ Ezek
ac 13⁶
ad Num 23²⁴*
ae Num 24⁹*
af 14²⁵ 4⁷
ag 10 4^kb

ah Num 21¹⁸
ai Deut 33²¹

aj Prov 30⁴⁷

17 And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it ^adispleased him: and he ^bheld up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head. 18 And Joseph said unto his father, ^cNot so, my father: for this is the first-born; put thy right hand upon his head. 19 And his father refused, and said, I know [it], my son, I know [it]: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: ^dhowbeit his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become ^ea multitude of nations.

20 And he blessed them that day, saying, ^fIn thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh. 21 And Israel said unto Joseph, ^gBehold, I die: but God shall be ^hwith you, and ⁱbring you again unto the ^jland of your fathers. 22 Moreover I have given to thee one ^kportion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the ^lAmorite with my ^msword and with my bowⁿ.

49^{1a} ⁿAnd Jacob ^acalled unto his sons,

1b And [he] said: ^bGather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall ^cbefall you ⁿin the latter days.

2 ^{ad}Assemble yourselves, and hear, ye sons of Jacob;

And hearken unto Israel your father.

3 Reuben, thou art my ^cfirstborn, my ^fmight, and the ⁿbeginning of my ^vstrength;

The excellency of ^hdignity, and the excellency of ^vpower.

4 ^uUnstable as water, ⁿthou shalt not have the excellency;

Because thou wentest up to thy ^kfather's bed:

Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my ^vcouch.

5 ^{lm}Simeon and Levi are brethren;

Weapons of violence are their ⁿswords.

6 O my soul, come not thou into their ⁿcouncil;

Unto their assembly, my ⁿglory, be not thou ⁿunited;

For in their anger they ^sslew ^aa man,

And in their selfwill they ^vhoughed ⁿan ox.

7 Cursed be their anger, for it was ^vfierce;

And their ^vwrath, for it was ^vcruel:

I will divide them in Jacob,

And ^vscatter them in Israel.

8 Judah, thee shall thy brethren ^vpraise:

Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies;

Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee.

9 Judah is a ^vlion's whelp;

From the ^vprey, my son, thou art gone up:

He ^vstooped down, he ^vcouched as a lion,

And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?

10 ^{lm}The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,

Nor ⁿthe ^vruler's staff from between his feet,

ⁿUntil Shiloh come;

And unto him shall the ^bobedience of the peoples be.

48¹⁹ M 5 ^{fulness}.

20 M Or, By. — Cp 12³.

22 M Or, mountain slope, 5 shechem, shoulder. — A reference to the future home of the tribe of Ephraim. The representation in 33¹⁹ implies peaceful acquisition and not conquest. Kuenen has suggested that the text should read as in Josh 24¹² 'not with my sword nor with my bow,' the negative being omitted by the editor to harmonize with the story in 34, in which, however, E's share is doubtful.

49^{1a} This clause seems to have formed part of P's recital of Jacob's last instructions to his sons, cp the sequence 'called to' 'blessed' 28^b, 'charged' 20, with the identical series 28¹. J, however, must also have had some introduction.

1b Perhaps a gloss; cp Stärk, ZATW 1891, 251, on the other hand, Cheyne, *Introd to the Book of Isaiah* 11².

2 This poem is incorporated in J's narrative, but it is probably of independent origin; cp *Introd* XIV 2. A few points of phraseological contact are noted in the margins.

3 M Or, firstfruits.

4b M Or, have not thou.

6a M Or, secret. — Cp Am 3⁷.

6a M Or, oxen.

10a M Or, a lawgiver.

10b M Or, Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience of the peoples. Or, as read by (S), Until that which is his shall come etc. Another ancient rendering is, Till he come whose it is etc.

J

JE

E P

- e' 32¹⁰*
 d' Cp Is 52 Jer 22¹⁴
 e' 2 Sam 124
 f' 9²⁷
 g' Deut 288*
 Judg 517
 h' Ct Ex 2622.
 i' 60*
 j' Prov 17²²
 2515 h
 k' Judg 518
 l' * 2 Sam 126
 m' * Is 464 534
 n' Cp Deut 2011
 Josh 1610 1718*
 o' 308
 p' Cp 2206
 q' Num 219
 r' 315
 s' Ex 131
 t' * Is 817 Ps 256
 u' Ex 1218 152
 v' Ct 3011
 w' Hab 316
 x' 3013
 y' Num 1320
 z' * Lam 45
 a' * Hab 318 Ps 1833
 b' Num 244 18
 Deut 321 Josh 2427
 c' Cp 4132
 d' Judg 54
 e' Ps 1829
 f' Ex 114
 g' Ps 1814u
 h' 2741 5015*
 i' 4822
 j' Num 2421
 k' Is 124
 l' Cp 4815
 m' 315
 n' Cp 21
 o' 2739
 p' Cp 12 Ex 156
 Deut 87 3315
 q' Hos 22
 r' 718- Ex 1712*
 s' Deut 3315
 t' Hab 364
 u' Deut 3316 20
 v' * Is 116
 w' 3738
 x' * Is 3328
 y' Ex 159
 11 Binding his ^{e'}foal unto the vine,
 And his ass's colt unto the ^{d'}choice vine;
 He hath washed his ^{e'}garments in wine,
 And his ^{j'}vesture in the blood of grapes:
 12 His eyes shall be ^{j'}red with wine,
 And his teeth white with milk.
 13 Zebulun shall ^{f'}dwell at the ^{m'}haven of the sea:
 And he shall be for an ^{n'}haven of ^{o'}ships;
 And his ^{h'}border shall be ^{n'}upon Zidon.
 14 Issachar is a ^{i'}strong ass,
^{m'}Couching down between the ^{j'}sheepfolds:
 15 And he saw ^{n'}a resting place that it was good,
 And the land that it was ^{k'}pleasant;
 And he bowed his shoulder to ^{t'}bear,
 And became a servant under ^{m'}taskwork.
 16 Dan shall ^{n'}judge his people,
 As one of the tribes of Israel.
 17 Dan shall be a ^{o'}serpent in the way,
 An ^{n'}adder in the path,
 That ^{p'}biteth the horse's ^{q'}heels,
 So that his ^{r'}rider falleth backward.
 18 ^{n'}I have ^{v'}waited for thy ^{v'}salvation, O Yahweh.
 19 Gad, ^{n'}a ^{w'}troop shall ^{v'}press upon him:
 But he shall press upon their ^{q'}heel.
 20 ^{n'}Out of ^{w'}Asher his bread shall be ^{w'}fat,
 And he shall yield royal ^{v'}dainties.
 21 Naphtali is a ^{n'}hind let loose:
 He giveth ^{j'}goodly ^{a'}words.
 22 Joseph is ^{n'}a ^{b'}fruitful bough,
 A fruitful bough by a fountain;
 His ^{m'}branches ^{o'}run over the ^{d'}wall.
 23 The archers have ^{e'}sorely grieved him,
 And ^{j'}shot at him, and ^{o'}persecuted him:
 24 But his ^{h'}bow abode in ^{s'}strength,
 And the arms of his hands were made ^{n'}strong,
^{n'}By the hands of the ^{j'}Mighty One of Jacob,
 (^{n'}From thence is ^{k'}the shepherd, the stone of Israel.)
 25 Even by the ^{l'}God of thy father, who shall help thee,
 And by the ^{m'}Almighty, who shall bless thee,
 With blessings of heaven ^{w'}above,
 Blessings of the ^{o'}deep that ^{n'}coucheth beneath,
 Blessings of the ^{p'}breasts, and of the womb.
 26 The blessings of thy father
 Have ^{q'}prevailed above ^{n'}the blessings of my progenitors
 Unto the utmost ^{j'}bound of the ^{m'}everlasting hills^{m'}:
 They shall be on the head of Joseph,
 And on the ^{o'}crown of the head of him ^{n'}that was separate from his brethren.
 27 Benjamin is a ^{n'}wolf that ^{w'}ravineth:
 In the morning he shall devour the ^{w'}prey,
 And at even he shall divide the ^{w'}spoil.

4918ab M ^h *beach*.—Deut 17 Josh 91 cp Judg 517.

18 M Or, *by*. 16 M Or, *rest*.—Num 1033 Deut 129*.

17 M Or, *horned snake*.

18 The devotional style of this verse, contrasted with the descriptive character of the rest of the poem, suggests that it was originally a marginal annotation by a pious scribe. Cp Fripp, *Genesis* 135.

19a M ^h *gedud*, a marauding band.—Ps 1829.

19b M ^h *gad*, to press.

20 M According to some ancient versions, *Asher, his bread &c.*

22a M ^h *the son of a fruitful tree*.

22b M ^h *daughters*.

24a M Or, *active*.—Cp 2 Sam 616†.

24b The description of Joseph is much fuller than that of any of the other tribes, and between 26. and Deut 3318-19 there is an obvious connexion. It is not so certain, however, on which side lies the originality. On the probability that this passage is a later addition to the text, cp Fripp, *ZATW* 1891, 262-6: or the addition may begin at 26.

24c M Or, *From thence, from the shepherd*. Or, as otherwise read, *by the name of the shepherd*.

26a M According to some ancient authorities, *the blessings of the ancient mountains, the desire (or, desirable things) of the everlasting hills*.

26b M Or, *that is prince among*.—Ct Num 62.

J

P

²⁸ ^aAll ^athese are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them. ²⁹ And he charged them, and said unto them, ^bI am to be ^cgathered unto my people: ^dbury me with my fathers in the ^ecave that is in the field of ^fEphron the Hittite, ³⁰ in the cave that is in the field of ^gMachpelah, which is ^hbefore Mamre, in the ⁱland of Canaan, which Abraham ^jbought with the field from Ephron the Hittite for a ^kpossession ^lof a buryingplace: ³¹ there they buried ^mAbraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried ⁿIsaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah: ³² the ^ofield and the cave that is therein, which was purchased from the children of Heth. ³³ And when Jacob ^pmade an end of charging his sons,

...^{33b} ⁿhe gathered up his feet into the bed,...

^{33c} ⁿhe yielded up the ghost, and was ^cgathered unto his people.

⁵⁰ ¹And Joseph ^afell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him. ² And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to ^bembalm his father: and the physicians embalmed ^cIsrael. ³ And forty days were ^dfulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of ^eembalming: and the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten days.

⁴ And when the days of ^fweeping for him were past, Joseph ^gspake unto the ^hhouse of Pharaoh, ⁱsaying, If now I have ^jfound grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ^kears of Pharaoh, saying, ^lMy father ^mmade me swear, saying, ⁿLo, I die: in my ^ograve which I ^phave ^qdigged for me in the ^rland of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again. ⁶ And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear. ⁷ And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, ⁸ and all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their ⁱlittle ones, and their ^jflocks, and their herds, they left in the land of ^kGoshen. ⁹ And there went up with him ^lboth chariots and horsemen: and it was a very ^mgreat ⁿcompany. ¹⁰ And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is ^obeyond Jordan, and there they ^plamented with a very great and ^qsore ^rlamentation: and he made a ^smourning for his father seven days. ¹¹ And when the inhabitants of the land, the ^tCanaanites, saw the ^umourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a ^vgrievous ^wmourning to the Egyptians: ^xwherefore the name of it was called Abel-mizraim, which is ^ybeyond Jordan.

¹² ^aAnd ^bhis sons did unto him according as he ^ccommanded them: ¹³ for his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the ^dcave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field, for a possession of a buryingplace, of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

¹⁴ And Joseph ^areturned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and ^ball that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.

¹⁵ ^aAnd when Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they

⁴⁹ ²⁸ These clauses, in P's manner, seem due to the compiler, who has incorporated the previous poem from JE. With the subsequent instructions for burial at 47²⁹⁻³¹, and cp 50^{12b 13}.

³¹ It has been suggested that P here added the name of Rachel cp 48¹⁸.

^{33b} A touch probably incorporated by R from J's account of the death of Jacob cp 47^{31 48}.

⁵⁰ ¹ The narrative of the mourning for Israel is studded with the characteristic phrases of J. This does not exclude the possibility of the incorporation of touches from E; but the indications adduced by Holzinger (^{10b} cp ^{3b} and ^{10a}, and the two

clauses in ²) are not very strong. The recital of the oath in ⁵ reproduces 47²⁹, cp 49²⁹...

⁶ M Or, bought.—Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*, unhesitatingly identifies ⁶ with the meaning 'dig' cp 26²⁶ Ex 21³³ Num 21¹⁸ 2 Chron 16¹⁴.

¹² The conclusion of P's narrative of Jacob, following 49²⁹⁻³³.

¹⁵ The petition of Joseph's brethren for forgiveness appears in the main to be derived from E cp 19. But it may be questioned whether the story is quite homogeneous. The opening of 16 וַיָּבֹאוּ can hardly be correct; the same verb occurs

J E

J E

J E P

x Cp 30²⁴
y 27⁴¹
z 17 5^{*}
a' 27^{7b}
b' Ex 23²¹ Josh
24¹⁹ cp Ex 10¹⁷
32³² 34⁷
c' Ex 32³¹ 5^{*}
d' 31⁵
e' 42²⁴ 45² 15 op
f' 43³⁰
g' 44¹⁴
h' 44¹⁸
i' 30²

j' Cp 23³³
k' 45⁷
l' 45¹¹ 47^{12*}
m' 34⁸

n' 41⁵¹
o' Num 32³⁹
p' 41⁵⁰ 5
q' 30^{3a}
r' Cp 5
s' Ex 31⁶ cp 21¹

t' Cp 22ⁿ
u' 5 = avt Ex
25¹⁰ Deut 10¹

said, 'It may be that Joseph will ^hate us, and will fully requite us all the evil which we ^did unto him. ¹⁶ And they sent a message unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did command ^abefore he died, saying, ¹⁷ So shall ye say unto Joseph, ^bForgive, ^cI pray thee now, the transgression of thy brethren, and their sin, for that they ^did unto thee evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the transgression of the servants of the ^eGod of thy father. And Joseph ^ewept when they spake unto him.

...¹⁸ And his brethren also went and ^ffell down before his face; and they said, ^f'Behold, we be thy servants.

¹⁹ And Joseph said unto them, Fear not: for ^ham I in the place of God?

²⁰ And as for you, ye meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to pass ^aas it is this day, to ^jsave much people alive.

...²¹ Now therefore fear ye not: I will ^hnourish you, and your ⁱlittle ones. And he ⁱcomforted them, and ^jspake ^kkindly unto them.

²² And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: ⁿand Joseph lived an hundred and ten years. ²³ And Joseph saw ^mEphraim's children of the third generation: the children also of ^mMachir the son of ^mManasseh ^ewere born ^pupon Joseph's ⁿknees.

²⁴ ⁿAnd Joseph said unto his brethren, I ^qdie: but God will surely ^rvisit you, and ^rbring you up out of this land unto the land which he ^sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

²⁵ And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely ^rvisit you, and ye shall ^jcarry up my bones from hence. ²⁶ So Joseph died, ^jbeing an hundred and ten years old: and they ^bembalmed him, and he was put in a ^vcoffin in Egypt.

EXODUS*

¹ ⁿNow ^athese are the names of the ⁿ188
sons of Israel, which came into Egypt;
every man and his household came with

immediately after, = 'command'; can it be translated 'send a message' just before? Moreover (5) has 'and they came.' If that reading be adopted, there is no difficulty in the closing words of ¹⁷, which otherwise have no apparent reference in the text. But in that case, why should the brethren need to go and fall down before him ¹⁸? Is there not here an extract from a parallel narrative of J? Another trace of such a counterpart may perhaps be found in ²¹, where 'fear ye not' is a duplicate of ¹⁹; and 'nourish' 'little ones' and 'comfort' all point to J ('spake kindly' may be due to amalgamation, cp the doubtful ascription to J in 34^{8*}). Ball follows (5) in ¹⁶, and adopts Vatke's emendation 'and his brethren also *wept*' in ¹⁸. But there seems a difference in tone between the entreaty of ¹⁷ and the humble submission which follows.

⁵⁰²¹ M 5 To their heart.

²² This clause is sometimes assigned to P cp 5³ &c, but the word 'hundred' 5 does not correspond to P's peculiar usage. The same difficulty arises in ²⁶, where the form of phrase suggests Bp (cp 21⁵). A sufficient parallel, however, seems

found in Josh 24²⁹. ²³ Sam reads 'in the days of Joseph.'

²⁴ This verse has been commonly ascribed to E on the ground of the phrase 'God will surely visit you' cp ²⁵. But (1) the reference to the oath to the patriarchs is not after the manner of E cp ²⁵²⁷; (2) the promise of deliverance is in harmony with J Ex 3⁸ 33¹, while (3) the announcement of a divine visitation for the purpose of 'bringing Israel up' is actually realized in Ex 31⁶. There remains the use of the name 'Elohim.' This appears to be due to the peculiar revision through which the Joseph stories have passed. The name 'Yahweh' does not occur in J after 39²⁸. It might have been expected in 43²⁹ (cp 39³ where an Egyptian recognizes Yahweh's presence with Joseph) cp 44¹⁸ 45⁸.

¹ This list has been regarded as an abbreviation of that in Gen 46⁸... It seems hardly likely, however, that the same writer would find it necessary to repeat himself so soon. The enumeration here, therefore, is treated as primary, embodying the traditional number 'seventy' ⁵ cp Deut 10²². Its formulae obviously connect it with P.

* The book of Exodus is concerned with the circumstances of the children of Israel contrasted with the previous biography of Jacob and his sons. The incidents in the family life of the patriarchs give place to the fortunes of the nation. The narrative opens with the increase of the people after the death of Joseph, and extends to the erection of the Dwelling in the wilderness on the first day of the second year after the Exodus. Within the narrative are lodged important groups of legislation, attached to the night of deliverance, the march through the desert, and the camp at the sacred mountain. Both narratives and laws will be found to belong to the documents already distinguished in Genesis, J E and P, the last-named, however, assuming here a greater prominence as the depository of priestly law. It may, however, be observed that while the portions of P can be for the most part discriminated with

practical certainty, the detailed partition of J and E is often precarious, especially in the earlier chapters. One of the leading criteria of E ceases to be regularly available after the revelation of the divine name Yahweh in 3. In other respects the frequent correspondence in general methods of representation and in phraseological usage, causes additional difficulty; and the results in the text can in many cases only claim a higher or lower degree of probability. The composite character of the narrative of Israel's sojourn in Egypt 1-13¹⁶ is, however, sufficiently plain, as the divergences of representation are unmistakable.

(1) The two revelations of the name Yahweh 3¹⁵ and 6³ have been already discussed, *Intro* d 29. Each of the two documents to which they belong contributes material to the opening description; in ²⁴ Elohim remembers his covenant with Abraham Gen 17 (P); in ¹⁷ the midwives fear

	J	JE	E	P	
a Gen 46 ^{28†}				Jacob. ² Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; ³ Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; ⁴ Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. ⁵ And all the ^b souls that ^c came out of the loins ^a of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in Egypt already.	b 146
b Ot Gen 50 ²⁶ c Gen 7 ¹ cp Judg 24 ¹⁰	⁶ And Joseph ^b died, and all his brethren, and all that ^c generation.				
d Cp 12 ⁵⁹ e Gen 61 ¹	⁸ Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which ^k knew not Joseph. ⁹ And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are ⁿ more and ^m mightier than we: ¹⁰ ^e come, let us ^d deal wisely with them; lest they ⁿ multiply, and ^h it come to pass, that, ^h when there ⁱ falleth out any war, they ^j also join themselves unto ^j our ⁱ enemies, and			. . . ⁷ And the children of Israel were ^f fruitful, and ^d increased abundantly, and ^e multiplied, and ^w waxed ^e exceeding ^a mighty; and the ^l and was filled with them.	c 73 d 157 e 63
f Cp Gen 39 ⁵					f 59 g 164
g Eccles 7 ^{16†} h Cp 7 12 20b Gen 7 ^{17b} i Gen 42 ⁴ 49 ¹ j ^h = them that hate us Gen 24 ⁶⁰					h 3 ^b i 126 j 167

1⁷ This verse shows some signs of combination. P's usual formula is 'be fruitful and multiply,' but he also employs the verb 'to swarm.' On the other hand he does not use the verb 'wax mighty' or the derivative adjective, save in Num 32¹ (probably founded on earlier materials). The verb is found in ²⁰ and in Gen 26^{16*}; the adjective in ⁹ Gen 18¹⁸ Num 14¹² 22⁶ (as well as seven times in D). But J must have related

the increase of the Israelites cp ^{9b}, and J also uses the verb 'to multiply' cp ¹⁰ 20b Gen 7^{17b} 16¹⁰ 22¹⁷ (Hiph). The words 'and multiplied and waxed mighty' may be provisionally ascribed to incorporation by R, and ^{20b} is perhaps an accidental duplicate of the same original, misplaced.

⁶ M Or, too many and too mighty for us.

Elohim ^{10a} and he deals well with them ^{20a}. Traces of the Yahwist are seen at once in ³ 7. 16-18, and the allusions to the affliction of Israel ⁷ seem to rest on ¹¹. After ⁶ the distinction founded on the varying use of the divine name ceases to be applicable, though in some rare cases Elohim is still preferentially employed, e.g. 13¹⁷⁻¹⁹.

(2) Side by side with these variations of theological conception are corresponding historical differences. According to J Gen 45¹⁰ 46²⁸ 47^{27a} Israel is settled in Goshen, and this view is found in 8²² 9²⁶. As a pastoral people their flocks and herds Gen 46³² 47¹ 50⁶ are of the utmost importance to them 10⁹. ²⁴ 12³² 38. Their men are 600,000 in number, beside women and children; and Pharaoh takes 'his people' 13⁵ in pursuit of them. But in E Gen 46¹⁸ and P Gen 47¹¹ the Israelites settle in Egypt. There they are accordingly found in close proximity with Egyptian neighbours, from whom they can ask for valuables ³² 12³, or from whose houses they must carefully distinguish their own that Yahweh may pass over them 12¹³. They are near enough to the capital for the king to communicate with the Hebrew midwives, and few enough to need only two ¹⁸..; while Pharaoh thinks 600 chariots sufficient for their capture on the march 14^{7a}. (3) The story of Moses further shows some interesting variations. In ^{21b} he dwells in the land of Midian, and ¹⁶ 21 marries the daughter of the priest of Midian and has one son ²¹. cp 4¹⁹.. When he returns to Egypt his wife and son accompany him 4²⁰. In ³¹, however, his father in law is named Jethro cp 4¹⁸, and Moses leads the flock to the mountain of God, identified as Horeb cp 'this mountain' ¹². On his return to Egypt his wife remains behind, and when Jethro brings her to her husband she has two sons ¹⁸..; later on, she is described as a Cushite, Num 12¹.

(4) In the interviews with Pharaoh one set of demands is urged by Moses alone in the name of 'Yahweh God of the Hebrews' ^{31b} 5³ 7¹⁶ 9¹. 13¹⁰ 3⁷; and Moses asks leave to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh ^{31b} 5³ 8²⁷, or serve him ^{71b} 8¹ 20¹ 13¹⁰ 3⁸ &c. Another formula is found in ³¹² 'serve Elohim upon this mountain,' while in the name of 'Yahweh God of Israel' Moses requires the release of Israel that they may hold a feast to him in the wilderness ⁵¹. A third demand is made by Aaron ⁷⁻⁷.

(5) On the special narratives of the plagues cp ^{78†}, and on the rod of Moses 4^{2†}.

(6) Different laws will be found in 12 and 13 concern-

ing the Passover and Unleavened Bread, and concerning the firstling dues. In ¹²⁻²⁰ 43-50 the language bears very numerous marks of P; the laws are divinely addressed to Moses and Aaron ¹ 43, and designed for the congregation ². But in ²¹ 13⁵ Moses speaks alone to the elders ²¹ or the people ^{27b} 13⁵ and the legal phraseology shows affinities of a quite different type. While details must be sought in the Analysis, the Word-lists, and the conspectus of the Laws, the general significance of these data may be exhibited for the opening chapters in the following table:—

J	II	P
The people in Goshen 822 9 ²⁶ . They are afflicted 11 ¹ . and Yahweh sees it 3 ⁷ 27, and their cry comes to him 3 ²⁸ . Yahweh promises to deliver them 3 ⁸ 5 ²³ , and bring them up to a land flowing with milk and honey 3 ⁸ 17 23 ⁵ : Moses reluctant 4 ¹⁰ , Aaron assigned as his spokesman, he being Aaron's God 4 ³⁰ .	The people in Egypt 12 ¹⁵ .. 32 ² 11 ² . [Elohim] sees their oppression 3 ^{2b} . Elohim proposes to send Moses to Pharaoh 3 ¹⁰ , and promises to be with him 3 ¹² : the name Yahweh given 3 ¹⁵ : Moses very great in Pharaoh's eyes 11 ² .	The people in Egypt 17 ¹² 13 ⁵ . Elohim hears their groaning 24 ⁶ 65. Elohim reveals himself as Yahweh 62; promises to take Israel for a people 6 ⁶ , and bring it into the land concerning which he lifted up his hand 6 ⁸ : Moses to go in to Pharaoh 6 ¹³ , and made his god, Aaron being Moses' prophet 7 ¹ .
Yahweh God of the Hebrews 31 ⁸ 5 ³ 7 ¹⁶ 9 ¹ 13 ¹⁰ . Demand for permission to go three days' journey 3 ⁸ 8 ²⁷ . Sacrifice to Yahweh 31 ⁸ 5 ³ 8 ²⁵ . Moses marries Zipporah, daughter of the priest of Midian 21 ¹ and has one son 22 ¹ ; they go with him to Egypt 4 ¹⁹ . Moses' rod changed to a serpent 4 ² ..	Yahweh God of Israel 5 ¹ . Moses sent to Pharaoh to bring Israel forth 31 ¹² . Serve Elohim on this mountain 31 ² . Moses marries the daughter of Jethro 3 ¹ ; they have two sons who remain with their mother under Jethro's care 18 ¹ 6. The rod of God given to Moses 4 ^{20b} , cp 720b 92 ¹⁰ 13 ¹ .	Yahweh will bring them forth 6 ⁶ . Yahweh will be to Israel for Elohim 6 ⁷ . Aaron's rod changed to a reptile 7 ⁸ cp 19 8 ¹⁶ 14.

J

JE

E

P

^kfight against us, and get them up out of the land. ¹¹ Therefore they did ^lset over them ^ktaskmasters to ^lafflict them with their ^mburdens. And they ⁿbuilt for Pharaoh ^ostore cities, Pithom and ^pRaamses. ¹² But the more they ^lafflicted them, the more they ^hmultiplied and the more they ^mspread abroad. And they ^wwere ^qgrieved because of the children of Israel:

^{14a} ⁿand they ^wmade their lives ^lbitter with ^vhard service, in ^vmortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.

¹⁵ ⁿAnd the king of Egypt ^wspake to the Hebrew ^wmidwives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah: ¹⁶ and he ^wsaid, When ye ^odo the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the ^vbirthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall ^kkill him; but if it be a daughter, then she shall live. ¹⁷ But the midwives ^wfeared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but ^osaved the ^mmen children alive. ¹⁸ And the king of Egypt ^lcalled for the midwives, and said unto them, ^bWhy have ye ^odone this thing, and have ^osaved the men children alive? ¹⁹ And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ^{ere} the midwife come unto them. ^{20a} And God ^ldealt well with the midwives:

^{20b} And the people ^hmultiplied, and ^wwaxed very mighty.

²¹ and ^{it} came to pass, because the midwives ^wfeared God, that he made them houses.

²² And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son ^othat is born ye shall cast into ⁿthe river, and every daughter ye shall ^dsave alive.

²³ ⁿAnd there went a man of the house of Levi, ⁿand ^otook [to wife] a daughter of Levi. ² And the woman ^oconceived, ^band bare a son:

and when she saw him that he was a goodly child, she ^hhid him three months. ³ And when she could not longer ^hhide him, she took for him an ^dark of ^bbulrushes, and ^daubed it with ^sslime and with ^lpitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the ^lflags by the ^rriver's brink.

⁴ And his sister stood ^afar off, to ⁿknow what would be done to him.

⁵ And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her maidens walked along by the ^hriver side; and she saw the ark among the ^lflags, and sent her ^bhandmaid to fetch it. ⁶ And she opened it, and saw the child: ⁿand, behold, the babe wept. And she had

¹³ And the Egyptians ^wmade the children of Israel to ^rserve with ^rrigour

^{14b} all their service, wherein they made them serve with ^rrigour.

k 156

l 193

m 80

n 102

o 234

p 139

q 146a

r 132

s 38

t 3a

a 18

b 99

¹¹² M Or, *abhorred*. ¹³ The verb finds its complement in ^{14b}.

^{14a} In this verse, also, mingled elements may be traced.

^{14a} seems a doublet of ¹³; 'hard service' undoubtedly stood in JE as well as in P (⁶⁹) cp Deut 26 (*Intro* i 174); while the allusion to 'mortar and brick' recalls the language of Gen 11³. The hand of the expander may probably be traced in the awkward grammatical collocation of the words 'wherein' &c.

¹⁵ The story of the midwives contrasts with the command in ²²; the use of Elohim ¹⁷ ²⁰, suggests E, who elsewhere seems to love the detail of names (cp *Intro* XII 3 i 116).

²² M See Gen 41¹.

^{23a} The linguistic indications in ¹ and ⁶ point to E rather than J.

^{1b} This clause seems to owe its present form to R. ⁵ would

be strictly rendered 'and took the daughter of Levi.' Either the name of the future mother of Moses has dropped out accidentally; or it has been omitted designedly on account of divergence from the definite statements of P; or the words 'the daughter of Levi' have been editorially inserted instead of the more common formula 'a wife of the daughters of Levi' to harmonize with Num 26⁶⁹ (cp Dillmann).

^{2a} M That is, *papyrus*.—Cp Is 18³⁵ Job 81¹+

^{2b} M That is, *bitumen*.—Cp Gen 11³ 14¹⁰+

⁴ For the peculiar form of infinitive cp Gen 46⁵ ¹⁹.

⁶ The use of the second word 'babe' and the further phrase 'had compassion' has suggested to some critics (Wellhausen, Dillmann, Bacon, among them) that this clause is derived from a parallel narrative by J.

J E

JE

J E P

J Gen 19¹⁶L Cp Gen 35⁸L Cp Gen 24^{43*}

m 5†

m Gen 15¹o Gen 21⁸

p Cp 23

q Gen 6⁴

r 111

s 5 = turned Gen

24⁴⁹ alt Gen 35⁴..u Cp Gen 13⁸ 5v Gen 28^{16*}w 4²⁴x Gen 16⁸y Gen 24¹¹..20²..z 19 Prov 20⁵ Ps30^{4†}

a' 5 = gutters

Gen 30³⁸b' Gen 32⁴c' 5 = saved 14³⁰d' Gen 26²⁷e' Cp Gen 27²⁰ 5f' Gen 32¹¹g' Gen 31⁵⁴h' Gen 18²⁷ 5i' 25 18^{2*}j' Cp 4²⁵ ct 18²k' Gen 12¹⁰l' Cp Gen 31¹⁵m' 5 * Ezek 9⁴21⁶ aln' 5 = service 14⁴o' Josh 8^{18*} ot21^{4†}

p' 5 * ct Gen

18²⁰q' 6⁵r' 6⁵ Judg 21⁸Ezek 30^{24†}s' Gen 61²1 Erog⁴a Lt 21³

⁷compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. ⁷ Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee a ⁸nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? ⁸ And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the ⁹maid went and called the child's mother. ⁹ And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, ¹⁰Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy ¹⁰wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. ¹⁰ And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name ¹¹Moses, and said, Because I ¹¹drew him out of the water. . . .

. . . ¹¹ And ¹²it came to pass ¹²in those days, when Moses was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their ¹³burdens: and he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. ¹² And he ¹⁴looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he smote the Egyptian, and ¹⁵hid him in the sand. ¹³ And he went out the second day, and, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow? ¹⁴ And he said, Who made thee ¹⁵a prince and a judge over us? thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, ¹⁶Surely the thing is known. ¹⁵ Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he ¹⁷sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled ¹⁸from the face of Pharaoh, and ¹⁹dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by a ²⁰well. ¹⁶ Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and ¹⁷drew water, and filled the ¹⁸troughs to water their father's flock. ¹⁷ And the shepherds came and ¹⁹drove them away: but Moses stood up and ²⁰helped them, and watered their flock. ¹⁸ And when they came to ²¹Reuel their father, he said, ²²How is it that ye are ²³come so ²⁴soon to day? ¹⁹ And they said, An Egyptian ²⁵delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he ²⁶drew water for us, and watered the flock. ²⁰ And he said unto his daughters, And ²⁷where is he? ²¹ why is it that ye have left the man? ²² call him, that he may eat bread. ²¹ And Moses ²³was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses ²⁴Zipporah his daughter. ²² And she bare ²⁵a son: and he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been ²⁶a ²⁷sojourner in a ²⁸strange land. ²³ And ²⁹it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died. [→4¹⁹]

^{23b} And the children of Israel ²⁴sighed by reason of the ²⁵bondage, and they ²⁶cried, and their ²⁷cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage. ²⁴ And God ²⁸heard their ²⁹groaning, and God ³⁰remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. ²⁵ And God ³¹saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge [of them].

³¹ Now Moses was ³²keeping the flock of ³³Jethro his father in law,

^{210a} M 5 Mosheh. ^{10b} M 5 mashah, to draw out. ¹¹ Many critics assign ¹¹⁻¹⁴ or ^{11-10a} to E. The indications are slight, but the balance seems in favour of J.

¹⁶ The words 'dwelt' and 'sat down' are the same 5, and this awkward repetition is perhaps to be explained out of the amalgamation of different stories. (5) attempts to mitigate it by rendering 'and dwelt in the land of Midian, and having come into the land of Midian he sat down on the well.'

¹⁸ The priest of Midian who in ²¹ becomes the father in law of Moses has in ¹⁶ no name, but in ¹⁸ he is called Reuel cp Num 10^{29†} f. In 3⁴ 4^{13b} 18¹., however, he is designated Jethro (4^{13a} Jether) and in Num 10²⁹ Judg 4¹¹ Hobab son of Reuel (on the meaning of ריב see Dillm., and Ges-Brown, *Hebr. Lex.*). The name Jethro seems clearly to belong to E, while 'Hobab son of Reuel' may be assigned to J. It is supposed by some critics that R has struck out the name which probably once stood in ¹⁶, and that Reuel in ¹⁸ is likewise editorial. ²² M 5 Ger.

²³ (5) repeats ^{22a} before 4¹⁹ which was probably its original

place. The compiler may have transferred it as a suitable connecting link with the summary of P ^{23b-25}, the continuation of ¹⁴. But it is also possible that ^{23a} rightly follows ²² and that 4¹⁹. ²⁴⁻²⁶ stood in immediate sequence with it. The death of the king, in this view, was the immediate cause of Moses' return. The strange incident in 4²⁴⁻²⁶ seems better placed before the great commission in ¹⁶., for why should Yahweh seek to kill the leader to whom he has entrusted the deliverance of Israel? According to this arrangement, adopted by Bacon and Battersby, the revelation in the bush took place on the journey back, or in Goshen.

^{31a} All three documents J E P related the divine commission to Moses to deliver the Israelites. In E and P this is combined with a solemn revelation of God by the name of Yahweh (cp *Introd* i 112 and 121). P's account is postponed till 6²., but E's narrative has been amalgamated with J's. The main elements of the united product can be separated by the usual criteria. But the importance of this crisis in the career of Moses for the subsequent history of Israel has apparently

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
Gen 31 ¹⁸			ⁿ the priest of Midian: and he ^b led the flock to the back of the wilderness,			
47 185 24 ¹⁸ *			and came to the 'mountain of God, ⁿ unto ^b Horeb.			b 105
5†			... ² And the 'angel of Yahweh appeared unto him in a 'flame of fire			c 4
2-4 Deut 33 ^{16†}			out of the midst of a 'bush: and he ^d looked, and, behold, the bush			d 55
† Cp Deut 4 ¹¹			^f burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. ³ And Moses said,			
Gen 10 ²			I will ^t urn aside ⁿ ow, and see this great sight, ^h why the bush is not			e 185
Gen 26 ⁷			burnt. ^{4a} ^T And Yahweh saw that he turned aside to see,			
			^{4b} And God called unto him out of the midst of ⁿ the bush, and said,			
Gen 22 ¹¹			'Moses, Moses. And he said, 'Here am I.			f 104
Gen 16 ¹³ *			⁵ and he said, Draw not nigh ^h ither: ^k put off thy shoes from off thy			
Josh 5 ¹⁵ ct			feet, for the place ^h whereon thou standest is ⁿ holy ground.			
Deut 7 ¹ §			⁶ ^T And he said, I am ^t he ⁿ God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the			g 94 ^b
822 §			God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses ^h id his face; for he			
Cp 10 ¹² P89			was ⁿ afraid to ^h look upon God.			h 179
Gen 46 ⁸ cp 16			⁷ And Yahweh said, I have ⁿ surely ^q seen the ^t affliction of my people			i 237
Deut 32 ¹⁷			which are in Egypt, and have heard their ⁱ cry by reason of their ^k task-			j 23
Cp 10 ²			masters; for ⁱ I know their ^s orrows; ⁸ and I am ⁱ come down to ^t deliver			k 53
41 Gen 29 ³²			them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to ⁿ bring them up out of			l 19
17 ct 9b cp 111.			that land unto a ⁿ good land and a large, unto a ⁿ land flowing with milk			m 136
19 414			and honey ⁿ , ⁿ unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the			n 34
§* Jer 45 ³			Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. ^{9a} And			
523 12:7 188-.			ⁿ ow, behold, the ⁱ cry of the children of Israel is ⁿ come unto me.			o 187
Gen 32 ¹¹			... ^{9b} ^{NP} Moreover I have seen the ⁿ oppression wherewith the Egyptians			p 126
Cp 66 ⁹			ⁿ oppress them. ¹⁰ ⁿ Come ⁿ ow therefore, and I will ⁿ send thee unto			
Gen 1821			Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel			
Deut 26 ⁷ ct 7			out of Egypt. ¹¹ ^T And Moses ⁿ said unto God, Who am I, that I should			
222 239			go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel			
Gen 37 ²⁰			out of Egypt? ¹² And he said, ⁿ Certainly I will ⁿ be with thee; and			q 130
cp 162			this shall be the ⁿ token unto thee, that I have sent thee: when thou			
12 15 428			hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall ⁿ serve God upon			
17 ct 410-612 71			this mountain. ¹³ And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come			
Cp Gen 20 ¹¹ §			unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, ⁿ The God of your			
§ = sign ct			fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his			
8. 17			name? what shall I say unto them?			
17 p 51 244.			¹⁴ ⁿ And God said unto Moses, ⁿ I AM THAT I AM: and he said, ⁿ Thus shalt			r 222 ^b
			thou say unto the children of Israel, ⁿ I AM hath sent me unto you.			
			¹⁵ And God said moreover unto Moses, ⁿ Thus shalt thou say unto the			
			children of Israel, ⁿ Yahweh, ⁿ the God of your fathers, the God of			

begotten a variety of editorial amplifications, designed partly to prepare the way for the great struggle between Moses and Pharaoh, partly to introduce Aaron, and partly to bring conflicting details into harmony. In the process of compilation each document, it would seem, has suffered excision and curtailment, and it is probable that some passages have been dislocated from their original setting and transposed cp 220ⁿ. The general justification of the analysis will be found in the margins.

31b Some critics think that according to E the father in law of Moses was not himself priest. If so, these words must be regarded as a harmonistic addition cp 218ⁿ.

1c Possibly an editorial explanation; § has 'mount Horeb' as in 33⁸ cp 17^a.

4a T And when Yahweh saw . . . God called. § runs literally And Yahweh saw . . . and God called . . . and he said.' 4a may thus quite well introduce §, while 4b opens E's theophany.

4b § as in 2 may be rendered 'a' or 'the.' If the latter rendering be preferred, these words must be regarded as R's addition (so Bacon). But both J and E may quite well have preserved the same detail: cp E's reference in Deut 33¹⁶.

6 T moreover. But the conjunction is the same as in 4. The repetition 'and he said' suggests another hand cp Gen 61b8 (=11).

8 Similar enumerations will be found in 17 13⁵ 23²⁸ 28 33² 34¹¹ Deut 7²⁰ 17 J Josh 3¹⁰ 9¹ 13⁸ 24¹¹. Opinion is divided as to their character in JE; are they original, or are they editorial amplifications? The longer lists in Gen 10¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 15¹⁹⁻²¹ have

certainly the air of additions. In the present passage the phrases 'good land' 'flowing with milk and honey' have a Deuteronomistic sound. On the other hand, the phraseology of D cannot be wholly new; it must have had some basis in prior usage; and it would be natural that the earlier writers should use sparingly and on the most solemn occasions a terminology which had already become traditional: moreover, the term 'place' is not found again in this connexion, but cp 26⁵. The repetition in 17 (inverting the order of the clauses) is more likely to be due to R. § in both passages adds 'the Gergashite,' thus bringing the list up to the Deuteronomistic 'seven' Deut 7¹. Cp Holzinger, *Eint* 483.

9b § = and also, apparently an editorial connexion, 9b being a duplicate of 7.

11 Each narrative describes the reluctance of Moses to undertake the difficult task of the liberation of Israel, cp J 4¹⁰., P 612 7¹.

14a At this point E discloses for the first time the name Yahweh. But the real answer to the question in 13 is contained in 15. The form employed in 14b is never employed elsewhere, and 14 appears to be a later insertion designed to explain the divine name Yahweh which is here connected with the verb *hayah* 'to be.' The two answers are editorially linked by the particle rendered moreover (= 'again' Gen 4²⁵ 35⁸).

14b M Or, I AM, BECAUSE I AM. Or, I AM WHO AM. Or, I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE. 14c M Or, I WILL BE, § Ehyeh.

15 § Jehovah, from the same root as Ehyeh.

J	E	J E	J E P
	Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my ^J memorial unto ^E all generations.		
^J Hos 12 ⁵ ^J Prov 27 ²⁴ [†] ^{op} 17 ¹⁶ ^K 4 ²⁹ Num 11 ¹⁸	16 Go, and ^K gather the ^E elders of Israel together, and say unto them, ^N Yahweh, ^E the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, hath appeared unto me, saying, I have ^E surely ^E visited you, and [seen] that which is ^E done to you in Egypt: ¹⁷ and I have ^J said, I will ^E bring you up out of the ^E affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, unto a ^E land flowing with milk and honey.		s 151
^J 4 ⁵¹ Gen 50 ²⁴ ^J Cp 8	18 ^E And they shall ^E hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the ^E elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, Yahweh, the ^E God of the Hebrews, hath ^E met with us: and ^E now let us go, ^E we pray thee, ^E three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may ^E sacrifice to Yahweh our God.		t 146 ^b
18. . L ^{7a}	19 ^E And ^J I know that the king of Egypt will not give you leave to go, no, not by a ^E mighty hand. ²⁰ And I will ^E put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my ^E wonders which I will do ^E in the midst thereof: ^E and after that he will let you go.		u 44
^K 5 ⁸ 8 17 88 25 27 10 ²⁵	... ²¹ ^E And I will ^E give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and ^E it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go ^E empty: ²² but ^E every woman shall ask of her ^E neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, ^E jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and ^E raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall ^E spoil the Egyptians.		v 87 ^c w 131 x 86
^J Cp 8 ^{ob} ^m Ex 34 ¹⁰ Josh 3 ⁵ ^{op} 118 op Gen 32 ²⁰ al ^J Gen 31 ⁴² ^q 11 ² 12 ⁸⁵ ^J Cp 12 ^{4*} ^K Gen 24 ⁵⁸	4 ¹ And Moses answered and said, But, ^E behold, they will not ^E believe me, nor ^E hearken unto my voice: for they will say, Yahweh hath not ^E appeared unto thee. ² And Yahweh said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, A ^E rod. ³ And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a ^E serpent; and Moses ^E fled from before it. ⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^E Put forth thine hand, and ^E take it by the tail: (and he put forth his hand, and ^E laid hold of it, and it became a rod in his hand: ⁵) ^E that they may ^E believe that ^E Yahweh, the ^E God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee. ⁶ And Yahweh said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy ^E bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand was ^E leprous, as [white as] snow ^h . ⁷ And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. (And he put his hand into his bosom again; and when he took it out of his bosom, behold, it ^E was turned again as his [other] flesh.) ⁸ And it shall come to pass, if they will not ^E believe thee, neither ^E hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign. ⁹ And it shall come to pass, if they will not ^E believe ^E even these two signs, neither ^E hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land: and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become ^E blood upon		y 174 z 205 ^b
^J 12 ^{36*} 2 Chron 20 ²⁵ a Cp 8 ²⁶			a' 31 ^b b' 3 ^b
b 31 ⁶			c' 161
c Gen 39 ¹² d Gen 25 ⁵⁸ e Gen 19 ¹⁶ f 31 ⁶			a 134 b 44 ^b
g Gen 16 ⁵			c 205 ^b
h Num 12 ^{10*} 2 Kings 5 ²⁷			d 120 ^b
i 2 Kings 5 ¹⁴			e 126

31⁶ This phrase coinciding with that in 15 cp 13 may be due to the harmonizer, but cp 4^o.

19 These verses do not seem in their present form to belong either to J or to E. Not to J because (1) they interrupt the connexion between 31⁶⁻¹⁸ and 4¹, and (2) they contain distinct literary marks of E, 'give you leave' 19¹⁸, and the peculiar infinitive 'to go' 19^{19*}. Yet on the other hand the phrase 'by a mighty hand' does not belong to E, but tends to appear in passages kindred with D cp 28^{ob}: for 'wonders' cp 34¹⁰. The passage seems to have been amplified from E by R¹⁰.

21 These instructions must obviously belong to the narrator who regards the Israelites as settled, not apart in the land of Goshen, but among the Egyptians themselves cp 7³⁸.

4² The rod was one of the ancient elements of the tradition. Here it is represented as the shepherd's staff which was naturally in Moses' hands, and it becomes the medium of the

display of the divine power to him. In E it is apparently given him by God 17¹, and consequently bears the name 'rod of God' 20^b (cp 'mountain of God'): as such, it is the instrument with which Moses achieves the wonders 7^{20b} 8²³ 10¹³. P transfers the rod to Aaron, and supplies a different occasion for its conversion into a serpent cp 7⁸⁻¹². J's story of the signs seems to be considerably abbreviated. It is not made clear from 1-8 that the signs are to be repeated for the persuasion of the incredulous Israelites; but this becomes plain from 9 cp 8²⁰. 8 may have read originally 'if they will not believe the first sign, neither hearken to thy voice.'

3 M 5^h nahash.—Cp 20⁶ and ct 7^o.

9 A reference to a third sign which has become in E and P the basis of one of the plagues, no longer designed for the assurance of the Israelites, but for the punishment of Pharaoh cp E 7¹⁶ 17^b 20^b, P 7¹⁹.

J E

JE

J E P

the dry land. ¹⁰ And Moses said unto Yahweh, 'Oh Lord, I am not eloquent; neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: for I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. ¹¹ And Yahweh said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh [a man] dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is it not I Yahweh? ¹² Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak.

¹³ And he said, 'Oh Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send. ¹⁴ And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Moses, and he said, 'Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite? I know that he can speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. ¹⁵ And thou shalt speak unto him, and put the words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do. ¹⁶ And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and it shall come to pass, that he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God.

... ¹⁷ And thou shalt take in thine hand this rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs.

¹⁸ And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.

¹⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life. ²⁰ And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt.

^{20b} And Moses took the rod of God in his hand.

²¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, When thou goest back into Egypt, see that thou do before Pharaoh all the wonders which I have put in thine hand: but I will harden his heart, and he will not let the people go.

²² And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith Yahweh, Israel is my son, my firstborn: ²³ and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me; and thou hast refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy son, thy firstborn.

... ²⁴ And it came to pass on the way at the lodging place, that

f 56^b
g 11
h 169
i 73
j 78

k 187
l 130
m 186
n 233

o 183

p 87^a

q 68

r 53

j 52^b 54 Gen
39^b 5

k Gen 46²⁸ Ex
12⁵ 26 12 al

14. Lmba
l Cp Gen 13⁹
37¹³ 5

m Cp 20⁶
n Gen 6⁵

o Cp 22⁶
p Cp 2²⁸

q 3¹

r Gen 45³ 5 cp
9^{1b}
s Gen 44¹⁷

t 21⁵

u 5 = made them
to ride Gen
41⁴³ Deut
32¹³ 8

v 7² 9 11⁹ ct 3²⁰
5

w Gen 27¹⁹

x 7¹⁶ 10³ 7 11 24
26 12³¹

24. L6ma

⁴¹⁰ M. S. A man of words.—This passage is the counterpart in J of 31¹. E, cp 41² and 31².

¹³ In 18-16 it is not apparent in what way the anger of Yahweh expresses itself against the reluctance of Moses. It is believed, therefore, that this is really a later insertion to prepare for the introduction of Aaron, for whom a place had to be found in the story. The want of uniformity in his appearances, the curious alternation between plural and singular verbs in the immediate context of his entry into the narrative (cp 8⁸ 12^a 26 28 37 10¹⁶ 17^b with 89 12^b 29 38 10¹⁶ 18), and the fact that in the earliest extant account of the sanctuary he had no function, Joshua being the servitor of Moses in the Tent of Meeting Ex 33¹¹, render it probable that the passages narrating his activity are all secondary as compared with the original J. The description of Aaron as 'the Levite' (in the sense of priest) on whom devolves the duty of proclaiming to the people the divine teaching, points in the same direction; cf 18²⁰. where Moses is himself the giver of teaching (*torah*). Cornill ascribes his appearance here, as well as in 27, 29, and the rest of the passages in 5-10 to R^p, cp Num 1¹⁸. But this seems to overlook the parallel in 61² 71 which cannot be regarded as the source of 41³. The passage is therefore viewed as secondary in J but older than P.

¹⁴ This passage is certainly related to 27. But it can hardly be by the same writer (Baon), for it implies that Aaron has already started, whereas according to 27 he has not yet received the divine command to join Moses in the wilderness. It seems better, therefore, to regard it as a sign of editorial preparation, introduced by the connecting link 'and also.' Its removal improves the connexion of 14^a and 15.

¹⁷ Cp 2²⁸ and 20 71^b 17^b 20^b 23 10¹³ 14¹⁶ 17⁵ 9. Dillmann conjectures that the pronoun 'this' is due to R replacing 'rod of God' as in 20^b. But the passage seems rather to indicate

a gift on the part of God (like the stone tables). The 'signs' are probably not to be interpreted of those recounted in 2-9; they are those to be hereafter performed against Pharaoh. In that case the passages in E preparing Moses for the resistance of Pharaoh have been set aside in the process of uniting J and E.

¹⁸ M. S. Jether.

¹⁹ According to 31⁸ Moses has already received instructions to return, so that in the original narrative of J this passage may have preceded the theophany in 32, now combined with E. It is suggested, therefore, that it followed 22^a.

²⁰ J has only related the birth of one son 22^a, and 25 implies that there was no second. The plural seems to be an editorial reference to 18²⁻⁴.

²¹ The commission to Moses in this passage may be founded upon older elements, but its place here is due to R, who has attached it to 19-20 with the echoing phrase 'when thou goest to return into Egypt'; the word 'wonders' recurs later in P cp Deut 34 &c. The message to Pharaoh in 22, is never repeated, and if the passage is not to be assigned to editorial preparation, it must have been transposed from some later scene, such as the beginning of 11⁴ (Dillm 10²⁸).

^{21b} M. S. make strong.—Cp 10²⁰ 27, ct 71⁴.

²⁴ The story in 24-26 has many peculiar features. The sudden and unexpected intervention of Yahweh, the perplexing silence concerning its cause and purpose especially after the great task just assigned to Moses, the remedy adopted by Zipporah, her archaic use of the flint knife, and the obscurity of her utterance—these are all marks of great antiquity. The source from which the incident has been drawn, prior to its incorporation in J, cannot be determined; its interpretation belongs to the history of circumcision.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
y 27 Gen 32 ¹⁷ z 2 ¹⁵ a' Gen 18 ²⁵ b' 2 ²¹ c' Ezek 3 ^{9†} d' Gen 19 ¹² 5			Yahweh ^y met him, and ^z sought to ^{a'} kill him. ²⁵ Then ^{b'} Zipporah took a ^{c'} flint, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and ^{d'} cast it at his feet; and she said, Surely a ^{e'} bridegroom of blood art thou to me. ²⁶ So he let him alone. Then she said, ^{f'} "A bridegroom of blood [art thou], because of the circumcision.			
e' 3 ¹			²⁷ And Yahweh said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went, and ^{g'} met him in the ^{h'} mountain of God, and kissed him.			
f' Cp 17			²⁸ And Moses told Aaron all the words of Yahweh wherewith he had sent him, and all the ^{i'} signs wherewith he had charged him.			
g' 3 ¹⁶			²⁹ And Moses and Aaron went and ^{j'} gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel: ³⁰ and ^{k'} Aaron spake all the words which Yahweh had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. ³¹ And the people believed: and when they heard that Yahweh had ^{l'} visited the children of Israel, and that he had ^{m'} seen their affliction, then they ^{n'} bowed their heads and worshipped.			
h' 3 ⁷			⁵¹ ^{o'} And afterwards Moses and Aaron came, and said unto Pharaoh, ^{p'} "Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may ^{q'} 'hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. ² And Pharaoh said, Who is Yahweh, that I should ^{r'} 'hearken unto his voice to let Israel go? I know not Yahweh, and moreover I will not let Israel go.			a 12 ^b
a 10 ⁹ 23 ¹⁴ 32 ⁵			³ ^{s'} And they said, ^{t'} The God of the Hebrews hath ^{u'} 'met with us: let us go, we pray thee, ^{v'} 'three days' journey into the wilderness, and ^{w'} 'sacrifice unto Yahweh our God; lest he ^{x'} 'fall upon us with ^{y'} 'pestilence, or with the sword.			a 8 ⁷
b 3 ¹⁸ c Cp 3 ¹⁸ et Deut 22 ⁶ 5 ³ d 8 17 3 ¹⁸ e 9 ³ 15 et Num 14 ¹² Lev 26 ²⁵ Deut 28 ²¹ *			⁴ And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, ⁵ 'loose the people from their ⁶ 'works? get you unto your ⁷ 'burdens.			b 44 ^b
f Cp 32 ²⁵ g 23 ¹² 16 cp Gen 46 ³³ h 1 ¹¹ i Ct 12 ¹⁵ 5 j Cp 28 ³ k Gen 24 ²⁵ l 8 14 16-19 Gen 17 ³ m 12 Num 15 ³² *			⁵ And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land are now many, and ye ⁶ 'make them rest from their ⁷ 'burdens. ⁸ And the same day Pharaoh commanded the ⁹ 'taskmasters of the people, and their ¹⁰ 'officers, saying, ¹¹ Ye shall no more give the people ¹² 'straw to make ¹³ 'brick, as heretofore: let them go and ¹⁴ 'gather straw for themselves. ¹⁵ And the ¹⁶ 'tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not ¹⁷ 'diminish aught thereof: for they be ¹⁸ 'idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and ¹⁹ 'sacrifice to our God. ²⁰ Let ²¹ 'heavier ²² 'work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not ²³ 'regard lying words. ²⁴ And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their ²⁵ 'officers, and they ²⁶ 'spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw. ²⁷ Go yourselves, get you straw where ye can find it: for nought of your ²⁸ 'work shall be ²⁹ 'diminished.			c 8 ⁵
n 30 ³² 37* Ezek 45 ¹¹ 2 Chron 24 ^{13†} o 8 11 19 21 ¹⁰ al p 5 Niph† q 5 = service r 14 r Gen 14 ⁴ s Cp 18 ^{5†}			¹² So the people were ¹³ 'scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to ¹⁴ 'gather ¹⁵ 'stubble for straw. ¹⁶ And the taskmasters were ¹⁷ 'urgent, saying, Fulfil your ¹⁸ 'works, [your] ¹⁹ 'daily tasks, as when there was straw. ²⁰ And the ²¹ 'officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, ²² 'and demanded, ²³ 'Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your ²⁴ 'task ²⁵ 'both yesterday ²⁶ 'and to-day, in making ²⁷ 'brick as heretofore? ²⁸ Then the ²⁹ 'officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with ³⁰ 'thy			d 8 ³
t Ex 15 ⁷ * Is 5 ²⁴ al u Gen 19 ¹⁵ 5 v Cp 16 ⁴ w Gen 26 ²⁷ x Cp Gen 47 ²² 5						e 7 ²
						f 8 ⁰
						g 11
						h 7 ³

4²⁵ M 5 made it touch.—Cp 12²² = strike.

28 M Or, A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision. Cp 13⁸. The text of RV ascribes the performance of the signs to Aaron. But this is certainly not contemplated in 1-5, nor is it suggested in 13-16. The original subject of 'did' (5 he did) must be Moses; and the present form of the verse must result from the later redaction.

51 J and E appear both to have related the demand made by Moses on behalf of the Israelites for the royal permission to depart, and the opening of 5 seems to contain material from each source. Thus 3 is a doublet of 1 and 6 of 4; 3 is easily identified with J (see the margins) and 1, 4, therefore, fall most naturally to E. The place of Aaron in the original narrative

is doubtful cp 4¹⁸; according to J the petition of Moses was to be supported by the elders 3¹⁸. It has been suggested that the plea alleged in the latter part of 1 may be due to E, who seeks to bring E into accord with J. In 13¹⁷⁻¹⁹ a special reason is assigned why the Israelites did not march to Canaan by the shortest route from the south-west, but in 3¹⁸ a visit to the sacred mountain is already contemplated, and 1¹⁸ is not, therefore, out of harmony with E. The story in 5-28 seems to be all of one piece, and the linguistic indications point to J rather than E.

6 The reference to the 'officers' 6¹⁰ seems to be an editorial anticipation of 14 where they are first described.

14 M 5 saying.

J JE J E P

y Gen 43⁹ 5
 z Ezek 45¹¹ cp 8
 a' Gen 16⁵
 b' Gen 82¹ 27²⁷
 c' Gen 34³⁰ ct
 1624*
 d' Gen 43⁶ 5
 Num 11¹¹
 e' 31¹⁰ 41³
 f' 3⁸
 c 31⁹
 b 32⁰
 c 11¹ 12²⁹ cp 148
 d Gen 17¹ 35⁹
 e 224
 f 113 5
 g Cp 1285b 5 go
 h 111
 i 5=deliver 3⁸
 j 5=service 14
 k Cp 1800
 l Lev 2612
 m Num 1430*
 Ezek 205 15 23
 28 42 267
 n Dent 334* Ezek
 1116 254 10 3324
 362 54
 o 5=hard ser-
 vice 14
 p 304 ct 410.
 servants? ¹⁶ There is no straw given unto ^hthy servants, and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants are beaten; but the ^vfault is in thine own people. ¹⁷ But he said, Ye are ^vidle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us go and ^asacrifice to Yahweh. ¹⁸ Go therefore now, and work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the ^atale of bricks. ¹⁹ And the ^jofficers of the children of Israel did see that they ^wwere in evil case, when it was said, Ye shall not ^aminish aught from your bricks, [your] ^edaily tasks. ²⁰ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: ²¹ and they said unto them, Yahweh look upon you, and ^a'judge; because ye have made our ^b'savour to be ^aabhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us. ²² And Moses returned unto Yahweh, and said, Lord, wherefore hast thou ^d'evil entreated this people? 'why is it that thou hast sent me? ²³ For ^e'since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath ^d'evil entreated this people; neither hast thou ^j'delivered thy people at all.
⁶¹ ⁿAnd Yahweh said unto Moses, ^a'Now shalt thou see what I will ^b'do to Pharaoh: for by a ^a'strong hand shall he ^b'let them go, and by a strong hand shall he ^c'drive them out of his land.

i 83^ba 187
b 146^cc 179^a
d 1e 60^a
f 4^a
g 145¹
h 94^a

i 135

j 132^a
k 99
l 26m 179^cn 185^a
o 185^b

p 166

² ⁿAnd God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, ⁱ'I am Yahweh: ³ and I ^a'appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as ^{3a}EL SHADDAI, but ^b'by my name Yahweh I was not ^k'known to them. ⁴ And I have also ^e'established my covenant with them, to give them the ^l'land of Canaan, the ^l'land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. ⁵ And moreover ^h'I have ^e'heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians ^j'keep in bondage; and I have ^k'remembered my covenant. ⁶ ^a'Wherefore ⁿ'say unto the children of Israel, ⁱ'I am Yahweh, and I will bring you out from under the ^h'burdens of the Egyptians, and I will ⁱ'rid you out of their ^j'bondage, and I will ^k'redeem you with a ^k'stretched out arm, and with great ^k'judgements: ⁷ and I will take you ^l'to me for a people, and I will ^l'be to you a God: and ye shall ^m'know that I am Yahweh your God, which bringeth you out from under the ^h'burdens of the Egyptians. ⁸ And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning which I ^m'lifted up my hand to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an ⁿ'heritage: ⁱ'I am Yahweh. ⁹ And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for ⁿ'anguish of spirit, and for ^c'cruel bondage.
¹⁰ And Yahweh ⁿ'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹¹ Go in, ^e'speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. ¹² And Moses ⁿ'spake before Yahweh, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, ^h'who am ²'of ^p'uncircumcised lips?
¹³ ⁿAnd Yahweh spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the

519 M. Or, were set on mischief, when they said.

61 This verse seems most naturally treated as the divine reply to the expostulation of Moses 5²³, and is consequently assigned to J. In 12²¹. Pharaoh bids the children of Israel depart immediately and in 12³⁰ they are ^e'thrust (= driven) out. For ^e'strong hand' (other than Yahweh's) cp Num 20²⁰; used of Yahweh Ex 13⁹ 32¹¹.

² Cp 3¹⁴, and *Introd* V 2 i 33 and XIII 1 i 121.

^{3a} So M. 5. T. God Almighty.

^{8c} M. Or, made known.

⁶ Driver, *LOT* 151, ascribes 6-8 to Ph (cp *Introd* XIII 8γ i 145).

The chief linguistic support for this attribution is probably to be found in the formula 'I am Yahweh.' But this appears sufficiently explained as the repetition of the revelation in 2. There do not seem any other distinctive marks of Ph: and the words 'redeem' ⁶ 'judgements' ⁶ with the phrases of 7 seem rather to belong to P⁵. The parallels with Ezekiel deserve attention. It may further be remarked that 3-5 would be very incomplete without some hint of the mode by which the divine promise would be carried out. Reminiscences of J may be

found in 'burdens' and 'deliver' ⁶.

⁹ M. Or, impatience, 5 shortness of spirit.—5†.

¹³ The text in this passage seems to be a later amalgam. The answer of Yahweh to the question of Moses 12, is not delivered until 7, where the way is prepared for it by the repetition of the dialogue 28-30. The intervening matter is by no means homogenous. Only three tribes are catalogued, Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. The first two 14 15 have their brief counterparts in Gen 46⁹. The treatment of Levi is much fuller 16-22, and is apparently designed to introduce Aaron and Moses, of whose descent nothing has as yet been said. Bacon regards this passage as original to P, and proposes to attach it to 15. It is no doubt full of P's phrases, but the detail seems unequal; ²¹ interrupts the family history of Amram; and the fragments cannot be said to be harmoniously welded together, or to form a suitable transition from the compact summary of 1-5 to the subsequent narrative of the bondage of Israel and the revelation of Yahweh. They must be assigned in their present connexion to the secondary elements of P. It is noteworthy that nothing is said of the wife of Moses; did P find the

J E	P		
		children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.	
q Gen 46 ⁹		¹⁴ These are the heads of their 'fathers' houses: the ⁹ sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: ⁴ these are the ⁸ families of Reuben.	q 188 r 66 s 65
r Gen 46 ¹⁰		¹⁵ And the ⁷ sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: ⁴ these are the families of Simeon. ¹⁶ And ⁴ these are the names of the sons of Levi ⁴ according to their ⁹ generations; ⁴ Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the ⁷ years of the life of Levi were an ¹¹ hundred thirty and seven years.	t 18 u 77 v 182 w 93
s Gen 46 ¹¹ Num 3 ¹⁷		¹⁷ The sons of ⁴ Gershon; Libni and Shimei, ⁴ according to their families. ¹⁸ And the sons of ⁴ Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the ⁷ years of the life of Kohath were an ¹¹ hundred thirty and three years. ¹⁹ And the sons of ⁴ Merari; Mahli and Mushi. ⁴ These are the families of the Levites according to their ⁹ generations.	
t Num 3 ¹⁸		²⁰ And Amram took him ¹⁰ Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the ⁷ years of the life of Amram were an ¹¹ hundred and thirty and seven years.	
u Num 3 ¹⁹ 26 ⁵⁹		²¹ And the sons of Izhar; ⁴ Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. ²² And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri. ²³ And Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him ⁴ Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. ²⁴ And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; ⁴ these are the families of the Korahites. ²⁵ And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him ⁴ Phinehas. ⁴ These are the heads of the 'fathers' [houses] of the Levites ⁴ according to their families. ²⁶ These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom Yahweh said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their hosts. ²⁷ These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.	x 14 y 12 z 188 ^c
v Num 3 ²⁰		²⁸ And it came to pass on the day when Yahweh spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt, ²⁹ that Yahweh ¹¹ spake unto Moses, saying, ¹ I am Yahweh: ¹¹ speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. ³⁰ And Moses said before Yahweh, Behold, I am ¹⁰ of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?	
a Cp 99 b Ct 4 ¹⁶ c Cp 35 ¹¹⁴ d 611		⁷¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, "See, I have made thee a ⁶ god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy ⁶ prophet. ² Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, ⁴ that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. ³ And ¹ I will ⁴ harden Pharaoh's heart ⁶ , and multiply my ⁷ signs and my ⁷ wonders in the land of Egypt. ⁴ But Pharaoh will not hearken unto you, and I will lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my ¹⁰ hosts, my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great ⁴ judgements. ⁵ And the Egyptians shall ⁴ know that I am Yahweh, when I ⁹ stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them. ⁶ And Moses and Aaron did so; ⁹ as Yahweh commanded them, so did they. ⁷ And Moses was fourscore years ⁴ old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.	a 94 b 92 c 99 d 179 ^b
e Ps 95 ³ Prov 28 ¹⁴ ct Ex 13 ¹⁵ f Cp 101 ^a		⁸ And Yahweh ¹¹ spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ⁹ When	e 189 ^a f 119 g 185 ^a
g Cp Ezek 6 ¹⁴ &c (7)			

tradition of her foreign origin incompatible with the stricter ideas of his time?

⁷⁸ The narrative of the wonders ⁷⁸⁻¹¹⁰ is plainly composite. Various reasons unite to enforce this conclusion; the following analysis is founded on two broad classes of evidence, (a) material differences of representation, and (b) accompanying peculiarities of phraseology. (i) Scattered through the record occur short sections of which ⁷⁸⁻¹³ is the type. They are based on the idea of 'showing a wonder' ⁷⁸. Moses receives the divine command, and transmits it to Aaron, who executes it with his rod: the magicians of Egypt then attempt to produce the same marvel, at first with success, but afterwards impotently: the heart of Pharaoh is strong, and he will not listen. These common marks unite the following passages ⁷⁸⁻¹³ 18-20a 22 85-7 15b 16-19 98-12. They are unconnected by any marks of time; they constitute a succession of displays of power increasing in force until the editorial close in ¹¹⁰. Their recurring phrases (see the margins), the peculiar relation of Moses and Aaron cp ⁷¹, the prominence assigned to Aaron as the agent of the wonder with his rod cp Num ¹⁷, while elsewhere the wonder is wrought by Moses with his rod, justify the ascription of these passages to P. Some points of linguistic affinity with JE are of course inevitable, in travelling over so much common ground. (2) The materials left after the elimination of P, again exhibit differences both of conception and language. Thus (i) J has already located the Israelites in the land of Goshen Gen 45¹⁰ and they are accordingly represented as

residing there in 822 ^{92b}; they are consequently unaffected by the flies or the hail. On the other hand in 102²¹⁻²³ they are living in the midst of the people in Egypt itself, and their immunity from the oppression of the darkness is secured by the appearance of light in their dwellings. This latter view of their intermingling with the Egyptians lies at the basis of the instructions in 32¹, and their sequel 112^a, and the passages founded on it must be assigned to E. Again (ii) the agency by which the plagues are successively induced, varies on different occasions. In one series Moses simply announces to Pharaoh the divine intention, but in another he is directed to stretch out his hand that the visitation may follow 523 1012 21 (ct 929 33). The hand of Moses wields the rod 523 1013 cp 22 720b, apparently the rod of 417 expressly given to him for the purpose. The coincidence of (i) and (ii) in 102²¹⁻²³ secures all the rod-passages to E. It will be noticed that these contain no mention of Aaron; Moses throughout appears alone; moreover he does not predict, he performs; no word is said to Pharaoh; act after act follows without recorded speech. (3) The residue exhibits numerous indications of the handiwork of J. The Israelites inhabit the land of Goshen, and are occupied with flocks and herds 822 523 103 24 cp Gen 4622 34 473 6. The reiterated demands addressed to Pharaoh for permission to depart that Israel may serve Yahweh 716 81 20 91 18 103, carry out the instruction of 318 the interviews taking place in the palace ('go in' 45 318 84 91 101, 'stand before' 820 913 ct 715). The incidents of the several narratives may be tabulated thus:—

J E

P

A 19 85 16
 I 10 12 19 85 16.

J Ct 4³
 I Gen 41⁸
 I 22¹⁸ Deut 1810⁸

m 22 61⁹ 9¹² ct
 9³⁶
 n 22 61⁹ 19 9¹² ct
 9³⁶
 o 81⁵ 32 9⁷ 84 cp
 78

p Ct 81 20

Pharaoh shall ⁹speak unto you, saying, Shew a wonder for you: then thou shalt say unto ¹⁰Aaron, Take thy ¹¹rod, and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it become a ¹²serpent. ¹³And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they ¹⁴did so, as Yahweh had commanded: and Aaron cast down his ¹⁵rod before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it became a ¹⁶serpent. ¹⁷Then Pharaoh also called for the ¹⁸wise men and the ¹⁹sorcerers: and they also, the ²⁰magicians of Egypt, did in like manner with their ²¹enchantments. ²²For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's ²³rod swallowed up their rods. ²⁴And Pharaoh's heart ²⁵was hardened, and he ²⁶hearkened not unto them; ²⁷as Yahweh had spoken.

b 189^b

14 ²⁸And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is ²⁹stubborn, he ³⁰refuseth to let the people go. . . .

. . . ³¹Get thee unto Pharaoh in the ³²morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt ³³stand

i 68

j 236

k 215

J

E

P

The river smitten,
 death of the fish.
 Frogs.
 Flies.
 Murrain.
 Hail.
 Locusts.
 Death of the first-born.

Waters of the river
 turned to blood.
 —
 —
 —
 Hail.
 Locusts.
 Darkness.
 [Death of the first-born.]

Aaron's rod changed
 to a serpent.
 Waters of Egypt
 turned to blood.
 Frogs.
 Lice.
 —
 —
 Boils.
 —
 —
 —
 Death of the first-born.

The narrative of P has probably been preserved intact; portions of J and E have no doubt been curtailed or omitted in the process of amalgamation. The following differences of phrase may be noted:—

J

E

P

Pharaoh 'refuses to let the people go' 7¹⁴ 8² 9² 10⁴.
 'Yahweh, God of the Hebrews' 7¹⁶ 9¹ 13 10⁸.
 'Let my people go that they may serve me' 7¹⁶ 8¹ 20 9¹ 13 10⁸.
 'Thus saith Yahweh . . . Behold I will . . . ' 7¹⁷ 8¹ 20. 9¹ (3) 13 18 10⁸.
 'Intreat Yahweh' 8⁸ 28 9²⁸ 10¹⁷.
 'Removal' of the plague 88 81 10¹⁷ cp 9³⁸.
 Marks of time, 'tomorrow' 8¹⁰ 23 28 9⁶. 10⁴.
 Unheard of character of the infliction 9¹⁸ 24b 10^{8b} 14 11⁶.
 Pharaoh's heart 'stubborn' (Qal and Hiph) 7¹⁴ 8¹⁶ 32 9⁷ 34.

Moses stretches out his hand with the rod 7¹⁵ 20b 9²² 10¹² 21¹.

Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 9³⁵ 10²⁰ 27.

'Say unto Aaron' 7⁹ 19 80 18.
 The magicians 7¹¹ 22 87 18 9¹¹.

Aaron stretches out his hand with his rod 7⁹ 19 85 16.

Land of Egypt 7¹⁹ 21b 85-7 16. 9^{24b} 12¹ 12. 17 41. 51.

Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 7¹³ 22 81⁹ (9¹² P1).
 And he hearkened not as Yahweh had spoken 7¹³ 22 81⁹ 9¹².

14^a The miracle of the water is the only 'sign' which seems to have been narrated by all three writers J E P prior to the death of the firstborn, and the compiler has attempted to weld the accounts together. But the narratives are not founded on the same conception, and the result is obviously not homogeneous. In 17^b it is predicted that the waters in the River (*y'or*), when struck with the rod of Moses, shall be turned into blood, the term *y'or* being regularly applied to the Nile. But in 19 a fresh command is given to Moses to instruct Aaron to stretch out his rod over the waters of Egypt, which include not only the *y'or* but every drop from the 'streams' (*y'orim*) down to the liquid already standing in the household stores. Plainly 19 20^a 21b 22 belong to the series inaugurated by 7^b-13 cp 7^{8N}. The remaining narrative is still composite. The criteria already enumerated in 7^{8N} show that 16-17^a belongs to J. In the formula 'Thus saith Yahweh . . . Behold I will smite', Yahweh is obviously the subject of the verb cp 8¹. 20. 9¹³ 18 10⁸, and it is plain from 25 that the writer conceived of Yahweh as himself smiting the river, with the result that the fish died 18 21, and the Egyptians could not drink the water. But if 17^a belongs to J, the continuation must be drawn from another source, for Yahweh did not himself wield the rod. This can be no other than E cp 7^{8N}. This rod Moses has already been directed to take in his hand 15; with this he smote the waters in the River 20b, and they were turned to blood (cp 19 'become'). In combining the two narratives R has altered the pronoun 'thine' cp 9²² 10¹² 21 to 'mine,' as the verb (now assigned to Moses as subject) required the first person. The nature of the change in the river produced by Yahweh, according to J, is not stated. But there is nothing to imply that it consisted in conversion into blood. Nothing, indeed, need have happened to the water at all. Yahweh's power is sufficiently shown in the mysterious death of the fish, which would suffice to pollute the sacred stream, and render it undrinkable. Why, then, should R have united this story of J with the very different incident of E? Because J's reference to the transformation of the Nile waters belonged to another part of the cycle, and could not be utilized here. In 4³ Moses is directed to convince his countrymen by taking water out of the river, and pouring it out on the dry soil, when it would become blood. Whether this was actually wrought among the signs which he did before them according to 4³⁰, is not stated. But it creates a presumption that J's view of the transaction was limited to a display of the power of Moses before Israel, when the water affected was not the whole river (E), still less every particle in the entire country (P), but only the contents of a vessel which could be emptied on the ground. In the process of compilation, however, these elements were no longer discriminated, and J's account of the death of the fish found its natural explanation in amalgamation with E's independent account of the change of the Nile-stream into blood before Pharaoh and his court. A final harmonistic effort 15 identified the 'rod of God' which was expressly given to Moses for the purpose of working the signs (E) 4¹⁷ 20b, with his own shepherd's staff (J) which had been turned into a snake 4². . . .

14b M ⁹ heavy.

Other items of linguistic usage will be found noted in the margins. The narrative of J shows occasional signs of expansion in the hortatory manner already noticed in Genesis cp 810^b 22b 9¹⁴⁻¹⁸ 29b 10^{1b} 2¹. It is also probable that the part here played by Aaron is due to later remodelling rather than to the original story cp 4^{18N}.

7⁹ M ⁹ tannin, any large reptile; and so in 10 12.—Cp Gen 1²¹, and ct 15.

11^a M See Gen 41⁸.—Cp 22 87 19 9¹¹.

11b M Or, secret arts.

13 M ⁹ was strong.—Cp 22 81⁹ 9¹².

	J	E	JE	J	E	P	
q 2 ⁵ $\S$ = <i>brink</i>			by the ^a river's brink to 'meet him; and the rod which was turned to a ^b serpent shalt thou take in thine hand.				l 183
r 3 ¹⁸			16 And thou shalt ^r say unto him, Yahweh, the ^m God of the Hebrews, hath sent me unto thee, saying, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, ⁿ hitherto thou hast not hearkened.				m 87 ^c
s 81 20 g ¹ 13 10 ⁸			17 ^a ^o Thus saith Yahweh, 'In this thou shalt ⁿ know that I am Yahweh: behold, I will smite [the river...] ... ^{17b} with the rod that is in ⁿ mine [thine] hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be ^v turned to blood.				n 222 o 87 ^a
t Gen 24 ¹⁴ Josh 3 ¹⁰ $\S$ u 810 22 g ¹⁴ 10 ² cp 179 ^b			18 And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall ^v stink; and the Egyptians shall ^a loathe to drink water from the river.				
v Ct 4 ⁹							
w 21 814							
x Cp Gen 19 ¹¹ $\S$							
y 85 ^a Is 14 ²⁸ al							
z $\S$ = <i>the gathering of their waters</i> Gen 1 ¹⁰							
a' 17 ⁵			... ^{20b} And he lifted up the rod, and ^{a'} smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were ^v turned to blood.				
b' Cp 11			... ^{21a} And the fish that was in the river died; and the river ^v stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river.				
c' Cp 13							
d' 32 ¹⁵ cp 10 ⁸			23 And Pharaoh ^{d'} turned and went into his house, neither did he ^m lay even this to heart.				
e' Gen 21 ³⁰ 26 ¹⁸ ... cp 144			24 And all the Egyptians ^{e'} digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river. ²⁵ And seven days were ^{f'} fulfilled, after that Yahweh had ^{v'} smitten the river.				
f' Gen 25 ²⁴ g' Cp 17							
			19 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto ^h Aaron, Take thy ⁱ rod, and stretch out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their ⁿ streams, and over their ^p pools, and over all their ^r ponds of water, that they may become blood; and there shall be blood through- out all the ^v land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone. ^{20a} And Moses and Aaron ^b did so, as Yahweh commanded;				p 4 ^c
			21 ^b and the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. ²² And the ^{b'} magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their ^{b'} enchancements: and Pharaoh's heart ⁿ was ^{c'} hardened, and he ^v hearkened not unto them; ⁿ as Yahweh had spoken.				q 194

7¹⁵ M See 4⁸.19 M Or, *canals*.— $\S$ = river 2⁸ 7¹⁵ 17.17b Cp 14¹⁸.22 M $\S$ was strong.23 M $\S$ set his heart even to this.—Ct 9²¹.

J E

JE

J E P

1 [7²⁸ in $\S$]
 a 3¹⁸ $\S$ 9¹ 10¹
 b 20 7¹⁸
 c 7^{17A}
 d 12²³
 e 10¹⁴ 19
 f 2¹³ Ps 78⁴⁵
 g 10³⁰ 7
 h 1¹⁸ c 5
 i Cp 2¹⁵⁷
 j Gen 43³⁰ $\S$
 k Gen 47³¹
 l Gen 15¹⁷
 m 12⁸⁴ Deut
 28⁵ 17⁴
 n [81 in $\S$]
 o 16 7¹⁹

8¹ And Yahweh "said unto Moses, "Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, "Thus saith Yahweh, "Let my people go, that they may serve me.
 2 And if thou "refuse to let them go, "behold, "I will "smite all thy "borders with /frogs: 3 and the "river shall "swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy "bedchamber, and upon thy "bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine "ovens, and into thy "kneadingtroughs: 4 and the frogs shall come up both upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants^N.

a 87^a
 b 68

5 And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the rivers, over the "streams, and over the pools, and cause frogs to come up upon the "land of Egypt. 6 And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the "land of Egypt. 7 And the "magicians did in like manner with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the "land of Egypt.

c 4^c

8 Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, "Intreat Yahweh, that he "take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may "sacrifice unto Yahweh. 9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Have thou this "glory over me: against "what time shall I "intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, that the frogs be destroyed from thee and thy houses, and remain in the "river "only? 10 And he said, Against "to-morrow. And he said, Be it "according to thy word: "that thou mayest know that there is none like unto Yahweh our God. 11 And the frogs shall "depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the river "only. 12 And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh: and Moses "cried unto Yahweh "concerning the frogs "which he had brought upon Pharaoh. 13 And Yahweh did "according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields. 14 And they "gathered them together in "heaps: and the land "stank. 15a But when Pharaoh saw that there was "respite, he "hardened his heart.

d 48

e 189
 f 2

g 141

h 42

15b [N And Pharaoh's heart was hardened] and [he] "hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken.

16 And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that it may become "lice throughout all the "land of Egypt. 17 And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and there were lice upon 'man, and upon 'beast; all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the 'land of Egypt. 18 And the "magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: and there were lice upon 'man, and upon beast. 19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God:

i 108^b

z 73

8¹ T spoke. $\S$ as in 7¹⁴ 8²⁰ 9¹ 10¹ &c.

4 This announcement was no doubt followed in J by the description of the arrival of the frogs. But R has set this in favour of the corresponding extract from P. For 6-7 cp 7⁸⁸.

5 M Or, canals.

10 This passage is one of a small group of parallel declarations 7^{17b} 8¹⁰ 22⁵ 9¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 29⁹ 10^{1b} 2, which are probably to be regarded as hortatory expansions designed to emphasize the religious lesson of the great conflict. The grounds for this view are in no single case decisive, but they acquire strength by mutual support. In each passage there is a more or less definite disturbance of the context, most clearly visible, perhaps, in 10^{1b} 2. In 8¹⁰ $\S$ has a slightly different form of words, 'that thou mayest know that there is no other save Yahweh' cp Is 45¹⁴ 21 &c; similarly 22 'that thou mayest know that I am Yahweh the Lord ($\S$ God) of all the earth.' The relation of

these affirmations of the unqualified sovereignty of Yahweh to the history of Hebrew monotheism would involve inquiries which cannot be undertaken here: but it may be pointed out that the formula 'know that I am Yahweh' 7¹⁷ 10^{2b} coincides with the frequent phrase of P, e.g. 7¹⁹ cp 7^{19b}. Extremely rare elsewhere Deut 20⁶ 1 Kings 20¹³ 28, unrepresented in the earlier prophetic literature it suddenly becomes one of the catchwords of Ezekiel who employs it more than sixty times. Its occurrence in 7¹⁷ is rendered more suspicious by the contrast of the pronoun directly following (אני) (אני). But cp Driver, Deut 321.

12 M Or, as he had appointed unto Pharaoh.

15a M $\S$ made heavy.—Cp 7¹⁴.

15b The natural close of 6-1 (cp 7¹³ 22) would be 'And Pharaoh's heart was strong (T hardened) and he hearkened not unto them' &c. R has removed the first words to join the second clause to the conclusion of J.

16 M Or, sand flies. Or, fleas.

J

P

and Pharaoh's heart ^uwas hardened, and he ^thearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken.

a' 9¹⁵

²⁰ a' And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Rise up early in the morning, and k'stand before Pharaoh^{a'}; ^u10, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, ^aThus saith Yahweh, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me.

j 200

k 214

b' 21-31 Ps 78⁴⁵

c' Cp 3 9 11 29 31

²¹ Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send ^bswarms of flies^{b'} upon ^cthee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms

d' 9⁴ 11⁷ 33¹⁶*e' 9²⁶ Gen 45¹⁰

f' Cp 10b

of flies, and also the ground whereon they are. ²² And I will ^{a'}sever ^lin that day ^cthe land of ^mGoshen, in which my people dwell, that ⁿno swarms of flies shall be there; ^jto the end thou mayest know that I am Yahweh in the midst of the earth. ²³ And I will ^uput a division between my people and thy people: by ^to-morrow shall this sign be. ²⁴ And Yahweh did so; and there came grievous swarms of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses: and in all the land of Egypt the land was ^ucorrupted by reason of the swarms of flies. ²⁵ And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, ^psacrifice to your God in the land. ²⁶ And Moses said, It is not ^umeet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the ^habomination of the Egyptians to Yahweh our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not ^sstone us? ²⁷ We will ^jgo 'three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to Yahweh our God, as he shall command us. ²⁸ And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to Yahweh your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go very ^kfar away: ^aintreat for me. ²⁹ And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will ^aintreat Yahweh that the swarms of flies may ^ldepart from ^cPharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, ^to-morrow: only let not Pharaoh deal ^udeceitfully ^pany more in ⁿnot letting the people go to sacrifice to Yahweh. ³⁰ And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and ^aintreated Yahweh. ³¹ And Yahweh did ^taccording to the word of Moses; and he ^removed the swarms of flies from ^cPharaoh, from his servants, and from his people; there ^mremained not one. ³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

l 142

m 39

n 61

g' 34² Cp Genh' Cp Gen 43³²i' 19¹³ Cp 21⁶j' 3¹⁶

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

o 86

k' Cp Gen 21¹⁶l' Gen 37⁷*

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

p 123

m' Cp 11 69

n' 9¹⁴ Cp 62

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

a 8¹

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

b 17 Gen 18²²c 9¹ Gen 47¹⁷d 15 5³e 8²²

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

a 87

b 68

c 18

d 10

e 33

f 78

f 8¹⁰

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

g Cp Lev 16¹²*Ezek 10² 7h 10 5[†]

³² And Pharaoh ^uhardened his heart ⁿthis time also, and he did not let the people go.

g 148

h 27

i 4^c

⁸¹⁰ M ^h was strong.—Cp 7¹³.
²⁰ Cp the identical phrase in 7¹⁵ ('cometh forth' = 'goeth out' ^h). Its insertion here may possibly be a scribal supplement or the unconscious suggestion of memory. It is not repeated in 9¹³.

²³ M Or, set a sign of deliverance. ^h set redemption.—Is 50² Ps 111⁹ 130[†].

²⁴ M Or, destroyed.

³² M ^h made heavy.—Cp 15.

⁹⁷ ^h heavy.—Cp 7¹⁴.

⁸ M Or, soot.

J E	P	
i 9-11 Lev 13 ¹⁸ . Deut 28 ²⁷ 30* j Lev 13 ¹² k 9. 5†	Egypt, and shall be a 'boil /breaking forth with 'blains upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt. ¹⁰ And they took 'ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses 'sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast. ¹¹ And the 'magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. ¹² And 'Yahweh 'hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he 'hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken unto Moses.	
l 7 ¹¹		
m Cp 7 ¹³ n 7 ¹³		
o 8 ²⁰	¹³ °And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Rise up early in the morning, and 'stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, 'Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, °Let my people go, that they may serve me. ¹⁴ For I will °this time send all my °plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; 'that thou mayest 'know that there is none like me in all the earth. ¹⁵ For now I had put forth my hand, and smitten thee and thy people with pestilence, and thou hadst been 'cut off from the earth: ¹⁶ but in very deed °for this cause have I made thee to stand, °for to shew thee my power, and that my name may be 'declared throughout all the earth. ¹⁷ As °yet 'exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt °not let them go? ¹⁸ Behold, °to-morrow °about this time I will °cause it to rain a very 'grievous hail, °such as hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded even until now.	j 200 k 214
p 8 ²² q Cp 7 ¹⁹ 5 ^b r Cp 8 ¹⁰		l 221
s Cp Ex 23 ²³ t Gen 28 ¹²		m 71
u 5* Hithp†		n 219
v 8 ¹⁰ w Jos 17 ⁸ x 23b cp 195 y 24b 10 ^{8b} 14 11 ⁶		o 61
z 5* cp Is 10 ³¹ Jer 4 ⁶ 61 Hiph†	¹⁹ °Now therefore send, °hasten in thy °cattle and all that thou hast in the field; [for] every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.	
a' Cp Gen 15 ¹	²⁰ He that feared the °word of Yahweh among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his °cattle flee into the houses: ²¹ and he that °regarded not the °word of Yahweh left his servants and his °cattle in the field.	
b' Ct 7 ²³ 5		
c' 23 10 ¹² 21.	²² °And Yahweh said unto Moses, °Stretch forth thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every °herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt. ^{23a} And Moses °stretched forth his °rod toward heaven: and Yahweh sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth.	p 46
d' 4 ¹⁷	^{23b} And Yahweh °rained hail upon the land of Egypt,	
e' 4 ¹⁰	^{24a} So there was hail, and fire °mingled with the hail, ^{24b} very 'grievous, °such as had not been in all the land of Egypt °since it became a nation. ^{25a} and the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast.	
f' 10 ¹⁶ g' 8 ⁸	^{25b} And the hail smote every °herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field. ²⁶ Only in the land of °Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail. ²⁷ And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, °I have sinned °this time: Yahweh is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. ²⁸ °Intreat Yahweh; for there hath	q 39 r 62

9¹² M 5 made strong.—Cp 7¹³.

¹⁹ According to 9⁶ the cattle of Egypt are already all dead, and in 26^b, consequently, the destructive effect of the hail is limited to trees and herbs. The prediction of the death of the cattle which should be exposed to the storm, must therefore be regarded as an editorial afterthought in reference to 26^a. The passage which follows ²⁰, seems in like manner to be an annotation, without any strict sequence, founded on the desire to mitigate the severity of the divine judgement in the case of pious heathen. On the phrase 'word of Yahweh' cp Gen 15¹.

²² The announcement of the hail in 18 finds its natural consequence in 23^b cp 8²⁴ 10^{13b}, where the plagues arrive without any intervention on the part of Moses. The instruction to him to stretch out his hand, therefore, appears as a new feature. When it is further added 'that there may be hail on man and

upon beast throughout the land of Egypt,' it becomes plain that this passage cannot proceed from the writer of 6. For the general reasons for assigning it to E cp 7²³. The phrase 'and upon every herb of the field' seems due to the harmonist, as it is used regularly by J cp 20^b, whereas E writes 'herb of the land' 10¹². In 23^a 'sent thunder and hail' is an obvious duplicate of J's 'rained hail'; the reference to 'fire' is resumed in 24^a, and 22 finds its sequel in 26. The source of 31, cannot be decided with certainty, and critics differ in their ascription. The explanation seems needless after the general statement of 26^b; on the other hand it may be said to prepare the way for 10¹³. And it is not out of harmony with E's general familiarity with matters Egyptian.

24^a M Or, flashing continually amidst.—5 Ezek 14†.

J E

JE

J E P

7³⁸ Is 1⁵i² Gen 11⁸j² Cp 810bk² Is 43² 43¹⁷†l² Is 28²⁵ Ezekm² Is 4⁹†n² Is 4⁹†o² Is 2² Samp² Is 21¹⁰ al

a 81

b Cp 7³c 3²⁰d Deut 4⁹

e Is Hithpa Num

f 7¹⁷ Deut 29⁶g 7 Cp 8⁹h 7¹⁸

i 810

j Is 2² Is Numk 22⁶ 11†l Gen 32⁸m Gen 2⁵n 5¹⁸o Gen 13²²p 5¹q 2¹⁷ Cp 14⁸

r 13 21. c22

been enough of [these] "mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. ²⁹ And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will ^hspread abroad my hands^h unto Yahweh; the thunders shall ⁱcease, neither shall there be any more hail; ^jthat thou mayest know that the earth is Yahweh's. ³⁰ But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear Yahweh ^gGod.

³¹ And the ⁴flax and the barley were smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax ^uwas balled. ³² But the wheat and the ^vspelt were not smitten: for they were not ^wgrown up.

³³ And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and ^hspread abroad his hands unto Yahweh: and the thunders and hail ^vceased, and the rain was not ⁿpoured upon the earth. ³⁴ And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ^vceased, he sinned yet more, and ^uhardened his heart, he and his servants.

³⁵ And the heart of Pharaoh ^uwas hardened, and he did not let the children of Israel go; ^uas Yahweh had spoken ^yby the hand of Moses.

¹⁰¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^a"Go in unto Pharaoh: ⁿfor I have ^uhardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might ^ushow these ^bmy signs in the ^cmidst of them: ² and that thou mayest tell in the ears of ^dthy son, and of thy son's son, ^uwhat things I have ^wwrought upon Egypt, and ^bmy signs which I have done among them; that ye may ^kknow that I am Yahweh. ³ And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, ^bThus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, ^u"How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? ⁴ let my people go, that they may serve me⁴. ⁴ Else, if thou ^vrefuse to let my people go, behold, ^u"to-morrow will I bring locusts into thy border: ⁵ and they shall cover the ^jface of the earth², that one shall not be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is ^kescaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which ⁱgroweth for you out of the field: ⁶ and thy houses shall be filled, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, ^u"since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he ^uturned, and went out from Pharaoh. ⁷ And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, ^u"How long shall this man be a snare unto us? ⁴ let the men go, that they may serve Yahweh their God: knowest thou ^unot yet that Egypt is destroyed? ⁸ And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve Yahweh your God: but who are they that shall go? ⁹ And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our ^uflocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a ^ufeast unto Yahweh. ¹⁰ And he said unto them, So be Yahweh ^uwith you, as I will let you go, and your ^u"little ones: look to it; for evil is ^u"before you. ¹¹ Not so: go now ye that are men, and serve Yahweh; for that is what ye desire. And they were ^udriven out from Pharaoh's presence.

¹² ⁿAnd Yahweh said unto Moses, ^u"Stretch out thine hand over the land

⁹²⁸ M. Is voices (or thunderings) of God.—Cp Gen 30⁸. In these verses the editors may have incorporated some touches from E. ³⁰ Omitted by G, and possibly due to later redactional influence cp Gen 24¹⁸. ³¹ M Or, was in bloom.—H†.

³⁴ M Is made heavy.—Cp 7¹⁴.

^{35a} M Is was strong.—R may possibly here have assimilated E's phrase 'Yahweh made strong Pharaoh's heart' 10²⁰ 27, to P's formula 7¹³ (Dillm); but J E P all seem to use their formulae in both modes.

^{35b} Another indication of scribal influence. For the phrase 'by the hand of Moses' see 180^c.

¹⁰^{1a} At this point the analogy of previous passages suggests that the command should run 'and say unto him' cp 81²⁰ 91¹³, followed by a fresh divine warning. Only in one case 11⁴⁻⁸ does Moses, when already in the royal audience-chamber, utter Yahweh's intent without prior instruction. As the text stands, Moses is sent to Pharaoh for the first time in the narrative without a message, while an explanation of the divine purpose

is supplied instead in terms which seem to show affinities with Deuteronomic phraseology. The message, however, is obviously contained in 8-9. It is worthy of note that Sam here reads (after 2) 'and say unto him, Thus saith Yahweh . . . unto this day,' while it then appends 8-9 as in G. This is an interesting if naïf attempt to restore the divine word to its usual place in J's scheme of narrative. The present arrangement seems due to two causes, (1) a dislocation of text caused by the insertion of 1b-2, and (2) the statement in the sequel 6 'he turned and went out from Pharaoh.' This was required for the subsequent development of the story. But it implied the presence of Moses before the king. To secure that, ^{35a} seems to have been introduced; the editor forgetting that while he brought Moses and Aaron in to the audience, only Moses came out.

^{1b} M Is made heavy.

² M Or, how I have mocked the Egyptians.

¹⁰ M Or, what ye purpose. Is before your face.

¹² This passage precisely resembles g²³, and is assigned to E

</

for the same reasons. In ¹⁹⁻¹⁵ the two narratives are combined, but they can be disentangled without difficulty. ^{13b} carries out the next morning the threat of ⁴ ('to-morrow will I bring'); ^{14a} ^{15b} reproduce the language of ¹²; while ^{14b} ^{15a} are founded on phrases in ⁶ and ⁵. The conclusion in ²⁰ follows the type of E.

²⁰ **M** *h* made strong.—Cp ³⁶ 10²⁷.
²¹ **M** Or, so that men shall grope in darkness.
²² Perhaps originally his 'rod' cp ¹³ 9²³.
²³ This clause may be the explanatory note of a later scribal editor; for 'dwellings' cp ²⁵ 5⁵⁵. ²⁷ **M** *h* made strong.—Cp ²⁰.

11^{1a} The preparations for departure indicated in 1-8 (in conformity with 321^a) obviously interrupt the account of the last interview of Moses with Pharaoh. At the close of the final warning 4-8 he leaves the palace, intending never to see the king again 10²⁰. The intervening verses 1-3 are therefore assigned to E, and are in conformity with his representation of the residence of the Israelites among the Egyptian people. The 'one plague more' is the destruction of the firstborn, which E no doubt related, though his account has been set aside in favour of J and P.

^{1b} **M** Or, when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence,

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
e Num 12 ⁸			the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the 'man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.			
f Ps 119 ⁸² Job 34 ²⁰ 35 [†] cp 12 ²⁹			⁴ And Moses said, 'Thus saith Yahweh, About 'midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: ⁵ and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the 'maidservant that is behind the 'mill; ⁶ and all the firstborn of cattle. ⁷ And there shall be a great 'cry throughout all the land of Egypt, ⁸ such as there hath been none like it, nor shall be like it any more. ⁹ But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog 'move his tongue, against man or beast: ¹⁰ that ye may know how that Yahweh doth 'put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel. ¹¹ And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in 'hot anger.	c	87 ^a	
g Num 11 ⁸						d 41
h 9 ¹⁸						e 23
i Ct 8 ²²						
j 8 ²²						
k Deut 29 ²³ cp 23 ³ 5						
l 7 ³			⁹ 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not hearken unto you: that my 'wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt. ¹⁰ And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh: and Yahweh 'hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go out of his land.			
1-13 L 9d ¹			¹² 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, 'saying, ² This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the 'first month of the year to you. ³ 'Speak ye unto all the 'congregation of Israel, 'saying, In the 'tenth [day] of this month they shall take to them every man a 'lamb, 'according to their fathers' houses, a lamb for an household: ⁴ and if the household be too 'little for a lamb, then shall he and his neighbour next unto his house take one according to the 'number of the 'souls; 'according to every man's eating ye shall 'make your count ^b for the lamb. ⁵ Your lamb shall be 'without blemish, a male of the 'first year: ye shall take it from the sheep, or from the goats: ⁶ and 'ye shall 'keep it up until the 'fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole 'assembly of the 'congregation of Israel shall 'kill it 'at 'even. ⁷ And they shall take of the blood, and put it on the two side posts and on the 'lintel, upon the houses wherein they shall eat it. ⁸ And they shall eat the flesh in that night, 'roast with fire, and unleavened bread; with 'bitter herbs they shall eat it. ⁹ Eat not of it 'raw, nor 'sodden at all with water, but 'roast with fire; its head with its 'legs and with the inwards thereof. ¹⁰ And ye shall 'let nothing of it remain until the morning; but that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire. ¹¹ And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand: and ye shall eat it in 'haste: it is Yahweh's passover. ¹² 'For I will go through the 'land of Egypt in that night, and will smite all the firstborn in the 'land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute 'judgements: 'I am Yahweh. ¹³ And the blood shall 'be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will 'pass over you, and there shall no 'plague be upon you 'to destroy you, when I smite the 'land of Egypt.	a	185 ^a	
a 18 40 ² 17 Lev 23 ⁶ Num 9 ¹ 28 ¹⁸ 33 ³						b 183
b 5†						c 185 ^b
c 5 it shall be to you for a 'charge						d 45
d 22-5†						e 18
e 8-Is 44 ^{16†}						f 105
f Num 9 ¹¹ Lam 3 ^{16†}						g 116
g Num 6 ^{19†} ct Deut 16 ⁷ 5						h 146
h 29 ¹⁷ Lev 19 ⁹ i Lev 22 ³⁰						i 19 ^b
j Deut 16 ³ Is 52 ^{12†}						j 123
k 23 27 5 Is 31 ^{5†}						k 119
l 14-20 L 9e ^h						l 39 ^a
m Lev 23 ³⁰ 41						m 24 ^b
n Num 29 ¹² ct Ex 3 ¹ 23 ¹⁴						n 100
o Deut 16 ¹⁸ 5*						o 32
			¹⁴ 'And this day shall 'be unto you for a 'memorial, and ye shall 'keep it a feast to	p	4 ^c	
				q	99	
				r	179 ^a	
				s	27	
				t	125 ^a	
				u	113	

11⁵ Probably a late editorial addition. The 'cattle' of Egypt (בְּרִיָּה) had already been killed 9⁶; the term here employed 'beast' as in 13¹² 16 suggests the presence of the harmonizer, anxious to find a basis for legal usage in the sacred tradition.

7 M. 5 whet.—Cp Josh 10²¹.
9 This seems to be the editorial close of the narrative of the plagues, prior to the destruction of the firstborn.

10 M. 5 made strong.

12¹ The institution of the Passover according to P^s: cf Deut 16¹⁻⁸. The legislation of P is sometimes conceived as conveyed to the children of Israel through Moses and Aaron conjointly; more often through Moses alone; very rarely through Aaron alone, eg Num 18⁸. The sequel of the narrative relating the destruction of the firstborn cp 12¹ has been suppressed in favour of J 29¹.

3 M Or, kid.

6 M 5 between the two evenings.

12 Driver, LOT⁸ 151, allots 12¹ to Ph (cp Introd XIII 87 1 143). No doubt the formula with which 12 closes is used repeatedly in Ph¹: but there seems no other strong indication in its favour. The rest of the language bears numerous traces of affinity with P^s ('judgements' 'be for a token' 'plague').

13 M Or, for a destroyer.—Ct 23.

14 In this passage the previous instructions for a particular crisis are converted into a perpetual institution. Other instances of the same kind are probably to be traced elsewhere. The permanent law may be viewed as secondary, compared with the original occasion. P's account of the smiting of the firstborn has apparently been omitted in favour of J's 29¹; it may have been withdrawn at this point to make room for the legislative ordinances in the following sections 14-20 21-27.

J

P

m Lev 21³ 26⁸
 Josh 22²⁵ 5
 cp Ex 5⁵ Deut
 32²⁸*

Yahweh: 'throughout your generations ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever. ¹⁵ Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel. ¹⁶ And in the first day there shall be to you an holy convocation, and in the seventh day an holy convocation; no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you. ¹⁷ And ye shall observe the [feast of] unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day throughout your generations by an ordinance for ever. ¹⁸ In the first [month], on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. ¹⁹ Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a sojourner, or one that is born in the land. ²⁰ Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.

21-27 19d^a
 n Cp 18
 o Cp 6
 p 5* ct 2 Sam
 2²⁵ al
 q Lev 14⁴ Num
 19⁶
 r Gen 37³¹ Lev
 4⁸
 s 5* 1 Kings
 7⁵⁰
 t Ct 7 4²⁵ Gen
 28¹² Lev 5⁷
 u 27 8⁸ ct 12 5
 v 2 Sam 24¹⁶ ct 13
 w Cp 27³
 x Cp 19³
 y Gen 12⁷ cp
 26⁹
 z Cp 6⁹
 a' 13⁵ ct 14⁰
 b' 5 = sons 13¹⁴

21 ^{NTL} And Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them,

¹¹ Draw out, and take you lambs according to your families, and kill the passover. ²² And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the basin, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the basin; and none of you shall go out of the door of his house until the morning. ²³ For Yahweh will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, Yahweh will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you.

24 And ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.

25 And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the land which Yahweh will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service. ²⁶ And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of Yahweh's passover, which passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses.

27^b And the people bowed the head and worshipped.

28 And the children of Israel went and did so; as Yahweh had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

29 And it came to pass at midnight, that Yahweh smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle. ³⁰ And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead. ³¹ And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve Yahweh, as ye have said. ³² Take both your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and bless me also. ³³ And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men. ³⁴ And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneadingtroughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.

35 And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and Yahweh gave the people favour in the sight of the

114
 7¹⁷ 25 ct 23
 11⁵

7¹⁸
 Cp Gen 27³⁴

89 ct 19. 5*
 88

32 1²
 11³

76^b
 62^a

50
 89
 177^a

138
 92

35
 34
 55

151

118

12^b

189

23

128

11

33

126

43

6

161

2

12^{21a} T Then. In 21-27 there are traces of different hands blended into one editorial complex. The opening and closing formulae seem to belong to J cp 3¹⁸ 4²⁹ 5¹, and much of 21b-23 may also be due to him (ct 2² and 7), though it may be questioned how far the implication that the Israelites were mixed up with the Egyptians can be ascribed to the original J who places them apart in Goshen. But several touches are best explained by later editorial redaction, as 'according to your families' 21, and some of the detail and repetition in 23; on the other hand 'the destroyer' 23 seems here an agent as in 2 Sam 24¹⁶, 24 appears to belong to P as the close of 14-20. With the forms of 25-27a cp 13⁵ 8¹⁰ 14 Deut 6¹⁰ &c; and for the entire passage Deut 16¹⁻⁸. The absence of any reference to the sprinkling of the blood in D has led some critics to ascribe

the whole ordinance as here enjoined to a later date. D, however, forbids the slaughter of the passover in the homestead, and transfers it to the central sanctuary, where the threshold ritual was no longer appropriate.

21^b M Or, go forth.

21^c M Or, kids.

27 M Or, for that he passed.

28 The sequel of the commands for immediate action 1-18.

31 This passage has been sometimes deemed inconsistent with the declaration of Moses 10²⁹ that he would not see Pharaoh again. But there is a difference between seeking an audience to demand leave to depart or to threaten chastisement, and response to the urgent summons of the stricken king.

35 These verses seem to be an editorial addition founded on 3²² and 11³. The last words of 36 may possibly be original.

J E

J E

J E P

1' Cp 3⁸²

m' 111

n' 1011

o' Neh 13⁸ ct
Lev 13⁴⁸. †p' Gen 18⁸

q' 61 §

r' Gen 19¹⁶ §

s' § dwelling...

which they
dwelt ct 145

t' §†

48-50 Lgd

43 L2d

45 L20:

48 L6m

u' Cp 145^b

1. L8a b†

a C Num 3¹²
1815 ct 12 34¹⁹

b-10 L9e†

c 208 L2ut 24⁹

2517 § Cp 97

c Cp 261

d Cp 280c

e 9 14 10 cp 26b

f 2315 3418 Deut

1614

g Deut 610

h 38

i Cp 107

j Cp 269a

k 1228

l 3418

m 109 3418 ct 1216

7. L10c

*Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. And they
spoiled the Egyptians.*

37 And the children of Israel journeyed from ^mRameses to Succoth,
about ⁿsix hundred thousand on foot that were ^mmen, beside ⁿchildren.
38 And a ^vmixed multitude went up ⁿalso with them; and ^mflocks, and
herds, even very ^vmuch ^vcattle. 39 And they baked unleavened ^vcakes
of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not
leavened; because they were ^vthrust out of Egypt, and could not ^vtarry,
ⁿneither had they prepared for themselves any ^vvictual.

40 ⁿNow the ^vsojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was four hundred
and thirty years. 41 And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the ^vselfsame
day it came to pass, that all the ^vhosts of Yahweh went out from the land of Egypt. 42 It is ⁿa ^vnight
to be much observed ^vunto Yahweh for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: ⁿis this that night of
Yahweh, to be much observed of all the children of Israel ^vthroughout their generations.

43 ⁿAnd Yahweh said unto Moses and Aaron, ⁿThis is the ordinance of the
passover: there shall no ^valien eat thereof: 44 but every man's servant that
is ^vbought for money, when thou hast ^vcircumcised him, then shall he eat
thereof. 45 ⁿA ^vsojourner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof. 46 In
one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh
abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. 47 All the
^vcongregation of Israel shall ^vkeep it. 48 ⁿAnd when a ^vstranger shall sojourn
with thee, and will keep the passover to Yahweh, let ^vall his males be
circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one
that is ^vborn in the land: but no ^vuncircumcised person shall eat thereof.
49 One law shall be to him that is ^vhomeborn, and unto the ^vstranger that
sojourneth ^vamong you. 50 ⁿThus did all the children of Israel; as Yahweh
commanded Moses and Aaron, ^vso did they. 51 And it came to pass the ^vselfsame day,
that Yahweh did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their ^vhosts.

13¹ ⁿAnd Yahweh ^vspake unto Moses, ^vsaying, ⁿSanctify unto me ^vall the
firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel^a, ^vboth
of man ^vand of beast: it is mine.

3 ⁿAnd Moses said unto the people, ^vRemember this day, in which ye came
out from Egypt, out of the ^vhouse of ^vbondage; for by ^vstrength of hand Yahweh
^vbrought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten. 4 This
day ye ^vgo forth in the ^vmonth Abib. 5 And it ^vshall be when Yahweh
shall ^vbring thee into the land of the ^vCanaanite, and the ^vHittite, and the
Amorite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, ^vwhich he ^vswore unto thy fathers
to give thee, a ^vland ^vflowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this
^vservice in this month. 6 ^vSeven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread,
and in the seventh day shall be a ^vfeast to Yahweh. 7 ⁿUnleavened
bread shall be eaten throughout the seven days; and there shall no leavened

12³⁷ Cp Num 11²¹. It is however possible that the number is
due to the harmonist, bringing the story into accord with the
detailed scheme of P.

40 These verses seem to be a later insertion in P. The date
in 40 cannot be harmonized with the genealogical representa-
tions in 618, according to which the Exodus took place in the
fourth generation from Jacob. The efforts made to overcome
the difficulty in the Greek and Samaritan texts, as well as
elsewhere, show what continuous attention was bestowed upon
the passage.

42a M Or, a night of watching unto Yahweh.—Budde, Bacon,
Nowack (*Heb Archäol* ii 149) assign 42a to J.

42b M Or, this same night is a night of watching unto Yahweh
for all etc. 47 M § do it.

13¹ The analysis of 8-18 presents many difficulties as the
passage seems to have passed under successive revisions,
receiving addition after addition from fresh hands. The com-
plexity of the linguistic phenomena is partly exhibited in the
margins, where traces of J, D, and P, will all be found. The
basis of the whole passage may be confidently assigned to J,
but it is not easy to determine his precise share in its present
form. The parallels with D in 3 make it probable that the

original address of Moses began in 4, and the basis of 4-8 may
be ascribed to J (in 8 ¹because ¹יָצֵאתִי מִמִּצְרָיִם pleads strongly for J, as it
is nowhere used by D). It is probable, however, that the
passage has been amplified from a simpler original, the nucleus
of which is found in 4⁶. The phraseology in 5 is of a secondary
type: 7 shows rather the style of a hortatory expander, anxious
to supply a historical basis for an ancient institution, originally
ordained in J's covenant-words Ex 34¹⁰. But in 9 (cp 15)
the phraseology of D is again prominent, yet with a difference;
the phrases 'be for a sign and a memorial' point to Ex¹³, and
the remarkable expression concerning 'the law of Yahweh'
which occurs nowhere else in the Hex, points to a very late
type of phraseology, having its true analogue not in the only
two passages where the words occur in the prophetic canon,
but in still later books Ezr 7¹⁰ Neh 9³ 10²⁹ 2 Chron 12¹ 17⁹ 34¹⁴
(signs of still further addition may be seen in 5⁸ ¹Yahweh
God, ¹¹ ¹Yahweh thy God). In 11 the style of 5 is again pro-
minent, introducing 12, the greater part of which is borrowed
from 34¹⁹, the remarkable word 'cause to pass over' probably
indicating the later adaptation. The work of the amplifier is
manifest again in 14-16, perhaps on a basis of J cp 15.

8b M § bondmen.

J E

J E

J E P

n 82
o 12 26 102
p limited
q 16 Deut 68
r 27
q Cp Ex 17¹⁴
Josh 4¹ 227
112
r 5¹ Is 524 Am
24 Ps 19⁸ cp 8N
s Ct 12²⁴
t Cp 23¹⁵ 24¹⁸ =
time appointed
u
v Judg 11⁴⁰ 27¹⁹
1 Sam 13⁸ 219⁴
11-16 28ab
w 34¹⁹ ct 2 5
x Deut 7¹³ 284
16 51¹ 5
y 34¹⁹
z 34²⁰
aa 34²⁰ Deut 21⁴⁷
14-110
ab Deut 620
ac Gen 35¹⁷ 5
ad Deut 68 118¹

bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee, "in all thy borders. ⁸ And thou shalt "tell thy son "in that day, saying, It is "because of that which Yahweh "did for me when I "came forth out of Egypt. ⁹ "And it shall be for a "sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a "memorial between thine eyes, that the "law of Yahweh" may be in thy mouth: for with a "strong hand hath Yahweh "brought thee out of Egypt. ¹⁰ Thou shalt therefore "keep this ordinance in its "season "from year to year". ¹¹ "And it "shall be when Yahweh shall "bring thee into the land of the Canaanite, as he "swore unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, ¹² that thou shalt "set apart unto Yahweh "all that openeth the womb, and every "firstling which thou hast that cometh of a beast; the "males shall be Yahweh's. ¹³ And every "firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a "lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt "break its neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem". ¹⁴ "And it "shall be when "thy son "asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By "strength of hand Yahweh "brought us out from Egypt, from the "house of "bondage: ¹⁵ and kit came to pass, "when Pharaoh "would "hardly let us go, that Yahweh "slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: "therefore I sacrifice to Yahweh all that openeth the womb, being males; but all the firstborn of my sons I redeem. ¹⁶ And it shall be for a "sign upon thine hand, and for "frontlets between thine eyes: for by "strength of hand Yahweh "brought us forth out of Egypt.

g 218
h 142
i 71
j 146^c

k 3^a
l 210
m 85^a

d' 32⁸⁴ Num 23⁷
cp Gen 24²⁷
e' Gen 21³²

¹⁷ "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God "led them not by the way of the "land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people "repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt: ¹⁸ but God led the people about, by the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea: and the children of Israel went up "armed out of the land of Egypt. ¹⁹ And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, "God will surely visit you; and ye shall "carry up my bones away hence with you.

f' Gen 50²⁶

M Num 33⁶ cp
17¹ 19² ct 15²⁷

²⁰ "And they "took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness".

n 20^b

o 136

13¹² M. 5 cause to pass over.—Ezek 20²⁶ cp Lev 18²¹ ct 2.

13 M. Or, kid.

14 M. 5 bondmen.

15 M. Or, hardened himself against letting us go.

¹⁷ The triple narrative of the plagues raises the presumption that the passage of the Red Sea was also related by all the three documents J, E, and P. Diversities of matter and form do in fact show that the existing account is composite, but whereas the shares of J and P are practically complete, E's version is but scantily preserved. The opening section describing the beginning of the march ¹⁷⁻¹⁹ is naturally assigned to him in virtue of the use of the name Elohim (perhaps in his original source), and the reference to the transport of Joseph's mummy. But fresh elements enter directly after, a brief extract from P's itinerary ²⁰, and J's account of the divine guidance ²¹. (see notes). The formulae of 14¹. 4 identify these verses with P, and 4 finds its natural continuation in 8. The phrases of 4 'make strong the heart' 'get me honour' and 'his host' reappear in 17, closely connected with 16, in which Moses is commanded to stretch out his hand over the sea and divide it, that the Israelites may pass through on 'dry ground.' This is achieved in 21ac; in 22 the Israelites march across cp 16b, and the Egyptian host of chariots and horsemen enter in pursuit 18 28.

Under similar monition Moses stretches out his hand again over the sea ²⁸ 27a, the waters return and the 'host' with its chariots and horsemen is engulfed ²⁸. The narrative is throughout compact and coherent, and serves as the base into which other materials have been fitted. Thus the preparations of Pharaoh for pursuit are related independently in 14^b, while 7 points to additional detail from yet another source. The language of 10-14 finds no echo in P but presents all the characteristics of JE, and especially of J: while in 16 the rod of Moses and in 19 the angel of Elohim show the presence of E. The divine method of making the sea 'dry land' 21b (ct 16 22 5) through the agency of an east wind, has no relation to the outstretched hand of Moses or the cleavage of the waters into two solid walls; but it bears a close analogy to the similar instrumentality in 10¹⁸. Some of the details of adjustment between J E and R necessarily remain doubtful: a summary of E's original narrative will be found in Josh 24.

²⁰ This verse belongs to a series of scattered passages describing the stages of the Israelites' march, constructed on the base 'and they journeyed from . . . and encamped (pitched) in . . .' cp 17¹ 19² &c. They are collected into continuous form in Num 33 cp 6.

	J	JE	E	P
i' Num 14 ¹⁴	... ²¹ And Yahweh ^v went before them			
j' Gen 24 ⁴⁸ 5 ct 17	by day in a ^x pillar of cloud, to ^j lead			
k' 5 omits	them the way; and by night in a			
	pillar of fire ^u to give them light; that			
	they might go by day and by night:			
	²² ^u the pillar of cloud by day, and			
l' Cp 33 ²¹ Hiph Num 14 ⁴⁴ Josh 1 ⁹ Qal ¹⁶	the pillar of fire by night, ^v departed			
	not from before the people.			
a Ezek 46 ²⁷ cp 121				14 ¹ And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, a 185 ^a saying, ² ^b Speak unto the children of b 185 ^b Israel, that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-zephon: ^a over against it shall ye encamp by the sea. ³ And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are ^b entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in. ⁴ And I will ^a harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall ^a pursue after them; and I will ^c get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his ^c host; and the Egyptians shall ^k know c 179 ^b that I am Yahweh. And they did so.
b Joel 1 ¹⁸ Eth 3 ¹⁶ †				d 218 ^b e 158
c 17. Lev 10 ^{3*} ct 12 ⁷ 8				
d 17 5 = army 9				f 146 ^d
e Gen 46 ²⁹	⁵ And ^a it was told the king of Egypt that the people were ^a fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was changed towards the people, and they said, ^f What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from serving us? ⁶ And he ^c made ready his ^a chariot, and took his people with him:			
f 15 ^{4*}	... ⁷ ⁸ And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and ^f captains over all of them.			
g Num 15 ⁸⁰ 33 ^{3†}				
	^{9a} ^x And the Egyptians pursued after them,			⁸ And Yahweh ^a hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: for the children of Israel went out ^a with an high hand. ^{9b} all the horses [and] chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook

13²¹ Three representations of the divine presence in the cloud are to be found in the Hexateuch. In P it covers the Dwelling at its consecration Ex 40³⁴. Num 9¹⁵., and remains over the Tent of Meeting until it is time for the camp to be moved, when it is taken up. A second set of passages also connects it with the Tent of Meeting, but places it at the entrance, where it comes down in the form of a pillar and remains in converse with Moses Ex 33⁷. Num 12⁵ cp Deut 31¹⁵: reasons will be given hereafter for ascribing these to E. But in the text ²¹ nothing has yet been said of any sanctuary; the pillar with its twofold aspect by day or night serves another function, that of guidance and protection. In 14¹⁰ two symbols, the angel of Elohim, and the pillar, have been combined by R. As the 'angel of Elohim' naturally belongs to E, the guardian pillar must be regarded as the equivalent in J. The words in 13²¹ 'to give them light... ' are not found in 5, and are probably an explanatory gloss.

²² M Or, he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the &c.

14^{4a} M 5 make strong.—Cp 8 17 5¹².

4^b So 8 23 5. T follow. Ct 10^a.

6 M Or, chariots.

7 After Pharaoh has already collected his forces in 6, the statement that he took six hundred chosen chariots can hardly proceed from the same writer. The words *and all the chariots of Egypt* are again incongruous with 7^a. 5 reads 'and all the horse': if this reading be adopted, the two terms harmonize with Josh 24⁶: if the 5 text be retained, the words must be treated as a gloss, or allotted to J (interpreting 'chariot' in 6 as singular).

8 M 5 made strong.

9 The first words of this verse only repeat the statement of 8, and may belong to E cp Josh 24^{6b}. In the dislocated order which follows, 'and overtook them encamping by the sea all the horses chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army beside Pi-hahiroth' there is evidence of some confusion of the text probably due to imperfect amalgamation of materials: E probably had a reference to the 'horses, chariots, and army' cp Deut 11⁴.

THE EGYPTIAN PURSUIT

J

JE

E

P

10^a And when Pharaoh ^hdrew nigh,
 the children of Israel ^llifted up their
 eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians
^lmarched after them; and they were
 sore afraid.
 ... 10^b ^land the children of Israel
^hcried out unto Yahweh.

11 And they said unto Moses, Because
 there were no graves in Egypt, hast
 thou taken us away to die in the
 wilderness? ^lwherefore hast thou
 dealt thus with us, to bring us forth
 out of Egypt? 12 Is not this the
 word that we ^lspake unto thee in
 Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we
 may serve the Egyptians? For it
 were better for us to serve the
 Egyptians, than that we should die
 in the wilderness. 13 And Moses
 said unto the people, ^lFear ye not,
^hstand still, and see the salvation
 of Yahweh, which he will ^lwork
 for you to-day: ^lfor the Egyptians
 whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall
 see them again no ^lmore for ever.
 14 Yahweh ^lshall ^hfight for you, and
 ye shall ^hhold your peace.

... 15^a ^lAnd Yahweh said unto Moses,
 Wherefore ^hcriest thou unto me?

... 16^a And lift thou up thy rod, ...

19^a ^lAnd the ^hangel of God, which

them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-
 hahiroth, before Baal-zephon.

15^b [^lAnd Yahweh spake unto Moses,
 saying] ^hspeak unto the children of Israel,
 that they go forward,

16^b and ^lstretch out thine hand over the
 sea, and ^hdivide it: and the children of
 Israel shall go into the midst of the sea
 on dry ground^m. 17 And ^oI, behold, I
 will ^hharden the hearts of the Egyptians,
 and they shall go in after them: and
 I will ^hget me honour upon Pharaoh,
 and upon all his ^hhost, upon his chariots,
 and upon his horsemen. 18 And the
 Egyptians shall ^hknow that I am Yahweh,
 when I have ^hgotten me honour upon
 Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his
 horsemen.

A Gen 12¹¹ ct
 P118

i Ct 9 op Num
 10²⁹ 33 5

j 23 cp 45
 Gen 24²¹

l 21a 26. cp 7¹⁰ 85
 m Cp 21c 22

g 176^a

h 141

i Ct
 P185

j 154

k 214

l 146^a

m 123

n 156

o 94^b

P 97

14^{10b} In J the Israelites expostulate with Moses; with 11 cp 17³
 Num 14³ Ex 3¹⁵. According to Josh 24⁷ they cried to Yahweh;
 this passage, therefore, is assigned to E.

15 M Or, for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day.

16^a The existing narrative contains no appeal from Moses to
 Yahweh unless it is implied in 10^b. But a later passage 17⁴
 contains a similar incident, assigned with much probability to
 E; and the indication that E has been employed immediately
 after 'and lift thou up thy rod' cp 4¹⁷ justifies the attribution
 of these words to the same source.

16^b E has perhaps removed the words usually preceding the

formula 'speak unto the children of Israel' 1. cp 25² 31¹⁸ Lev 4²
 7²⁸ &c.

17 M & make strong.

19 Cp 13^{21N}. That this verse is composite can hardly be
 doubted; but the relation between the two clauses indicated by
 the word 'removed' (S = 'marched' 10, 'took their journey' 13²⁰)
 is curious. In 20 the division is doubtful, partly owing to diffi-
 culties in the text (cp Dillm). As the pillar has taken up its
 stand in 19^b, the description of the movement in 20^a seems best
 to follow 19^a making 'the angel' the subject of 'came'; Josh 24⁷
 further implies that E recorded a 'darkness' (though S is not

	J	JE	E	P
n Ct 13 ²¹	went "before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them;			
o 13 ²¹ .	19 ^b And the "pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them:			
	20 ^a and "came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was the cloud and the darkness, . . .			
	20 ^b yet gave it light by "night: and the one came not near the other all the night.			q 236
p Cp 10 ¹³ 13 ^{27N}	21 ^b And Yahweh caused the sea to go [back] by a strong "east wind all the "night, and made the sea "dry land, . . .			
q 25 Ct 16 ^b				
r 16 ^b cp Gen 7 ¹¹				
§				
s Cp 17 28				
t § = camp 20 ct 4 17 28	24 ^a And it came to pass in the "morning watch, that Yahweh "looked forth upon the "host of the Egyptians through the "pillar of fire and of cloud,			r 54
u 23 ²⁷ Dent 215 cp 7 ²³ Josh 10 ¹⁶ *	24 ^b "And he "discomfited the "host of the Egyptians.			
v Gen 41 ⁴³ 46 ²⁹	25 and he "took off their "chariot wheels, "that they drave them "heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us "flee from the face of Israel; for Yahweh "fighteth for them against the Egyptians.			
w §† cp 78				
x Cp Gen 24 ⁶³	27 ^b And the sea returned to its "strength "when the morning "appeared; and the Egyptians "fled "against it; and Yahweh "overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea;			s 183
y Cp 25				
			21 ^a And Moses 'stretched out his hand over the sea;	
			21 ^c and the waters were "divided. 22 And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. 23 And the Egyptians pursued, and "went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.	
			26 And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen. 27 ^a And Moses 'stretched forth his hand over the sea,	

the same). If the text in 20^b is correct, the mention of 'light' suggests J's pillar of fire: but § has 'and the night passed.'

14²⁰ T it came.

24^b The fragments of E are difficult to recover, and critical certainty here is impossible. But 24^b and 25^a are probably from different hands. One writer simply records the overthrow of the host of Egypt (§ = 'camp of Egypt' 20^a), the other describes the agency employed. 25^b seems in the manner of J who frequently

draws attention to the means adopted by Yahweh, while 24^b is in the conciser style of E. The linguistic marks confirm this partition.

25^a M Some ancient versions read, bound.—§ 224^b.

25^b M Or, and made them to drive.—§ as in 10¹³ ('brought an East wind') Gen 31²⁶ Dent 4²⁷ 28³⁷.*

27^a M Or, wanted flow.—Cp Gen 40²⁴ Num 24²¹ Dent 21⁴.

27^b M § shook off.—§* cp Ps 136¹⁶ Neh 5¹³ Pi†.

J

JE

E

P

z ⁵ came again
26 or returned
27

23^a and the waters ²returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, ¹even all the ⁴host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea.

t 21^a

28^b there ¹remained not so much as one of them.

u 69

29 ¹But the children of Israel walked upon ²the dry ground in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

v 142^a

a' 217.

30 Thus Yahweh ^{a'}saved Israel ¹that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the ^{b'}sea shore.

17 Gen 22¹⁷ Josh
114.

31 ¹And Israel saw the great ²work which Yahweh did upon the Egyptians, and the people ³feared Yahweh: and they ⁴believed in Yahweh, and in his ⁵servant Moses.

w 102

x 134

y 207^b

a Cp Num 21¹⁷
Judg 5¹

15¹ ^aThen sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto Yahweh, and spake saying,

I will sing unto Yahweh, for he ¹hath triumphed gloriously:

The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

b Is 12² Ps 118¹⁴

2 ¹Yahweh ^bis my strength and song,
And he is become my salvation ^b:
This is my God, and I will ^cpraise him;
My father's God, and I will exalt him.

c ⁵†

d Cp Ps 24⁸

e ⁵ = battle.

f 14²⁵

g 14⁴ 17 28

h 9 Is 63¹³ Ps

i Cp Mic 7¹⁹

j Jon 2⁸ Neh 9¹¹

k 11 Is 42²¹†

l Judg 10⁸†

m 10²¹ 24 23²⁴†

n 32²⁵ Deut 33¹¹

o Ezek 7⁸

p 32¹⁹

q Is 54⁴ Nah 1¹⁰

r Ps 18¹⁵

s Jer 18¹⁴ Is 44³

t Ps 78¹⁶ 44

u Josh 3¹⁸ 16 Ps

v 33⁷ 18

w Zeph 1¹² Zech

x 14⁶ Kth Job

y 10¹⁰†

z Ps 46⁸ Ezek

a 27⁴

b 14⁴ 8

c Gen 40²⁷

d Lev 26³⁸ Ezek

e 52^{al}

f Is 40²⁴†

g Ps 93⁴

h Ps 86⁸ 89⁶ 77¹³

i Ps 77¹⁴

3 They went down into the ^ddepths like a stone.
4 Thy right hand, O Yahweh, is ^dglorious in power,
Thy right hand, O Yahweh, ^ddasheth in pieces the enemy.
5 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou ^doverthrowest them that ^drise up against thee:
6 Thou ^dsendest forth thy ^dwrath, it ^dconsumeth them as ^dstubble.
7 And with the ^dblast of thy nostrils the waters were ^dpiled up,
The ^dfloods stood upright as an ^dheap;
The ^ddepths were ^dcongealed in the ^dheart of the sea.
8 The enemy said,
I will ^dpursue, I will overtake, I will ^ddivide the spoil:
My lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will ^ddraw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
9 Thou didst ^dblow with thy wind, the sea covered them:
They ^dsank as lead in the ^dmighty waters.
10 Who is ^dlike unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods?
Who is like thee, ^dglorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, ^ddoing wonders?
11 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.

14^{29a} This verse seems to be a simple repetition of 22 by some later hand.

29^b So ⁵ cp 22 and ct 21^b. T dry land.

31^a An editorial close to the original combined narrative of JE. Note especially the designation of Moses as 'Yahweh's servant.'

31^b M ⁵ hanā.—Cp 28^o.

15¹ M Or, is highly exalted.

2^a The poem in 2-18 seems to be a supplemental hymn attached to the triumph-song in 15 cp 21^b. It bears no close relation to either of the narratives analysed in 14. Occasional points of phraseological contact occur, eg in 4⁹, but the indications are too slight to establish any definite literary connexion upon either side. On the other hand there are various signs of distance from the event which it commemorates. (1) The delineation

tion in 4-10 seems lacking in the personal and local colour which imparts such vividness to the song describing the overthrow of Sisera in Judg 5. (2) The situation implied in 13-17 looks back on the settlement of the people in Canaan, 17^b pointing clearly to Jerusalem (though the clause might be a later enlargement). (3) The linguistic parallels show affinities with later prophecy and psalm which can hardly be completely explained by hypotheses of imitation, except in the case of some poems which are obviously reproductive. They seem rather to spring from a common stock of lyric and religious expression. Under what circumstances the poem was inserted into JE cannot be determined; but it is probable that it was incorporated before the union of the combined document with P. See further, *Intro* XIV 3 i 160.

2^b So M ⁵ Jah. T The Lord.

J E

J E

J E P

e' 13¹⁷
d' 68 Gen 46¹⁶
e' Is 40¹¹ Ps 23²
g' Cp Jer 31²³
f' Deut 2³
h' Jer 62⁴ 50⁴³
Mic 4⁹ Ps 48⁸
Jer 36¹⁵
7 Gen 43³
k' Ps 35⁴
l' Josh 2⁹ 24⁴
m' Josh 2⁹ Gen
15¹²
n' Josh 10¹²

e' 1 Kings 8¹³
p' Ps 48⁸ 87⁵
g' Mic 4⁷ Ps
145¹⁰

r' Gen 31²⁷

s' 32^{19*}

t' 5* Ps 78⁵² ct
13¹⁷
u' Gen 16⁷
v' Cp 3¹⁸

w' 5* Prov 9¹⁷

x' 16⁴ Gen 22¹
Cp 19²
y' Cp 15³

z' Cp 1¹⁸
a' Cp 23^{6*}

b' Deut 4⁴⁰ al
c' Deut 7¹⁶

d' 23^{25*}

e' Gen 20¹⁷

f' Cp 23 5

13 Thou in thy mercy hast ^eled the people which thou hast ^dredeemed :
Thou hast ^eguided them in thy strength to thy holy ^fhabitation.

14 The peoples have ^eheard, they ^etremble :

^ePangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.

15 Then were the ^edukes of Edom ^eamazed ;

The ^emighty men of Moab, ^etrembling taketh hold upon them :

All the inhabitants of Canaan are ^emelted away.

16 ^eTerror and dread falleth upon them ;

By the greatness of thine arm they are as ^estill as a stone ;

Till thy people pass over, O Yahweh,

Till the people pass over which thou hast ^epurchased.

17 Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine

inheritance,

The ^eplace, O Yahweh, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,

The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have ^eestablished.

18 Yahweh shall ^ereign for ever and ever.

19 ^eFor the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and Yahweh brought again the waters of the sea upon them ; but the children of Israel walked on ^edry ground in the midst of the sea.

20 ^eAnd Miriam the ^eprophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a ^etimbrel in her hand ; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with ^edances. 21 And Miriam answered them,

Sing ye to Yahweh, for he ^ehath triumphed gloriously ;

The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

22 And Moses ^eled Israel onward from the Red Sea, and they went out into the wilderness of ^eShur ; and they went ^ethree ^edays in the wilderness, and found no water. 23 And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter : ^etherefore the name of it was called ^eMarah. 24 And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink ? 25^a And he ^ecried unto Yahweh ; and Yahweh shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were ^emade sweet.

... 25^b ^eThere he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he ^eproved them.

26 And he said, If thou wilt diligently ^ehearken to the ^evoice of ^eYahweh thy God, and wilt ^edo that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and ^ekeep all his statutes, I will ^eput none of the ^ediseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians : for I am Yahweh that ^ehealeth thee.

27 And they ^ecame to Elim, where were twelve ^esprings of water, and threescore and ten palm trees : and they encamped there by the waters.

16¹ ^eAnd they took their journey from Elim, and all the ^econgregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of ^eSin, which is between Elim and ^eSinai, on the ^efifteenth day of the ^esecond month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. 2 ^eAnd the whole ^econgregation of the

a 114

b 15^b

c 141

d 44

e 81

a 45

b 8

c 7

d 183

15¹⁵ M 5 ^erams.

16 M 5 ^egotten.—Gen 4¹.

19a An addition of late date, presumably by RP, founded on 14²² 26., explaining the significance of the preceding poem.

19b So 5 14²² 29 ct 21b. T dry land.

20. The description of Miriam's triumph-song 20. seems wholly independent of what precedes in 1, and is naturally therefore assigned to E. This is confirmed by her description as the 'prophetess,' and by her appearance in other E passages Num 12¹.. 20¹.

21 M Or, is highly exalted.

22 The compiler of Num 33⁸ apparently read 'three days' journey' cp 86.

23 M That is, Bitterness.

25b The last person named in 25a is Moses ; but it becomes plain that the subject of 25b 26 is Yahweh himself. A change of document, therefore, occurs at this point. Both substance and form support the ascription to E, who relates the successive acts by which first Abraham and then Israel are divinely tested. The phrase 'made for them [5 him, referring to the people in some omitted passage] a statute and ordinance' is repeated 5 in

Josh 24²⁵ (E) ; 5 however reads here 'statutes and ordinances' (5 judgements) cp Deut 5¹ &c. In 26 the numerous parallels with D clearly betray later redaction, though the last words sound original. It is evident that 26 is not the true sequel of 25b which must have related the trial to which the people were exposed ; this seems to be E's account of the origin of the name Massah, 'proving' or 'trial' cp Deut 33⁸ and Ex 17^{1b}. In 27 the itinerary of 22, is resumed.

16¹ The opening clause 'and they took their journey from Elim' may be part of J's itinerary, cp the formulae in 17¹ Num 20¹ 22. In Num 33¹⁰, a camp at the Red Sea is interposed between Elim and the wilderness of Sin.

2 The description of the gift of the manna 2-36 offers many perplexities through the presence of conflicting phenomena. As the margins show, it is largely derived from P, but it is evident at once that great dislocations have taken place in the narrative. Thus (1) in 6. Moses and Aaron announce to the people what is subsequently 11. communicated to Moses by Yahweh : in other words, he delivers the divine message to Israel before he has himself received it. But (2) the story implies the existence of the Levitical Dwelling with the ark containing the Sacred

J E

P

children of Israel 'murmured against Moses and against Aaron in the wilderness: ³ and the children of Israel said unto them, Would that we had died by the hand of Yahweh in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh 'pots, when we did 'eat bread to the full^b; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill 'this whole assembly with hunger.

...⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, I will 'rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and 'gather a day's 'portion every day, that I may 'prove them, 'whether they will 'walk in my law^h, or no.

⁵ And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that they shall 'prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily. ⁶ And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye shall 'know that Yahweh hath brought you out from the land of Egypt: ⁷ and in the morning, then ye shall see the 'glory of Yahweh; for that he heareth your 'murmurings against Yahweh: and what are we, that ye 'murmur against us? ⁸ And Moses said, [This shall be], when Yahweh shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the 'full; for that Yahweh heareth your 'murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against Yahweh. ⁹ And Moses said unto Aaron, Say unto all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, 'Come near before Yahweh: for he hath heard your 'murmurings. ¹⁰ And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole 'congregation of the children of Israel, that they 'looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the 'glory of Yahweh appeared in the cloud. ¹¹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹² I have 'heard the 'murmurings of the children of Israel: 'speak unto them, saying, 'At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall 'know that I am Yahweh your God. ¹³ And it came to pass at even, that the 'quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew 'lay round about the camp. ¹⁴ And when the dew that 'lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small 'round thing, small as the 'hoar frost on the ground. ¹⁵ And 'when the

a 27³ 383*
b 88 Lev 25¹⁹ 265†
cp Ezek 39¹⁹
Ps 78²⁵
c Cp Num 20¹²
d Gen 31⁴⁶
e 518
f 1525b Deut
g 2 18
h Gen 27²¹
i Jer 26⁴ 44¹⁰
2 Kings 10³¹
cp 1820
j Gen 43¹⁶ 25 Ex
23³⁰ Num 23¹
Josh 11¹
j Cp 6⁸

k Cp 2

l Cp 18

m Num 16⁴²
n turned

n 65

o Num 13³¹

p Cp Lev 25¹⁶ 5
q Num 11⁹
r Job 38²⁹
Ps 147¹⁶

e 114

f 195

g 79

h 185

i 32
179^b

Testimony ⁸⁴. It is not till the Dwelling is completed that the 'Glory of Yahweh' ¹⁰ first appears in the cloud cp 40³⁴... In the Dwelling stands the ark into which Moses is directed to put the Testimony 25²¹ 40²⁰. It is there that the rods of the Twelve Tribes are laid up before Yahweh Num 17¹⁰, and this only can be the place where the pot of manna is deposited ³³. Nor can the narrative be relieved of this anachronism by viewing ³³ as a later addition. The phrase in ⁹ 'come near before Yahweh' similarly describes attendance at the sanctuary cp Lev 9¹⁶ Num 18²². The story, then, in its present form implies the existence of a centre of worship which is not yet constructed, and must have been transposed to its present place from a later stage. Is it possible to conjecture the cause of this displacement? Two reasons may be named. (1) The gift of the manna is not the only provision of food. Besides the morning 'bread,' it is also promised ¹² that there shall be evening 'flesh.' In ¹³ accordingly at even the camp is covered with 'the quails.' But no quails have previously been mentioned. The narrative has evidently been abbreviated at the same time that its situation has been changed. There is, however, a windfall of quails related by J Num 13³¹..., which is preceded by a description of the manna *ib* 7... It is conjectured that the narrative of J was the real source or antecedent of P's combination of quails and manna, and that the compiler, instead of blending them, shifted P's version of the incident to an earlier date. But what cause determined its incorporation here? Because (2) it would seem probable that E had attached his manna-story to this point. The gift of food is twice announced to Moses, but in very different terms; ⁴ and ¹¹, can hardly be from the same writer. In ⁴ it is stated that it is the divine purport to 'prove' the people in connexion with the provision of the bread from heaven. It has been argued by Bacon that this is the antecedent of Deut 8² 16, the conception of the 'proof' of Israel apparently belongs to E, cp Gen 22¹ &c; the passage fits in with 15^{25b}, and belonged originally to E's explanation of the name Massah ('Trial-place' or 'Proving'). There is, therefore, an element of E in the chapter, a promise of food from heaven, which formed the

natural element with which R might group P's quails and manna. How far can this element (usually ascribed to J) be traced? The parallel of 15^a with Deut 8¹⁶ suggests its presence there, incorporated into the later narrative. Bacon adds 15^a 13^b 21 38^a. But the linguistic details hardly support his ascription; and it is not without difficulties also upon other grounds, for the opposition which he discovers between 15^a and 16^b seems to involve a strained interpretation of the legal phrase 'according to his eating.' The whole story, therefore, in its present form is assigned to P. In reaching that form it has no doubt received various additions designed to meet specific difficulties; the most notable being the arrangements for the sabbath. Some of the passages here assigned to P show linguistic affinities with other Hexateuchal documents. But this is by no means the only case in which a section believed on independent grounds to be supplemental refuses to confine itself within the limits of P's formulae. It is possible that the sabbath regulations may have been inserted when the narratives of JE and P were combined, so as to fit the ordinances of P into closer concord with the original contents of E.

16^a So 5. T then said Yahweh.

⁶ Critics who assign ⁴ to J usually allot ⁶ to the same source. The instruction has evident reference to the sabbath observance on which such repeated stress is laid in P, see Laws 9b. Neither J nor E has any such provision elsewhere, and the verse is here treated as an editorial preparation for ²²...; whether it replaces any earlier regulation in E, must be left an open question.

⁶ In the dislocated state of the text the original order cannot be determined. The verses may have run 11-12 9-10 6-7.

⁸ 'An explanatory gloss of R' (Dillmann). The italic words in RV are an attempt to indicate that the words ascribed to Moses are simply an interpretation of ⁶.

¹² M. 5 Between the two evenings.

¹⁴ M. Or, flake.

^{15a} In this verse, as Bacon has urged, there is probably a trace of E cp 15^a. For the phrase 'one to another,' frequent in E (though also occasionally used by P) cp 15^a 12^a: 'knew not what

J E

P

children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, "What is it? for they wist¹⁶ not what it was." And Moses said unto them, It is the bread which Yahweh hath given you¹⁶ to eat. ¹⁶ ¹⁷ This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, Gather ye of it every man¹⁸ according to his 'eating; an omer a 'head, according to the number of your 'persons, shall ye take it, every man for them which are in his tent. ¹⁷ And the children of Israel did so, and gathered some more, some 'less. ¹⁸ And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much 'had nothing over, and he that gathered 'little had no lack; they gathered every man¹⁹ according to his 'eating. ¹⁹ And Moses said unto them, Let no man 'leave of it till the morning. ²⁰ Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning, and it 'bred worms, and stank: and Moses was 'wroth with them. ²¹ And they gathered it morning by morning, every man²² according to his 'eating: and when the sun 'waxed hot, it melted. ²² And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for each one: and all the 'rulers of the 'congregation came and told Moses. ²³ And he said unto them, This is that which Yahweh hath spoken, To-morrow is a 'solemn rest, a 'holy sabbath unto Yahweh: 'bake that which ye will bake, and seethe that which ye will seethe; and all that remaineth over lay up for you²⁴ to be kept until the morning. ²⁴ And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein. ²⁵ And Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto Yahweh: to-day ye shall not find it in the field. ²⁶ Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day is the sabbath, in it there shall be none. ²⁷ And it came to pass on the seventh day, that there went out some of the people for to gather, and they found none. ²⁸ And Yahweh said unto Moses, "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my 'laws? ²⁹ See, for that Yahweh hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his 'place, let no man go out of his 'place on the seventh day. ³⁰ So the people 'rested on the seventh day. ³¹ And the 'house of Israel called the name thereof 'Manna: and it was like 'coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like 'wafers [made] with honey. ³² And Moses said, 'This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, Let an omerful of it 'be kept for your 'generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt. ³³ And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a 'pot, and put an omerful of manna therein, and 'lay it up 'before Yahweh, 'to be kept for your 'generations. ³⁴ As Yahweh commanded Moses, so Aaron 'laid it up before the 'Testimony, 'to be kept. ³⁵ And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land 'inhabited; they did eat the manna, until they came unto the borders of the 'land of Canaan. ³⁶ Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.

¹⁷ ¹⁸ And all the 'congregation of the children of Israel 'journeyed from the wilderness of 'Sin, 'by their 'journeys, 'according to the commandment of Yahweh, and 'pitched in Rephidim.

... ¹⁶ ¹⁷ And there was no water for the people to drink. ²⁸ Wherefore the

it was' cp Deut 8³, D's retrospects being largely founded on E cp *Introd* i 71.

¹⁶ ¹⁶ M Or, it is manna. S *Man hu*. — 'Wist' = 'knew' Deut 8³. A discrepancy has been found in this verse on the ground that the phrase 'every man according to his eating' does not imply a fixed amount, while 'an omer a head' does. But the previous use of the phrase in ¹² ¹⁴ suggests that the writer has in view the varying amounts that would be needed by families varying in size, age, and sex. On an average an omer a head would suffice. But large families would still require more, and small families less in actual quantity. Measuring the manna as they collected it (the insertion of 'when' in RV¹⁸ to help out the grammar appears to indicate—probably erroneously—that the measurement was not made till afterwards), they found that adherence to the prescribed proportion exactly used up the available amount (cp Dillmann). The words 'had nothing over' and 'had no lack' rather denote 'did not exceed' and 'did not fall short' in relation to the omer per head. The miracle lay not in the adjustment of the rations to the individual appetites, but in the exactness with which the supply satisfied the total demand. Those who deferred collecting till too late, found that their shares had melted ²¹.

²² In ²²–³⁰ it is probable that another hand has dealt specially with the sabbath provision on the basis of P's legislation. ³¹ is not the proper sequel of ³⁰.

³⁵ This verse has been divided by many critics between P and J, though each of the two members has been assigned in turn to each source. It may be doubted, however, whether ^{35b} is more than an emphatic repetition of ^{35a}; the unusual order, 'the manna did they eat,' would hardly stand by itself; and the very slight linguistic indications are more favourable to P.

¹⁷ ¹⁸ M Or, stages.

¹⁶ The narrative in ¹⁶–¹⁷ shows no point of contact with the preceding story or with P generally, while careful examination discloses that it is itself composite. Thus ⁸ seems a duplicate of ¹⁶ ², while in ⁷ two names are apparently bestowed on one place. But, as Bacon has pointed out, 'there is no trace elsewhere of a place Massah-Meribah' (*Exodus* p 87). D mentions only Massah ⁶ ¹⁸ ²², while the Blessing of Moses clearly distinguishes them Deut 33⁸. The question is complicated by the appearance of a second Meribah-story connected with Kadesh in Num 20^{1–13}. It will be made probable that J and P are there combined. If so, it seems unlikely that J should have described a similar event with a similar issue at an earlier

J E

JE

J E P

a 7b Gen 31³⁶
cp Num 20⁸d 15²⁴c Gen 18²⁵ cp
Num 20⁴
d 18s cp 7ac et
15²⁵ 5 = prove
e 21²⁸ cp 21⁶f Josh 3⁸
g 9 417 20b
h 7^{20b}i 24¹³ 33¹¹ Num
11²⁸j 24¹⁴k Gen 48^{17*}l Cp 24⁴m 5 = memorial
3¹⁵ Deut 25¹⁹
(32²⁸)
n Cp 31⁶ 1a 31⁶
b 2¹⁶

people "strove with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why strive ye with me?

...³ And the people thirsted there for water; and the people ^bmurmured against Moses, and said, 'Wherefore hast thou ^bbrought us up out of Egypt, to 'kill 'us and our children and our ^bcattle with thirst?—

...^{2b} wherefore do ye ^dtempt Yahweh?—

⁴ And Moses ^ecried unto Yahweh, saying, What shall I ⁱdo unto this people? they be almost ready to ^estone me. ⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Pass on before the people, and take with thee of the ^kelders of Israel; and thy ^grod, wherewith ^hthou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. ⁶ Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in ^hHoreb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the ^kelders of Israel.

...^{7a} And he called the name of the place "Massah,

...^{7b} and "Meribah, because of the "striving of the children of Israel.

^{7c} and because they ^dtempted Yahweh, saying, ^mIs Yahweh "among us, or not?

⁸ Then came Amalek, and ^efought with Israel in Rephidim. ⁹ And Moses said unto 'Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, 'fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will ^bstand on the top of the hill with the ^grod of God in mine hand. ¹⁰ So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and ^efought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and ^hHur went up to the top of the hill. ¹¹ And 'it came to pass, ^qwhen Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. ¹² But Moses' hands were 'heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur ^kstayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the ^ggoing down of the sun. ¹³ And Joshua ⁿdiscomfited Amalek and his people with the ^eedge of the sword. ¹⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Write this for a "memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: "that I will utterly ^bblot out the ^mremembrance of Amalek from under heaven. ¹⁵ And Moses ^wbuilt an altar, and called the name of it "Yahweh-nissi: ¹⁶ and he said, "Yahweh hath sworn: Yahweh will have war with Amalek from "generation to generation.

18¹ Now "Jethro, ^bthe priest of Midian, Moses' "father in law, heard of all "that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, "how that Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egypt.

f 89^b
g 136^b
h 18i 141
j 146^b

k 151

l 105

m 84
n 58

o 156

p 215^bq 127^a

r 78

s 236

t 150

u Ct 113

v 135

w 137

a 146^o

stage of the wanderings. Bacon has therefore suggested that the two names in ⁷ represent an editorial fusion of two sources. J's traditions attached parallel incidents to two names, Massah and Meribah. E appears also to have contained explanations of both designations on Deut 33⁸ Ex 15^{20b}. The Massah-story of J and the Meribah-story of E were founded on a common motive, and have been editorially blended, just as the Meribah-story of J has been subsequently amalgamated with a counterpart in P. At the outset ^{1b-2a} forms the introduction to E's explanation of Meribah ^{7b}. ⁸ will then fall to J, and with this attribution the linguistic marks are in complete harmony. The clause in ^{2b} 'wherefore do ye tempt Yahweh' cannot, however, be in its proper place; it is related to ^{7ac}, but must have followed instead of preceding ⁸. ^{7c} shows that other matter contained in J has been suppressed in the unifying process. In ⁴⁻⁶ there are no indications of diversity of authorship. The mention of the rod of Moses ⁵ secures it to E, and this is confirmed by 'Horeb' ⁶. But this name shows that the story has been placed too soon cp 16, for Israel has not yet reached the sacred mountain cp 18² and 19².

17³ 5 'me and my sons and my cattle' et 2.

1⁶ M That is, Tempting, or, Proving.

7^b M That is, Chiding, or, Strife.

8 The fight with Amalek ⁸⁻¹⁶ belongs to E, for Moses again wields the rod of God ⁶. But various circumstances concur to

show that this section also is placed too soon. Joshua enters in ⁹ without introduction as though he were well known: he is already the tried captain on whom devolves the choice of men for military enterprise. Yet in 33¹¹ he is formally described, apparently for the first time, and he is then still 'a young man.' Moses, on the other hand, is no longer able himself to sustain his hand outstretched with the rod. The relation between Moses and Joshua, therefore, seems to belong to a more advanced stage than the institution of the Tent of Meeting. This result is confirmed by the name of Israel's foe, Amalek, who is elsewhere located in the wild open country through which the highlands of Judah sink slowly towards the south Num 13²⁹ cp 14^{25 43 45}, cp Gen 14⁷ (near Kadesh). It is probable, therefore, that this narrative has been inserted too soon (Bacon and Battersby propose to place it after Num 12¹⁵). If so, the identification of the incident with Rephidim ⁸ is no doubt editorial; the defining English 'then' is simply 'and' 5.

13 M 5 prostrated.—Cp 32^{18*}.

14 M Or, for.

15 M That is, Yahweh is my banner.

16 M Or, Because there is a hand against the throne of Yahweh. 5 A hand is lifted up upon the throne of Yah.—See Ewald, *Hist of Israel* i 8 p 251.

18¹ An explanatory gloss by another hand as is implied in the change of the divine name.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
c 2 ²¹ 4 ²⁰			2 ^N And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took ^c Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her away, and her two sons; ³ of which the name of the one was ^c Gershom; for he said, I have been ^a a sojourner in a strange land:			
d 2 ²²			4 and the name of the other was ^a Eliezer; for [he said], The ^c God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh.			
e 5 ⁶			5 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness where he was encamped, at the ^b mount of God: ⁶ and he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.		b 105	
f Cp Gen 33 ⁵			...7 And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and ^d did obeisance, and kissed him; and they ^a asked ^c each other of their ^b welfare; and they came into the tent.		c 112 ^b	
g Gen 43 ²⁷			8 And Moses told his father in law all ^a that Yahweh had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians ^d for Israel's sake, all the ^b travail that had ^c come upon them by the way, and how Yahweh delivered them.		d 111	
h Num 20 ¹⁴ Lam 3 ⁹ Neh 9 ^{32f}			9 And Jethro ^j rejoiced for all the goodness ^a which Yahweh had done to Israel, in that he had ^k delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians ^k .			
i Num 20 ¹⁴ Deut 31 ²⁷ Josh 2 ²³			10 And Jethro said, ^b Blessed be Yahweh, who hath ^k delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians ^k , and out of the hand of Pharaoh; ⁿ who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. ¹¹ Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods: yea, in the thing wherein they ^m dealt proudly against them.		e 10 ^c	
j Ps 21 ⁶ Job 3 ^{6f} k 3 ⁸			12 ^N And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a ^b burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the ^c elders of Israel, to ^c eat bread with Moses' father in law before God. ¹³ And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the people stood about Moses from the morning unto the evening. ¹⁴ And when Moses' father in law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people? ^c why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people ⁿ stand about thee from morning unto even? ¹⁵ And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to ^c inquire of God: ¹⁶ when they have a ^b matter, they come unto ^c me; and I judge between a ^c man and his neighbour, and I make them know the ^c statutes of God, and his ^c laws. ¹⁷ And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good. ¹⁸ Thou wilt surely ^c wear away, ^b both thou, ^c and this people that is with thee: for the thing is too ^b heavy for thee; thou art not able to ^b perform it thyself alone.		f 151 g 149	
l Gen 22 ¹²			19 ^H earken now unto my voice, I will ⁿ give thee counsel, and God ^b be ^m with thee: be thou for the people to Godward, and bring thou the ^b causes unto God: ²⁰ and thou shalt ^c teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt shew them the ^m way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do. ²¹ Moreover thou shalt ^m provide out of all the people ⁿ able men, such as ⁿ fear God, men of truth, hating unjust ^c gain; and place such over them, to be ^c rulers of thousands, rulers of		h 108 i 11 j 78 k 119 ^a l 144 ^b m 130	
m Cp 21 ¹⁴ Deut 1 ⁴⁸						
n 10 ²⁶ cp 24 ⁶ 32 ⁶ Gen 31 ⁵⁴ 46 ¹						
o 1 ¹⁸ cp 23 ⁰						
p 17 ⁹ cp 215 ^b						
q 1 Sam 9 ⁹ cp Gen 25 ²²						
r Cp 33 ⁷						
s Cp Gen 26 ⁵						
t 5 [*]						
u Num 24 ^{14*}						
v 5 [*] cp Ezek 37 ⁷ - 33 ⁷ - (Lev 15 ⁸¹)						
w Cp 16 ⁴ 115 ^b						
x 5 [*] = see 24 ¹¹						
y Num 24 ⁴ 16 [*]						
z Cp Gen 28 ⁸						
aa 26 Gen 47 ^{6b}						
ab Cp 37 ²⁶						

18² The Meeting of Moses and his father in law 2-11 appears to have been related both by J and E. In 5, Jethro arrives and converses with Moses, yet in 7 Moses sets out to meet him. The hand of J seems recognizable in 7, while that of E is plainly to be discerned in 6. But the antecedents in the two sources must have been different. In J Moses had but one son, on his return to Egypt, when his wife accompanied him 4²⁰ 25. E, on the other hand, represented Moses as leaving his family under his father in law's care. The two views are harmonized by R in 2; 3 is plainly founded on 2²²; but the origin of 4 is unknown (for 'sword' (E reads 'hand'). Eliezer is mentioned nowhere else in the Hex, though in P Aaron has a son named Eleazar. The situation in 5 again implies displacement, for in 10¹ Israel is still on the march to the sacred mountain. On the original position of E's narrative see 12^N; J's may have led up to Num 10²⁹.

3 M 5 Ger. See 22². 4 M 5 El, God, and eser, help. 10 The phraseology of 9-11 shows most affinity with J. But the duplicate clauses of 10 may result from an amalgam of

J and E. The shorter forms of 10 in G where 10^b disappears altogether, are worthy of note: G^{AB} 'And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh, that he hath delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh'; G⁴ 'And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh who hath delivered his people from the hand of the Egyptians and from the hand of Pharaoh.' 12 It has been already pointed out that in E's narrative Jethro finds Moses and the people already encamped beneath the mount of God. The sequel in 12-27 shows similar signs that it has been inserted here too soon. The elaborate judicial organization indicated in 25 is apparently not yet instituted in 24¹²⁻¹⁴. Moreover it presupposes a collection of statutes and laws divinely given 16²⁰; and its establishment is more appropriate to the scene of a lengthened stay than to a mere station on the way. Accordingly in Deut 10¹⁷ it is assigned to Horeb, shortly before the people started again upon the march, and this is supported in E by Jethro's reference 23 to their approaching departure. The whole section, therefore, originally fell among the last of the Horeb scenes.

J E

JE

J E P

hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: ²² and let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great ^bmatter they shall bring unto thee, but every small ^bmatter they shall judge themselves: so shall it be ^ceasier for thyself, and they shall bear [the burden] with thee. ²³ If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people also shall go to their ^bplace in ^apeace. ²⁴ So Moses ^chearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said. ²⁵ And Moses chose ^bable men out of all Israel, and made them ^bheads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. ²⁶ And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard ^bcauses they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves. ²⁷ And Moses ^clet his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.

a' Gen 26³⁹b' Ct 7⁸⁴c' Ct Num 10²⁰⁻²⁸a 17¹b 16¹ Num 14 g¹
33³⁸p 65
q 44^aa 97^ab 7
c 183

¹⁹28^a And they ^ajourneyed from ^aRephidim, and came to the wilderness of ^bSinai, and they ^apitched in the wilderness.—¹ In the ^cthird month ^bafter the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of ^bSinai.—

...^{2b} and there Israel ^apitched before the mount. ^{3a} And Moses went up unto ^aGod.

¹⁹24 In ¹⁹1-24 P continues the itinerary interrupted at 17¹. But the order of the Hebrew text appears to have been changed, for it can hardly be supposed that the original writer brought the Israelites to Sinai before mentioning that they had left Rephidim. The RV somewhat obscures the customary language of P in parallel passages by rendering ² And when they were departed &c, though the phraseology is identical with that of 17¹. The compiler, it would seem, felt that the date in ¹ would make a more effective introduction to the narrative of the great events at Sinai, and perhaps also thought that he would secure a closer connexion with JE if the final words in ^{2a}, and they pitched in the wilderness immediately preceded E's phrase ⁴ and there Israel pitched ^b before the mount.

^{2b} ^b as in ^{2a}. T camped.
^{3a} With ³ begins the story of the great theophany which formed the core of the traditions concerning the giving of the Law. P's description of it is not introduced till ²⁴16^a which is apparently continuous with ¹⁹24¹. The intervening material is chiefly derived from E (see 20^{1b}) but the narrative of the manifestation on the sacred mount is plainly not from one source alone. The difficulty of explaining the repeated ascents of Moses (cp ³ 7 9. 14 20 22) at once suggests diversity of document, and this inference is established by comparison of 14-17 with 20-25. In ¹⁰ directions are issued for the purification of the people which are fulfilled in ¹⁴. The people are then ready, the signal of Elohim's advent is given on the mountain, and Israel is solemnly brought forth to meet its God ¹⁷. But the divine intercourse with Moses ¹⁹ is suddenly arrested by a new call to the top of the mount. There fresh instructions are supplied for the sanctification of the priests ²², for the prevention of too eager curiosity on the part of the people ²¹, and for the return of Moses to the summit with Aaron ²⁴. The narrative concludes abruptly with the statement ²⁵ that 'Moses went down to the people and said unto them . . .', leaving the reader to imagine the instructions which he communicated. In ²⁰ the divine words for which preparation has been made in ¹⁹17¹⁹ are solemnly uttered, with the result that the terrified people, already at the foot of the mount, entreat Moses that the speech of heaven may cease ²⁰18, and be transmitted to them through him. Moses accordingly draws near alone ²¹, and the summons to Aaron ¹⁹24 remains unfulfilled. The contrast of ¹⁹20-25 with ¹⁹14-17 ²⁰18-21 points to a J source and an E source. But this criterion is an insufficient basis of analysis. Since the revelation described in ³15 E has repeatedly employed the name Yahweh, and in the present passage ¹⁴-17 plainly depends on ³, where Yahweh is found. [It may be noted that ³ here points to considerable variations of redaction in this matter. Thus in ⁷ 8ab 18 21b 23 24b (³ ^aEL read Elohim for Yahweh; so also ^{2b} 21a (³ ^aEL 22a (³ ^aEL; further, ^{3b} (³ ^aEL 22a (³ ^aEL Yahweh Elohim for Yahweh; and vice versa ²⁰1 (³ ^aEL Yahweh for Elohim.) The material differences, however, suffice for partition. Starting

from the passages already noticed, the following contrasts are obtained:—

J	E
(1) Yahweh comes down on Sinai 11b 18 20,	Elohim (Yahweh) comes 19 ⁹ 20 ²⁰ ,
(2) with smoke and fire 18,	in a thick cloud ⁹ 19 cp 20 ¹⁸ 21,
(3) in the sight of all the people 11b. The mountain trembles 13.	that the people may hear when he speaks with Moses ⁹ 19 20 ¹⁹ . The people 'tremble' 18.
(4) Bounds are to be set to the mountain, the border of which must not be touched 12. 23.	The people are brought forth to meet Elohim at the nether part of the mount 17.
(5) The priests to be sanctified 22 24.	The whole people to be sanctified 10 14.
(6) The blast of a ram's horn 18.	The sound of the trumpet 18 19.
(7) The people endangered by their eagerness to press forward and see 21.	The people terrified, they stand far off 18 20 ¹⁸ .
(8) 'They shall come up to the mount' 13 cp Moses and Aaron shall come up 24.	Moses drew near to the darkness alone 20 ²¹ .

There remains a difficult passage in ^{3b}-8 unaffected by the foregoing distribution. The close juxtaposition of two divine names excites attention, and the peculiar phraseology of ⁵, unknown outside Deuteronomy points to expansion at the hands of R⁴. It is less certain whether the whole of the divine address is an addition, and it is not without significance in this respect that ⁵-8 reappears in ³ after 23²¹. Bacon (whose analysis of this chapter the editors have largely followed) supposes that ^{3b}-8 stood originally after 20²¹, the contribution of R⁴ being limited to ^{3b}-8a. The words in ^{3b} then refer to 20¹-17. The phrase in ^{3b}, however, resembles the title to a collection of precepts, and sounds rather introductory than retrospective cp 21¹. The opening words have their parallels in ³15 20^{22a}, while 'ye yourselves have seen' ⁴ ^b matches 20^{22b}: and as the people have already themselves heard the divine words in 20¹-17, it is not clear why Moses should need to recite them again to the elders. It is possible that in the confusion of the fragments ⁷ is an accidental variant of 24³. A similar casualty seems to have generated ^{3b} as a duplicate of ^{3b}. Yet even ⁷ and ⁸ do not seem quite homogeneous, for the divine message, communicated only to the elders in ⁷, is accepted by the united people in ⁸. Further difficulty arises from the emphatic pronoun 'they shall come up to the mount' 18. It cannot refer to 'all the people' 11, for these are expressly prohibited from touching the border. It is conjectured, therefore, that the passage has found its way into a wrong context, and that 11b-13 should follow 20-24. There the priests are directed to sanctify

J E

J E

J E P

sb-6a ¹11c
 e 20²² Deut 20²³
 Josh 23³ 5¹ cp
 Deut 31
 d Cp Deut 32¹¹
 e Cp 23¹
 f Deut 7⁶
 g 5¹
 h Cp 26⁰

i 20²⁰
 j 5¹ cp 1⁰ 20²¹
 k Ct 41..31 cp 134

l 14 ct 22. 86⁰
 m 14 ct 17¹³
 n 15 cp 19¹

o 23 5¹ Hiph⁺
 p Cp Gen 24⁶
 q Gen 24¹¹

r 20¹⁸
 s 19 20¹⁸ ct 18
 t Gen 42^{28b}

u Cp Gen 15¹⁷
 v 5¹ = trembled 16
 Gen 27²⁸

w 34²

x 23 Gen 43⁸
 y 24 15⁷ cp Pi
 23^{24a}
 z 24² cp 20²¹
 a' Num 11¹⁸ Josh
 b' 35⁷ 19 ct 10
 Cp 38

c' 32⁷

^{2b} And Yahweh called unto him out of the mountain, saying, ^{2c}Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and ^{2d}tell the children of Israel; ^{2e}'Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I ^{2f}bare you on ^{2g}'eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. ^{2h}Now therefore, if ye will ²ⁱobey my voice indeed, and keep my ^{2j}covenant, then ye shall be ^{2k}a ^{2l}'peculiar treasure unto me ^{2m}from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: ²ⁿand ye shall be unto me a ^{2o}'kingdom of priests' and an ^{2p}'holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.

⁷ And Moses came and called for the ^{7b}'elders of the people, and set before them all these words which Yahweh commanded him. ⁸ And all the people answered together, and said, All that Yahweh hath spoken we will do. And Moses reported the words of the people unto Yahweh.

⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Lo, I ^{9b}'come unto thee in a ^{9c}'thick cloud, ^{9d}that the people may hear when I ^{9e}'speak with thee, and may also ^{9f}'believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto Yahweh. ¹⁰ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and ^{10b}'sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them ^{10c}'wash their ^{10d}'garments, ^{11a}and be ready against the ^{11b}'third day. . .

[²⁴←] ^{11b} for ^{11c}'the third day Yahweh will ^{11d}'come down in the sight of all the people upon mount ^{11e}'Sinai. ¹² And thou shalt ^{12b}'set bounds unto the people round about, saying, ^{12c}'Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: ^{12d}'whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death: ¹³ no hand shall touch ^{13b}'him, but he shall surely be stoned, or ^{13c}'shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when the ^{13d}'ram's horn soundeth long, ^{13e}'they shall come up to the mount. [→²⁵]

¹⁴ And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and ^{14b}'sanctified the people; and they ^{14c}'washed their ^{14d}'garments. ¹⁵ And he said unto the people, Be ready against the ^{15b}'third day: come not near a woman.

¹⁶ And it came to pass on the ^{16b}'third day, when it was ^{16c}'morning, that there were ^{16d}'thunders and lightnings, and a ^{16e}'thick ^{16f}'cloud upon the mount, and the ^{16g}'voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp ^{16h}'trembled. ¹⁷ And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God; and they ^{17b}'stood at the nether part of the mount.

...¹⁸ And mount ^{18b}'Sinai was altogether on smoke, because Yahweh ^{18c}'descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the ^{18d}'smoke of a furnace, and the whole ^{18e}'mount ^{18f}'quaked greatly.

¹⁹ And when the ^{19b}'voice of the trumpet waxed louder and louder, Moses ^{19c}'spake, and God answered him by a voice^x.

²⁰ And Yahweh ^{20b}'came down upon mount ^{20c}'Sinai, to the ^{20d}'top of the mount; and Yahweh called Moses to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. ²¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Go down, ^{21b}'charge the people, lest they ^{21c}'break through unto Yahweh to gaze, and many of them perish. ²² And let the priests also, which ^{22b}'come near to Yahweh, ^{22c}'sanctify themselves, lest Yahweh ^{22d}'break forth upon them. ²³ And Moses said unto Yahweh, ^{23b}'The people cannot come up to mount ^{23c}'Sinai: for thou didst charge us, saying, ^{23d}'Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it. ²⁴ And Yahweh said unto him, ^{24b}'Go, get thee down^o, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people ^{24c}'break through

d 22^{2b}
 e 21⁸
 f 14⁶
 g 5^{8a}

h 15¹

i 22¹
 j 11⁶

k 15¹

l 19
 m 7⁶

n 23⁶

o 7⁸

p 214

q 80

themselves, apparently as a qualification for an extraordinary interview with Yahweh. Kuenen surmised that in ²⁴ the text originally ran 'thou shalt come up, thou and Aaron with thee, and the priests: but let not the people break through' &c. If this passage preceded ^{11b-13}, the contrast between 'ye' (the people) ¹² and 'they' (the priests) ¹³ would be explained. But in that case ²³ (where Moses intimates to Yahweh that his previous command rendered further arrangements superfluous) can only have been inserted after the text had assumed its present order.

^{19^{3a}} 5 the mount of God.

^{5a} The word סֵלֶה (here rendered 'peculiar treasure') only occurs elsewhere in the formula 'a peculiar people' (לְעָמָּה יְחִידָה).

Deut 7⁶ 14² 26¹⁸ where 5 always renders λαὸς περιούσιος. The occurrence of the same phrase in 5 in the present passage makes it probable that we should restore the corresponding 5 here.

^{5b} M Or, above.

^{11b} This date, which does not appear elsewhere in J may be due here to editorial connexion.

^{13a} M Or, it.

^{13b} So M. T trumpet.—Ct 1⁰ 19.

^{13c} The pronoun is here expressed with emphasis: cp 5^{8a} ad fin 24².

¹⁸ M Some ancient authorities have, people.

¹⁹ The sequel of this passage will be found in 20¹⁸⁻²¹.

J E

JE

J E P

to come up unto Yahweh, lest he ⁹break forth upon them. [11b-13] 25 So
Moses went down unto the people, and ¹⁰told them....

20¹ And God spake all these ¹¹words, saying,

¹²I am Yahweh thy God, which ¹³brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of
the house of ¹⁴bondage.

¹⁵Thou shalt have none ¹⁶other gods ¹⁷before me.

¹⁸Thou shalt not ¹⁹make unto thee a ²⁰graven image, ²¹nor [the
likeness of] any form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath,
or that is in the water under the earth: ²²thou shalt not ²³bow down thyself unto
them, nor ²⁴serve them: for I Yahweh thy God am a ²⁵jealous God, ²⁶visiting the
iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth

h 23²⁴ Deut 5⁹

i 34¹⁴ Deut 4²⁴ 5⁹ 615¹⁷ cp Josh 24¹⁹

j 34⁷ Num 14¹⁸ Deut 5⁹ cp 710

a Deut 5⁹ cp
Gen 15⁷
b 13³
c 25a²
e cp 23¹³ 34¹⁴
d 85
4-8 25b⁶
d Deut 4¹⁸ 23²⁵
5⁸ 27¹⁵ Lev
26¹ cp 23³⁴ 17
f Deut 5⁸⁻¹⁰
g Num 12⁸ Deut
41²... 58⁸
p 23²⁴ 34¹⁴ Deut
5⁹ Lev 26¹ cp
p 23

19²⁵ *§* said unto them cp Gen 4⁸. The arrangement suggested above indicates that the omitted words spoken by Moses to the people contained the divine instructions for their safety.

20¹ The 'Ten Words' as they are designated in Deut 10⁴ cp Ex 34²⁸ are almost unanimously assigned in the present redaction to E, though critical opinion is divided as to their place in his original narrative. A comparison with Deut 5 shows that 1-21 was known to D substantially in one piece: 2-17 cp Deut 5⁶⁻²¹, 18 (10¹⁸) cp Deut 5²², 19 cp Deut 5²⁸⁻²⁷, while the use of the divine name Elohim 20¹⁹⁻²¹ points to the same Elohistic source already traced in 19. Two main questions arise concerning the literary history of the Words: (1) are they reproduced here in their original form, or have they received additions in the shape of explanations and commentaries? (2) If they can be reduced to a simpler type, what relation does the series bear to any similar laws which may be traced elsewhere? (3) The facts that there are variations in the reasons assigned for the observance of the fourth commandment cp Ex 20¹¹ Deut 5¹⁵, and that the Deuteronomie version shows slight divergences in the treatment of the fifth and tenth, have been long recognized as affording good grounds for the belief that some of the commandments have received hortatory expansion. The analogy of other laws points in the same direction (*Introd* 173) and it is now generally believed that the Words were primarily 'moulded in uniform shape', and expressed in 'terse and simple form' (Driver *LOT* p 34). Is it possible to recover this ancient type? Dr Briggs (*Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* 2 181-7) has endeavoured to reconstruct it, finding the primitive form of 'Word' in the direct prohibition 'Thou shalt not...'. The additions are, in this view, later than the actual Words, and may be ascribed with some confidence to other hands. This is made practically certain by their striking literary affinities, for they seem at various points to touch the phraseology of J, of E, and of D respectively. Thus the introductory clause ² contains two expressions strongly characteristic of D, 'Yahweh thy God' and 'house of bondage,' pointing to an earlier form 'I am Yahweh which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,' cp Gen 15⁷ 'I am Yahweh which brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees.' The additions to the second Word, as the margin shows, cp 'heaven above' & 'bow down and serve' 'Yahweh thy God,' tend in the same direction. But, on the other hand, the language of ⁶ shows striking parallels with J in 34¹⁴ cp 'Yahweh is a jealous God' 'visiting the iniquity...' 'keeping mercy for thousands.' The phrase in the text, 'showing (doing) mercy,' is peculiar to JE, and nowhere occurs in D (though cp Deut 7⁹): on the other hand the allusions to 'hate' and 'love' seem to belong to the religious atmosphere of D, who alone in the *Hex* makes the love of God a motive of human action, though the expression (in a somewhat different sense) is probably one of great antiquity, cp Jude 5¹. The fourth commandment ⁸⁻¹¹ has been revised by RP cp 11¹⁸; but the influence of D can also be traced with much probability in the phrase 'Yahweh thy God,' in the enumeration of the members of the household, and in the description of 'thy stranger that is within thy gates,' when compared with the simpler language of E 23¹², 'that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid (*§* = *maidservant* 20¹⁰), and the stranger.' Similarly the phrases in 12 recur repeatedly in D and in D only. It may be affirmed, then, with considerable probability, that the hortatory additions have been themselves expanded in the spirit of the great Deuteronomie school (cp *Introd* XVI 2a i 175), and that they were founded on earlier material derived from J and E, perhaps by the editor designated E¹⁰. But (ii) behind the commentaries lie the Words themselves. Had they a place in

the original narrative of E? In their present position they constitute a kind of introduction to the legislation which follows, but they have little in common with it: the arrangement in D by which they are presented as the sole legislation of Horeb cp 22⁸ is much more impressive. Now the Words are reported by D as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. It will be seen hereafter that both J and E record such a covenant, cp Ex 24 and 34: but neither document founds it on these Ten Words, though each associates it with 'Words' of Yahweh. Further it may be noted that each of these collections shows parallels with some of the Ten Words. Thus with 20¹ cp J 34¹⁴ 'Thou shalt not bow down (*§* as in 20⁴) to another god,' E 22²⁰ forbidding sacrifice to another god under pain of 'devotion,' and E¹ 23¹⁸ 'the name of other gods ye shall not cause to be remembered' cp 20²⁴ with 20⁴ cp J 34¹⁷, 'thou shalt make thee no molten gods,' and E¹ 20²³ 'ye shall not make with me gods of silver, and gods of gold ye shall not make unto you': with 20⁷ cp 22²⁵; and with 20⁸ cp J 34²¹ 'Six days thou shalt labour, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest,' and E 23¹² 'Six days thou shalt do thy works, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest,' where in both cases 'rest' in *§* means 'keep sabbath.' The question can hardly be discussed in all its bearings until the Covenant-Words of J and E have themselves been analysed. But the existence of these several groups (which will be found closely parallel to each other) suggests that the Ten Words, the latter of which run a highly independent course, were not part of the original narrative of E (for why should E himself arrange these duplicates side by side?) but were added from some other source. Some confirmation of this view is found in the consideration of the narrative 19¹⁹ 20¹⁸⁻²¹ compared with Deut 5²². It is clear from the Deuteronomie account that the people were supposed to have heard the actual words uttered by Yahweh 'with a great voice.' But it may be doubted if that was the conception of E. The people witness a storm of thunder and lightning, they hear a trumpet blast which they interpret as the divine utterance, but it does not appear that they are conscious of articulate address from Elohim. As the outward signs of the theophany become more majestic and terrible, they dread lest Deity should speak ¹⁹ and they should perish. The original account of E, therefore, probably contained no spoken 'Words' from Elohim to the assembled people, but only the tradition of the awful Voice. Concerning the antiquity of the Words themselves, doubted by Colenso, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Stade, Bacon, Addis, Meisner, Steuernagel, Staerk, Holzinger, Kraetzschmar, and others, cp Driver (*LOT* p 33), Briggs (*Higher Criticism* 2 186), Dillmann-Ryssel (*Ex und Lev* 226), and Wicksteed (*Christian Reformer* 1886 i 307). It is perhaps sufficient to observe here that (as noted above) E does not base the covenant on the so-called 'Ten Words,' but on the Words now combined with the judgements in the Covenant-book cp 22⁸. D is the first to treat the Ten Words as the sole foundation and contents of the Horeb-covenant. The prominence thus assigned to them (together with the linguistic affinities on which Colenso and Meisner have dwelt with especial emphasis) adds weight to the conjecture that they took shape between the first collection of laws and narratives in J and E, and the later reproduction of ancient *torah* in D. But if this be so, there is no clue to the circumstances under which they were incorporated into E. On difficulties connected with the place of the Ten Words in Israel's religious and social history cp Addis *Hex* i 139.

² M. *§* bondamen.

³ M. Or, beside me.—*§* my face (presence).

J E

JE

J E P

k Cp 274^a
l Gen 26^b cp
p 82^c
7 L59^a
m 34^d Num 14¹⁸
Deut 5¹¹ Pi^a
8. L9b^b
10 L28^a
n Deut 5¹⁴ 24¹⁴
29¹¹ 31¹² ct
P145^b
o Cp 251^a
11 L9b^b
p Cp 273^a
q Cp 269^c
12 L19^a
13 L29b^b
14 L11^e
15 L3a^a
16 L4f^a
17 L31^d

r 19¹⁶s 21^at Deut 5²⁷u Deut 5²⁶v 15^{26b} 16^a Gen
22¹w Deut 5²² cp
19¹⁶

generation of them that hate me; ⁶ and ^ashowing mercy unto ^mthousands, of them that love me and ^kkeep my commandments.

⁷ Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God ⁿin vain: for Yahweh will not ^mhold him guiltless that taketh his name ⁿin vain.

⁸ ⁿRemember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. ⁹ Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: ¹⁰ but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God: [in it] thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy ^bmaidservant, nor thy cattle, nor ^{thy} stranger that is ^owithin thy gates: ¹¹ ⁿfor in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore Yahweh blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.

¹² ⁿHonour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be ^plong upon the ^lland which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.

¹³ Thou shalt do no murder.

¹⁴ Thou shalt not commit adultery.

¹⁵ Thou shalt not steal.

¹⁶ Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

¹⁷ Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his ^bmaidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

¹⁸ And all the people saw the ^tthunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the ^rtrumpet, and the mountain smoking: and ⁿwhen the people saw it, they ^mtrembled, and stood ^aafar off. ¹⁹ And they said unto Moses, ^a'Speak thou with us, and we will ^bhear: but let not God speak with us, lest we ^c'die. ²⁰ And Moses said unto the people, ^a'Fear not: for God is come ^dto ^e'prove you, and ^qthat his ^a'fear may be before you, that ye sin ⁿ'not. ²¹ And the people stood ^aafar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick ^w'darkness where God was.

²² ⁿAnd Yahweh said unto Moses, ⁿ'Thus thou shalt say unto the

a 57^b

b 99

c 154

d 221

e 102

f 61

g 222^b

20⁶ M Or, a thousand generations. See Deut 7⁹.

7^{ab} M Or, for vanity or falsehood.

⁸ Briggs (*Higher Crit* 187) suggests as the original fourth Word 'Thou shalt not do any work on the seventh day.'

¹¹ In this verse it has been usual to recognize the hand of the harmonist. The parallel passage in Deut 5¹⁵ bases the observance of the sabbath on the deliverance from Egypt. But in this historical association there is no link of inner thought such as that implied in the parallel between the rest enjoined on Israel and that practised by Deity himself. Had D's copy of the Decalogue contained this verse, it is hardly likely that he would have replaced its lofty suggestiveness by a less potent motive. In spite, therefore, of Budde's plea (*Urgesch* 495) that this verse is here original to E, it is regarded as a secondary insertion. But from what source? It has been commonly viewed as founded on Gen 2¹⁻⁵. Many of the verbal details, it is true, are different: eg for 'the heavens and the earth and all their host,' we read 'the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is': the words 'rest' and 'sabbath-day' are not those employed by P, who also does not connect the blessing on the day by 'therefore' (a word used specially by J cp 18⁵). These differences are hardly sufficient in themselves to establish an independent source for this verse in a lost creation-story by J², though they may properly be employed in supporting other arguments. They may, however, be sufficiently explained by the influence of the context; the triple division into sky, earth, and waters, is already recognized in 4; the verb 'to rest' (ru) is found in the parallel in Deut 5¹⁴ and may well have prompted the writer's choice; 'sabbath day' is already provided by 8; and the word 'therefore' is used by P² in a similar connexion in 16²⁹. That the secondary references to the creation-narrative of P were not limited to the original phrasology is clear from the curious addition in 31¹⁷ which states that Yahweh 'was refreshed,' following the language of an earlier Sabbath law 23¹²: while it may be said in general terms that some of the later portions of P show much greater variety of style (cp *Intro* XIII 118 i 155).

¹² Briggs (*Higher Crit* 187) comparing Ex 21¹⁷ Lev 20⁹ and Deut 27¹⁶ proposes to restore 'Thou shalt not set light by thy father and thy mother.'

18^a (3 f and the people were afraid,' pointing וירא וירא:

so Jülicher, Kuenen, Budde, Krätzschmar, and others. Dillmann adheres to *MT*.

18^b M Or, were moved.—Cp Is 64. In *Hex* only in a different connexion Gen 4¹² 14 'wanderer': Hiph Num 32¹³.

22^a The older criticism treated 20²²⁻²³ as substantially one whole (with some interpolations and additions), and connected it with the record of the Covenant in 24³⁻⁸, so that it became known as the Book of the Covenant. But it has been since perceived that it not only contains various hortatory amplifications, but is in reality compiled from two different collections which have been blended together. The proof of this is partly contained in the book itself, and partly in the narrative which follows. For (1) while the opening section 20²³⁻²⁶ is concerned exclusively with instructions for the proper worship of Yahweh, at 21¹ a series of 'judgements' is introduced, in which various matters affecting the person or property of the Israelite are regulated on the basis of judicial decisions formulated and generalized into law. Other commands in their turn follow, which in no way result from civil or criminal processes before a judge, such as the rules for the observance of a seventh fallow year and a seventh day of rest 23¹⁰⁻¹², or the festival cycle in 24¹⁻¹¹. The contents of these chapters, therefore, are not homogeneous. But (2) this diversity of character is recognized in 24³, where Moses is said to recite to the people 'all the words of Yahweh and all the judgements.' This description implies that the preceding collection is made up of two parts, (1) a series of divine 'Words,' and (2) a group of 'judgements.' Is there any clue to their separation? Wellhausen and Stade practically limit (2) to 21-22¹⁷, where the 'case law' is cast into a series of rules defining the proper course under the given circumstances introduced by 'if': Driver adds 22^{26a} 26²³. The remainder is then allotted to (1). But this remainder is itself found on investigation to consist of highly various materials. There is the humanitarian legislation for the protection of the stranger, the ethical insistence on the upright administration of justice, strangely mingled with regulations about first fruits and sabbath (whether of days or years) and a calendar of annual feasts. It is readily seen that these are alike neither in style nor in substance. The conditional form of the strict 'judgement' is reproduced in 24¹; but by its side are the participial clauses in which Dr Briggs finds the proper type of the 'statute' 22¹⁹, and the commands and prohibitions 22¹⁸ 28, 20⁹ 30 in which the same critic recognizes the characteristics of the 'Word' (*Higher Crit* 242 ff). It does not seem possible to base any distinction on these slender variations in expression. It is more apposite to notice that the moral and

J E

J E

J E P

children of Israel, ^aYe yourselves have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. ²³ ^{NL}Ye shall not 'make [other gods] with me; 'gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you. ²⁴ ^{NL}An altar of 'earth thou shalt

x 10¹
23a 15a^f
y Cp 24 34¹⁷
23b 15b^c
24a 12odⁱ
z Ct 27¹

social legislation tends constantly to expand into the prophet's appeal rather than the lawgiver's command on 22²⁵, 27²³, and is thus strongly marked off from a specific group of regulations which do not embody the experience of life but are occupied with the requirements of worship. These laws are broken up in their present position, but they are readily seen to constitute a little collection by themselves. Different investigators, such as Rothstein (*Bundesbuch* 1888), Bantsch (*Bundesbuch* 1892), and Bacon, approaching the problem by different methods, have substantially agreed in the view that the 'Words' are to be found in the cultus laws 20²²⁻²⁸ 22²⁹⁻³¹ 23¹⁰⁻¹⁹, with the concluding exhortation in 23²⁰⁻²⁸. The Book of Judgements would naturally contain the available rules for the protection of life and property. With them would be suitably associated other provisions for the welfare of the community, such as the infliction of the ban on those who were guilty of treason to the national God by worshipping an alien deity 22²⁰, or the prohibition of ribald speech whither against the earthly or the heavenly ruler 22²⁸. The varied contents of Deut 12-26 under the title 'Statutes and Judgements' show what diversified materials might thus be aggregated together. But the particular institutions of the cultus were not founded on custom and usage, whether formulated in judicial decisions, or as yet implied only in the higher standards of religion. They were regarded as derived directly from the divine will, and owed their origin to a positive utterance. Accepting this distinction provisionally, it may be noted further that the 'Words' 24¹ were recorded by Moses in a book: with solemn sacrifice and ceremony the people pledged themselves to obedience: and on the basis of these 'Words' Yahweh entered into a covenant with Israel 24². But as soon as these prescriptions are examined by themselves, it is observed that the bulk of them reappear in another connexion in 34, where they are again embodied in a covenant which Yahweh purposes to make with Israel 34¹⁰. Let the following parallels be considered:—

(1) 20 ²³	Prohibition of image worship	34 ¹⁷
(2) 24 ²⁵⁻²⁶	Regulations for the construction of altars	
(3) 22 ²⁹	Gift of firstborn sons to Yahweh	20b
(4) 30	Gift of firstborn animals to Yahweh	19 20a
(5) 81	No meat torn by wild beasts to be eaten	
(6) 23 ¹⁰⁻¹¹	Observance of the seventh fallow year	
(7) 12	Observance of the seventh day of rest	21
(8) 14 17	Observance of three annual feasts	23
(9) 15	Feast of Unleavened Bread	18
(10) 16	Harvest and Ingathering	22
(11) 18a	No leavened bread to be used in sacrifice	25a
(12) 18b	No fat to be left till the morning	25b
(13) 19a	Firstfruits to be given to Yahweh	26a
(14) 19b	No kid to be seethed in its mother's milk	26b

It is clear that the terms of the covenant proposed in 34¹⁰ are largely parallel with the 'Words' on which the previous covenant has already been formally established. Reasons will be given hereafter for believing that its context belongs to J; but as it cannot be supposed that J related the institution of the covenant twice over in slightly different terms, the previous 'Words' and their acceptance by the people must be assigned to E. This conclusion is reinforced by other considerations, partly linguistic, as the margins will show, and partly substantial on 24²⁸. The harmonist of J and E, in fixing the present places of the two versions, has brought them into closer accord by modification and addition, so that the texts of the two documents have been moulded into complete correspondence. The probable signs of such changes will be noted when they occur. This is the only case in which J and E agree in ascribing the preparation of a documentary record to Moses; and this agreement may be taken in evidence that J and E were both acquainted with some older written source (but on 34²⁸). The distinction already emphasized between the 'Words' and the 'Judgements' (with the additional materials attached to them) makes it necessary to account for the incorporation of the latter collection at this point of the narrative. It will be found (1) that they are suitable rather for a settled and agricultural people than for the life of the desert, and (2) that many of them are included, sometimes with important amendments, in the Book of Deuteronomy, whose central body of legislation is described 12¹ under the double heading of 'Statutes

and Judgements.' Deut is emphatic in its statement that nothing was publicly enjoined at Horeb but the Ten Words s²² 31 6¹. It was pointed out by Kuenen that the author no doubt had some reason in the materials which he employed for placing his great reproduction of the Mosaic Teaching at the end of the wanderings under the slopes of Pisgah. Now his chief source of sacred law (so far as Pentateuch permits us to trace it) was the so-called Covenant-book. This, argued Kuenen, must once have stood in the position which Deut now occupies, at the close of Moses' life as the people prepared to quit the wilderness for the settled occupations of the land which was afterwards to bear their name. The partition of the Covenant-book of the older criticism into two unequal parts, does not affect Kuenen's suggestion. The 'Judgements' constituted the earliest summary of the Mosaic Torah, and may possibly have belonged to a hortatory address now superseded by Deut. That they, too, are due to an Elohist source may be inferred from their use of the name Elohim 21⁶ 18 22⁶, 11 (5) 28, and other linguistic marks (such as the designation אִשָּׁה for 'bondwoman' cp 25⁹, and the repeated use of the words אֵל and אֱלֹהִים in the sense of 'matter' or 'cause' 10⁸). Bantsch, indeed, argues that Ex 22⁹⁻¹² is presupposed in Gen 31³⁵⁻⁴⁰ and must be attributed to J. But the plea is doubly precarious. The connexion between the two passages cannot be proved; and in the foregoing analysis of the Jacob-stories the verses in question are assigned to E. This suggestion affords no support, therefore, to the view (abandoned by Wellhausen and Driver) that the Judgement-book was derived from J. In the process of uniting J E with D, if the Judgement-book really did stand at the end, it became necessary to find another place for it, and it seemed most appropriately combined with the other brief collection of religious law in E, the Covenant-words at Horeb. Other suggestions perhaps deserve a passing mention. Thus Holzinger (*Hex* 179) proposes to connect it with Joshua's covenant at Shechem Josh 24²⁵. It might seem more natural to associate it with E's narrative of the institution of the Judges Ex 18, which represents Moses as already in possession of divine statutes and laws Ex 18¹⁶, which could be taught to the people 20. This narrative (it has been shown) is placed too soon; in its original position among the later Horeb scenes it might well have been preceded by a collection of regulations for judicial procedure, and the special warnings in 33¹⁻³ 6-8 would have been particularly apposite. Is it unreasonable to find a trace of such an arrangement in the language of Deut 1¹⁸, which implies that the Mosaic teaching was not all postponed to the eve of the passage of the Jordan in the land of Moab? For a recent attempt to arrange the Words and Judgements in Decalogues, Pentades, and Triplets, cp Briggs, *Higher Criticism* 2 210-32. Some other scholars treat them as an expansion of the Decalogue Ex 20.

20^{23b} This verse (together with 23) is often regarded as redactional. This view finds some support in the fact that different forms of the introductory words seem to have been extant. Thus Sam reads 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel': and (5)^{ABL} supply 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel' cp 19³. In the 5 text Kuenen thought he detected the traces of E's hand on Deut 4¹³ 38, but the signs of D's influence cannot be said to be strong. More significant is the appearance of the name 'Yahweh,' discontinuous with the usage of 19-21, and the contrast of the plurals in 22, with the singular in 24-26.

23 The verse is not free from difficulty. RV accepts the Hebrew punctuation according to which the first clause runs 'Ye shall not make with me': an object has then to be supplied, such as 'other gods' (Rothstein points to Lev 26¹). Briggs practically follows (5) & other ancient authorities, and renders 'Ye shall not make with me gods of silver,' and gods of gold ye shall not make you,' which he regards as the first and second commands of the first pentade. But this kind of repetition seems strangely feeble.

24 It may be doubted whether 24-26 is in its right place; it is unrepresented in J's Covenant-words. Budde (*ZATW* xi 228) suggests that it was originally part of the narrative of the institution of the sanctuary, which must have once followed

J E

JE

J E P

24b L7a^b b^c p^aa' 24^a 32^b Deut27^b Josh 8²¹cp 10²⁵ 18¹²Lev 17⁸24c L10a²U' 5^a Am 5¹¹ cpDeut 27⁸c' Deut 27⁸ et17⁵26 L11f^aa' Ct 28⁴²a Ct Deut 6⁴ 12¹2-11 L2d^c2- L2g¹b 6 2^b Deut15¹² 18^ac 11 Gen 29¹⁶d 5^a†e Cp 18¹⁹ 22⁸f Deut 15³⁷g Deut 15³⁷†7-11 L1h^bh 5 Qal^a cp2 Sam 20⁸ =

appoint

i 5^a Hos 5⁷ 6⁷Jer 37²⁰ al

j 5 = covering

22²⁷ Gen 20¹⁸Deut 22²⁸*

12-14 L2hc

k 5^a 1 Sam 24¹¹l Cp 5 Ps 91¹⁰Prov 12²¹2 Kings 5⁷†m Deut 14⁸ 17¹⁸18²⁰n Josh 9⁴ Prov14 8⁸ 12⁴

15-17 L2bab

16 L2j^ao 22²⁸ 5 = revileLev 20⁹18-27 L2ja^bcp Is 58^{4†}q Num 21¹⁸20. L2d² h^a

make unto me, ¹and shalt ²sacrifice thereon thy ³burnt offerings, and thy ⁴peace offerings, thy ⁵sheep, and thine ⁶oxen: ⁷in every place where I ⁸record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. ²⁵ And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of ⁹hewn stones: for if thou ¹⁰lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. ²⁶ ¹Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy ²nakedness be not discovered thereon.

²¹ Now ¹these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.

² ¹If thou buy an Hebrew ²servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out ³free ⁴for nothing. ³ If he come in ⁵by himself, he shall go out ⁶by himself: if he be ⁷married, then his wife shall go out with him. ⁴ If his master give him a wife, and she bear him sons or daughters; the wife and her ⁵children shall be her master's, and he shall go out ⁶by himself. ⁵ But if the servant shall plainly say, I ⁷love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: ⁶ then his master shall bring him ⁷unto ⁸God, and shall bring him to the ⁹door, or unto the door post; and his master shall ¹⁰bore his ear through with an ¹¹awl; and he shall serve him for ever.

⁷ ¹And if a man sell his daughter to be a ²maid-servant, she shall not go out as the menservants do. ⁸ If she please not her master, ⁹who hath espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he hath ¹⁰dealt deceitfully with her. ⁹ And if he ¹¹espouse her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. ¹⁰ If he take him another ¹¹wife; her ¹²food, her ¹³raiment, and her ¹⁴duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. ¹¹ And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out ¹²for nothing, without money.

¹² ¹He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be put to death. ¹³ And if a man ²lie not in wait, but God ³deliver [him] into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. ¹⁴ And if a man come ⁵presumptuously upon his ⁶neighbour, to ⁷slay him with ⁸guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

¹⁵ ¹And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

¹⁶ ¹And he that ²stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

¹⁷ And he that ³curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

¹⁸ ¹And if men contend, and one smiteth the ²other with a stone, or with his ³fist, and he die not, but keep his bed: ¹⁹ if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his ⁴staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: ²⁰ only he shall pay for ²¹the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

²⁰ ¹And if a man smite ²his servant, or his ³maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be punished. ²¹ Notwithstanding,

33^b and preceded the description of Moses' usage 33⁷⁻¹¹. On the other hand D's version of the 'Statutes and Judgements' opens with a law defining the place where cultus is legitimate Deut 12¹¹; and a similar subject stands at the head of the Holiness-legislation Lev 17. These possibilities cannot be definitely decided; the transpositions and adjustments of the text which seem to have taken place on an extensive scale, make it impossible to recover the original openings either of the Covenant-words or of the Book of Judgements.

20²⁴ M Or, cause my name to be remembered.

21¹ Like other documents of the Hexateuch this early collection of laws has no doubt received editorial additions and amplifications. But it does not seem possible to distinguish the work of the first collector on his original materials from the amendments or expansions of later hands.

2 M Or, bondman.

6 M Or, the judges.—Cp 22⁹ 28.

7 M Or, bondwoman.

8 M Another reading is, so that he hath not espoused her.

10 M 5 flesh.—Ct 9⁵.

16 (5) 'he that stealeth a man of the children of Israel.' (5) places 16 after 17 so as to join the two offences against parents in immediate succession. This may be due to an effort after symmetry, but it may possibly represent an earlier order. The introduction of 17 may be due to a scribal recollection of Lev 20⁹.

17 M Or, revileth.

19 M 5 his sitting or ceasing.

20 Bude suggests that the natural sequel of 18, is found in 22-25, while 20, should stand before 22. In 22 for נשליח 'as the judges determine,' he would read נשליח 'for the miscarriage.'

20²⁶ M Or, his bondman, or his bondwoman.

J E

J E

J E

P

r 5 Hoph Gen
41^{24†}s 55 32³⁵ Josh
24⁹ cp 82
f Gen 16¹¹
u 18 Gen 42⁴
v Dent 22^{10†}
w Dent 32³¹ Job
31^{1†}
23-25 L4eⁿ
z Lev 24²⁰
y Gen 42^{28*}
36. L2d^c28-36 L3d^r
z 31. Qalt cp
Dent 33^{17*}
a' 36 Q†U' 30¹² Num
35^{31*}
c' 36 49^{8†}

32 L2d/

1-4 L3a/
n Gen 43¹⁰
2. L2h-
b Jer 2^{34†}
c Gen 32³¹

6. L3d/

d Gen 45¹⁷
e Gen 47^{10a}
f Gen 31^{8*}
g 5 Judg 15⁶
h Dent 16⁹ 23^{25*}
i Q†
7-13 L3eⁿ
8. L4b/
j 5-b1 brought
24e^r Josh 7¹⁴
Niph†
k 26 Dent 24¹³
29⁵ Josh 9^{1,13}
22^{8*}
l Lev 6³. Dent
22^{3†}

if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.

²² And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. ²³ But if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, ²⁴ eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, ²⁵ burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

²⁶ And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. ²⁷ And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

²⁸ And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit. ²⁹ But if the ox were wont to gore in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death. ³⁰ If there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him. ³¹ Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgement shall it be done unto him. ³² If the ox gore a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

³³ And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein, ³⁴ the owner of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the owner of them, and the dead [beast] shall be his.

³⁵ And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and the dead also they shall divide. ³⁶ Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead [beast] shall be his own.

²¹ If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.—² If the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten that he die, there shall be no bloodguiltiness for him. ³ If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness for him:—he should make restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. ⁴ If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall pay double. [^{2-3a}]

⁵ If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, and it feed in another man's field, of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

⁶ If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

⁷ If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double. ⁸ If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto God, [to see] whether he have not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. ⁹ For every matter of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, [or] for any manner of lost thing,

1 194

j 215
k 1691 [5
2137]
a 117
2 [5
221]

b 112b

c 107
d 205b
e 108
f 223

²¹ The distinction between members of the family and slaves in ³¹ may be later (cp the peculiar formula of reference ³¹) than the general law in ²⁹. The analogy of ³² suggests that ³¹ began with EN 'if, instead of W, and Q reads *lāw* *ēē* as in ³⁰ ³².

²² A slight displacement has probably occurred here. The case of the housebreaker who is killed in resistance to his burglars act ^{2-3a} interrupts the enunciation of the principle of restitution by a cattle-lifter ¹ ^{3b} ⁴. Obviously the thief who

perishes in ² cannot be called upon for reparation in ³. The rule in ² ^{3a} seems to belong to an independent group, of which, however, no other member can now be traced.

^{2b} M 5 blood.

⁵ G and Sam agree in dividing this case into two, adding as the sequel to ^{5a} and the introduction to ^{5b} 'he shall pay well (for it) from his field according to its produce; and if it eats the whole field up, ...'. ⁸ M Or, the judges.—Cp ²¹.

J E

JE

J E P

whereof one saith, This is it, the 'cause of both parties shall come before 'God; he whom 'God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbour.

¹⁰ If a man deliver unto his 'neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: ¹¹ the oath of 'Yahweh shall be between them both, whether he hath not 'put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the 'owner thereof shall accept it, and he shall not make restitution. ¹² But if it be 'stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the 'owner thereof. ¹³ If it be 'torn in pieces, let him bring it for 'witness; he shall not make good that which was 'torn.

¹⁴ 'And if a man 'borrow aught of his 'neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the 'owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make restitution. ¹⁵ If the 'owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, 'it came for its hire.

¹⁶ 'And if a man 'entice a virgin that is not 'betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely 'pay a dowry for her to be his wife. ¹⁷ If her father utterly 'refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virginsⁿ.

¹⁸ 'Thou shalt not suffer a 'sorceress to live.

¹⁹ 'Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

²⁰ 'He that sacrificeth unto any god, 'save unto Yahweh 'only, shall be 'devoted. ^{21a} 'And a stranger shalt thou not 'wrong, neither shalt thou 'oppress him:

^{21b} 'for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. ²² Ye shall not afflict any 'widow, or fatherless child.

²³ If thou afflict 'them in any wise, and they 'cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their 'cry;

²⁴ and my 'wrath shall wax hot, and I will 'kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be 'widows, and your children 'fatherless.

²⁵ 'If thou 'lend money to any of my people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a 'creditor, 'neither shall ye lay upon him 'usury. ²⁶ If thou at all take thy neighbour's 'garment to 'pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that the sun goeth down: ²⁷ for that is his 'only 'covering, it is his 'garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he 'crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am 'gracious.

²⁸ 'Thou shalt not 'revile 'God, 'nor curse a 'ruler of thy people.

²⁹ 'Thou shalt not delay to offer of 'the 'abundance of thy fruits, and 'of thy liquors. ¹ The 'firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me.

³⁰ 'Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, and with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.

³¹ 'And ye shall be 'holy men unto me: 'therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is 'torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

³² 'Thou shalt not take up a 'false 'report: 'put not thine hand with the 'wicked to be an unrighteous 'witness. ² 'Thou shalt not 'follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou 'speak in a cause to turn aside after a multitude to 'wrest [judgement]: ³ neither shalt thou 'favour a 'poor man in his cause.

m Gen 27^{58b}
n 23¹ Gen 31¹⁴
o 31 Gen 31³⁹
14. L 23¹²

16 L 13^{1b}
p Cp Deut 17¹⁶
q Deut 22²⁸

18 L 53^{1b}
r Cp 7¹¹ Deut
1810^a
19 L 11^{1b}
20 L 52^{1b}
21-24 L 22^{1b}
s Lev 19³⁸ 25¹⁴ 17
Deut 23¹⁸
t 3⁹ 23⁹ Num
22²⁵
u Cp 10⁵
26-27 L 3^{1b}

v 5 Hiph Deut
2812 44^a
w Deut 24¹¹
25b L 3^{1b}
x Lev 25³⁶ Deut
23²⁰

y Deut 24⁶ 17^a
z 21¹⁰
a' 34⁶
18a L 50^{1b}
17 21¹⁷
18b L 13^{1b}
c' Cp 11²⁶
28a L 80^c

d' Num 18²⁷
Deut 22²⁴
29b L 8a^c
e' Cp 13¹ 12
50 L 8b^{1b}
31a L 11^{1b}

f' Cp 19⁶ Deut
14²¹

31b L 60^{1a}
1 L 41^{1b}
a 20⁷
b Gen 20¹³
c Cp 20¹⁸
2. L 40^{1a}

d Cp 2 Sam 10¹⁰
1 Kings 16²¹

5
e 28 Deut 16¹⁹
f Lev 19¹⁵ 32^a
g 30¹⁵ Lev 14²¹
19¹⁵

22^{28b} M Or, the judges.—'Condemn' cp Deut 25^{1*}.

11 (5) God. ¹⁴ M 5 ask.—Cp 3²² 11² 12³⁵.

16 M Or, it is reckoned in (5 cometh into) its hire.

17 At this point the collection of technical 'Judgements' comes to an end. The precepts that follow form a kind of supplement into which various social and moral exhortations have found their way, concluding with warnings against the perversion of justice 23⁶⁻⁸ not inappropriate to those who would be expected to frame their decisions on the basis of the preceding code.

20 So M 5. 'T utterly destroyed. See Lev 27²⁹.—Cp 3³⁵.

21b The following clauses differ in style from the context, partly owing to the use of the plural for the singular verb, partly to the explanation in 21b cp Deut 10¹⁹ 24¹⁸ 22 Lev 19³⁴, partly to the threats of divine anger 23^a. They are

regarded with much plausibility as hortatory expansions cp 25^{1b} 31 23^{1b} 13. ²³ 5 him as in 21^a and so throughout 23.

23 Probably a gloss on the preceding rule.

28 M Or, the judges.

29a From the collection of Covenant-words cp 20²²ⁿ.

29b M 5 thy fulness and thy tear.

31 The plural verb here again excites suspicion cp 27^a, though it is required by the word 'men.' But a parallel (though not identical) passage is found in Deut 14²¹, where it is followed by the equivalent of 23^{20b}. It is possible, as Bacon has suggested, that 29-31 originally belonged to 23^{18-19a}, but suffered displacement when the close of the Covenant-words of E was harmonized with the covenant of J 34²⁶. (see table 20²²ⁿ).

232 M Or, bear witness.

J E

JE

J E P

4. 130¹
h Gen 20¹³i Gen 4⁷6-8 140⁶
j 11 Deut 15⁴⁻¹¹
24¹⁴k Deut 10¹⁷ 16¹⁹27²⁵l Deut 16¹⁹m 4¹⁴n 4¹⁴o 22²¹p 10-17 19⁹q 10. 19¹⁴r Gen 31²⁸ Num11³¹ Deut 32¹⁶s 5⁸t 12 13⁶u Ct 20⁹ cp 16

v labours 5

w Cp Deut 5¹⁴x 31¹⁷ 2 Samy 16¹⁴z 12 13⁶aa 21¹¹ cp 100ab Josh 23⁷ac Num 22²⁸ 32⁺

ad ct 17 5

ae 5¹af 15⁸ 19⁶ag 15⁸ 19⁶ah 15⁸ 19⁶ai 20 Gen 22²aj 15⁸ 19⁶ak 34²⁷al 18 17⁸am 18 17⁸an 18 17⁸ao 18 17⁸ap 18 17⁸aq 18 17⁸ar 18 17⁸as 18 17⁸at 18 17⁸au 18 17⁸av 18 17⁸aw 18 17⁸ax 18 17⁸ay 18 17⁸az 18 17⁸ba 18 17⁸bb 18 17⁸bc 18 17⁸bd 18 17⁸be 18 17⁸bf 18 17⁸bg 18 17⁸bh 18 17⁸bi 18 17⁸bj 18 17⁸bk 18 17⁸bl 18 17⁸bm 18 17⁸bn 18 17⁸bo 18 17⁸bp 18 17⁸bq 18 17⁸br 18 17⁸bs 18 17⁸bt 18 17⁸bu 18 17⁸bv 18 17⁸bw 18 17⁸bx 18 17⁸by 18 17⁸bz 18 17⁸ca 18 17⁸cb 18 17⁸cc 18 17⁸cd 18 17⁸ce 18 17⁸cf 18 17⁸cg 18 17⁸ch 18 17⁸ci 18 17⁸cj 18 17⁸ck 18 17⁸cl 18 17⁸cm 18 17⁸cn 18 17⁸co 18 17⁸cp 18 17⁸cq 18 17⁸cr 18 17⁸cs 18 17⁸ct 18 17⁸cu 18 17⁸cv 18 17⁸cw 18 17⁸cx 18 17⁸cy 18 17⁸cz 18 17⁸da 18 17⁸db 18 17⁸dc 18 17⁸dd 18 17⁸de 18 17⁸df 18 17⁸dg 18 17⁸dh 18 17⁸di 18 17⁸dj 18 17⁸dk 18 17⁸dl 18 17⁸dm 18 17⁸dn 18 17⁸do 18 17⁸dp 18 17⁸dq 18 17⁸dr 18 17⁸ds 18 17⁸dt 18 17⁸du 18 17⁸dv 18 17⁸dw 18 17⁸dx 18 17⁸dy 18 17⁸dz 18 17⁸ea 18 17⁸eb 18 17⁸ec 18 17⁸ed 18 17⁸ee 18 17⁸ef 18 17⁸eg 18 17⁸eh 18 17⁸ei 18 17⁸ej 18 17⁸ek 18 17⁸el 18 17⁸em 18 17⁸en 18 17⁸eo 18 17⁸ep 18 17⁸eq 18 17⁸er 18 17⁸es 18 17⁸et 18 17⁸eu 18 17⁸ev 18 17⁸ew 18 17⁸ex 18 17⁸ey 18 17⁸ez 18 17⁸fa 18 17⁸fb 18 17⁸fc 18 17⁸fd 18 17⁸fe 18 17⁸ff 18 17⁸fg 18 17⁸fh 18 17⁸fi 18 17⁸fj 18 17⁸fk 18 17⁸fl 18 17⁸fm 18 17⁸fn 18 17⁸fo 18 17⁸fp 18 17⁸fq 18 17⁸fr 18 17⁸fs 18 17⁸ft 18 17⁸fu 18 17⁸fv 18 17⁸fw 18 17⁸fx 18 17⁸fy 18 17⁸fz 18 17⁸ga 18 17⁸gb 18 17⁸gc 18 17⁸gd 18 17⁸ge 18 17⁸gf 18 17⁸gh 18 17⁸gi 18 17⁸gj 18 17⁸gk 18 17⁸gl 18 17⁸gm 18 17⁸gn 18 17⁸go 18 17⁸gp 18 17⁸gq 18 17⁸gr 18 17⁸gs 18 17⁸gt 18 17⁸gu 18 17⁸gv 18 17⁸gw 18 17⁸gx 18 17⁸gy 18 17⁸gz 18 17⁸ha 18 17⁸hb 18 17⁸hc 18 17⁸hd 18 17⁸he 18 17⁸hf 18 17⁸hg 18 17⁸hh 18 17⁸hi 18 17⁸hj 18 17⁸hk 18 17⁸hl 18 17⁸hm 18 17⁸hn 18 17⁸ho 18 17⁸hp 18 17⁸hq 18 17⁸hr 18 17⁸hs 18 17⁸ht 18 17⁸hu 18 17⁸hv 18 17⁸hw 18 17⁸hx 18 17⁸hy 18 17⁸hz 18 17⁸ia 18 17⁸ib 18 17⁸ic 18 17⁸id 18 17⁸ie 18 17⁸if 18 17⁸ig 18 17⁸ih 18 17⁸ii 18 17⁸ij 18 17⁸ik 18 17⁸il 18 17⁸im 18 17⁸in 18 17⁸io 18 17⁸ip 18 17⁸iq 18 17⁸ir 18 17⁸is 18 17⁸it 18 17⁸iu 18 17⁸iv 18 17⁸iw 18 17⁸ix 18 17⁸iy 18 17⁸iz 18 17⁸ja 18 17⁸jb 18 17⁸jc 18 17⁸jd 18 17⁸je 18 17⁸jf 18 17⁸jg 18 17⁸jh 18 17⁸ji 18 17⁸jj 18 17⁸jk 18 17⁸jl 18 17⁸jm 18 17⁸jn 18 17⁸jo 18 17⁸jp 18 17⁸jq 18 17⁸jr 18 17⁸js 18 17⁸jt 18 17⁸ju 18 17⁸jv 18 17⁸jw 18 17⁸jx 18 17⁸jy 18 17⁸jz 18 17⁸ka 18 17⁸kb 18 17⁸kc 18 17⁸kd 18 17⁸ke 18 17⁸kf 18 17⁸kg 18 17⁸kh 18 17⁸ki 18 17⁸kj 18 17⁸

J E

JE

J E P

U' Num 23¹ Josh
4⁴ alc' Gen 50¹⁷ Josh
24¹⁹d' 5⁺e' Deut 2⁹ 20¹² 19f' Cp D²⁴g' 3⁸h' Cp 9¹⁵ ct 29.24¹⁸ E 5^ai' 20¹ cp D²³

24b L56b

j' 15¹l' 5 = dash 34¹³Deut 7⁶ 12³m' Cp D²³n' Cp D²³o' 15⁶p' Gen 11⁸⁰ Deutq' 14²⁴r' Josh 7⁸ 13s' Deut 7²⁰ Josh24¹²t' 6¹u' Lev 26³³ Josh82³v' Deut 7²²

w' 5 = fruitful

Gen 26⁵²x' Cp Gen 15¹⁸Deut 11²⁴y' Cp D²³z' 34¹² cp 18¹a' Deut 24⁷b' Kings 14¹⁶c' Cp D²³d' 34¹² Deut 7¹⁸e' Josh 23¹³ ctf' Ex 10⁷g' 24¹² cp 9¹ ct 19^{15a}h' Cp Num 11¹⁸i' 24¹j' Gen 22⁵k' Gen 22⁴l' 19²²

and to bring thee into the place which I have ^{U'}prepared. ²¹ Take ye heed of him, and ^{h'}hearken unto his voice; ^{u'}provoke him not: for he will not ^{c'}pardon your ^mtransgression; for my name is in him. ²² But if thou shalt indeed ^{h'}hearken unto ⁿhis voice, and do all that I speak; then I ^{d'}will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an ^{e'}adversary unto thine adversaries.

²³ For mine ^{l'}angel shall go before thee, and ^{f'}bring thee in unto the ^{o'}Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: and I will ^{h'}cut them off. ²⁴ Thou shalt not ^{v'}bow down to their gods, nor ^{v'}serve them, nor do after their works: ¹but thou shalt utterly ^{j'}overthrow them, and ^{h'}break in pieces their ⁿpillars. ^{25a} And ye shall ^{v'}serve Yahweh ^{m'}your God.

^{25b} And ^{h'}he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take ^{n'}sickness away from the midst of thee. ²⁶ There shall none ^{h'}cast her young, nor be ^{o'}barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil. ²⁷ I will send my ^{v'}terror before thee, and will ^{q'}discomfit all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their ^{r'}backs unto thee.

²⁸ And I will send the ^{h'}hornet before thee, which shall ^{u'}drive out ⁿthe Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. ²⁹ I will not ^{u'}drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become ^{u'}desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. ³⁰ By ^{v'}little and little I will ^{u'}drive them out from before thee, until thou be ^{u'}increased, and inherit the land. ^{31a} And I will ^{h'}set thy border ^{u'}from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto ^{h'}the River:

^{31b} For I will ^{v'}deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt ^{u'}drive them out before thee. ³² Thou shalt ^{u'}make no covenant with them, nor with their gods. ³³ They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they ^{u'}make thee sin against me: for if thou ^{v'}serve their gods, it will surely be a ^{c'}snare unto thee.

²⁴ And he said unto Moses, ^aCome up unto Yahweh, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and ^bseventy of the ^{h'}elders of Israel; and ^{u'}worship ye ^{d'}afar off: ² and Moses ^{h'}alone shall ^{u'}come near unto ⁿYahweh; but they shall not come near; neither shall the people go up with him.

l 44b
m 223

n 98

o 148

a 151

b 125

conjectured from 20²⁴⁻²⁶ 33⁷. that E contained a small corpus of sanctuary records, legislative and narrative, this discourse may have belonged originally to the description of the original Tent of Meeting, and the arrangements for the intercourse of Yahweh with his people.

²³ M Or, be not rebellious against him.—5 Hiph*.

^{22a} On (5's) addition of 19⁷, here, see 19³⁸.

^{22b} (5) my voice.

²³ This passage does not seem to belong to the context where it interrupts the enunciation of the divine promises to Israel ²³ 23b 20; the demand for the destruction of the consecrated pillars can hardly proceed from the writer who immediately after describes Moses as erecting twelve ²⁴, and who narrated the origin of the pillars at Bethel and Galeed Gen 28¹ 31⁴⁵; while the affinities of language with D point clearly to editorial amplification.

²¹ M Or, obelisks. See Lev 26¹ 2 Kings 3².

²⁵ (5) I will bless. This reading seems to preserve the original continuity of ²² 25b cp 28¹.

²⁷ Apparently a duplicate of ²⁸.

²⁸ This summary of the hostile nations under these three names does not occur elsewhere. (5) reads first the Amorite. It has been conjectured that this was E's original designation cp ²⁹ 96, and that the names now in the text are due to the harmonist, cp 3³⁸. The pronoun 'them' in ²¹, is singular in 5.

³¹ M That is, the Euphrates.

²⁴ The opening words in 5¹ and to Moses he said suggest at once the presence of a new source, for the whole preceding section 20²²⁻²³ has been addressed to Moses. The instructions

in ¹ are carried out in 9¹⁻¹¹, while the account of the intervening Covenant-ceremony 3⁸ completes the narrative of 20¹⁸.. It is usually supposed that Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu correspond to the 'priests' of 19²² J (Sam adds Eleazar and Ithamar), whereas E describes Moses as performing the Covenant-sacrifice with the aid of certain 'young men' ⁵, cp the designation of Joshua as sanctuary-servant 33¹¹. The amalgamation of the two narratives here is probably due to the harmonist's perception that 24¹. 9¹⁻¹¹ formed the counterpart in J of the Covenant-feast in 3⁸. As this could only have been celebrated once, it was necessary to combine the accounts of J and E if they were both to be retained. Dillmann believes that touches from J are to be discovered in ⁴⁸ (cp 34²⁷ 7 8¹), but this view has not found any general support. The hand of the editor who combined the 'Judgements' with the 'Words' may be seen in ⁵. Kuenen, however, followed by Cornill, assigns 1. 9¹⁻¹¹ to E¹ (cp Eloh¹ 11), but recognizes that 3⁸ belong to another narrative. On the place which he provides for it see 34^{28c}. Other critics, like Budde, have ascribed 1. 9¹⁻¹¹ fundamentally to E, but have recognized foreign elements in them. Kittel even suggests the possible presence of P. The names of Nadab and Abihu are found elsewhere only in P; and in ¹⁰ the expressions 'God of Israel' and 'very (222) heaven' show affinities with his vocabulary, while 'nolens' ¹¹ occurs only once besides in an exilic passage. But the names of Aaron's sons may have belonged to the older tradition; and P nowhere relates any such vision of Deity.

² 5 reads God cp 11.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
3-8 Int:					
J 19 ⁸					o 219
g 17 ¹⁴ cp 34 ²⁷					d 200
4a L10dj					e 137
4b L5g ⁷					f 235
h Gen 28 ¹⁸ ct					g 110
i Ct 18 ²⁴					
j Ct 18 ²⁴					
k 20 ²⁴ cp 18 ¹²					
l Is 22 ²⁴ Cant					
m 8 cp 14 ⁸					
n Ct 34 ²⁷					
o 5 = ear 11 ²					
p Cp 3b					
q Num 16 ⁹ Josh 22 ¹⁶					
cp 120					
r Cp 13 ⁸					
s Ct Lev 12 ⁴ 6 ⁺					
t Is 41 ⁹ †					
u Num 24 ⁴ 16					
v Gen 24 ⁵⁴ cp 149 ^b					
w 31 ^{28b} ct 34 ¹ 5					
x 41 ¹² 1b					
y 44 ^a					
z 5 = abide Gen 22 ⁵					
17 ¹²					
a' 40 ²⁴ Num 9 ¹⁵					
b' Cp Ezek 127.					
c' Deut 9 ⁹ 11 cp 34 ²⁸					
25-28 Luliy					
1-9 L128a					
					j 128
					k 109
					l 105
					m 168
					n 107
					o 108
					p 79
					q 54
					r 7
					a 185 ¹
					b 185 ^b

24⁴ This passage has occasionally been combined with 34²⁷ as the sequel of Yahweh's Covenant with Israel 34¹⁰⁻²⁷. The repetitions in the text are certainly noteworthy: in ³ Moses recites the Words to the people and they unanimously promise obedience to them: in ⁷ they are solemnly read out of the Covenant-book, and a similar promise follows. Are these parts of one narrative? The mention of the sacred pillars in ⁴ has usually been regarded as decisive in favour of E. But it will be noticed that they are introduced without a verb: the term 'built' is nowhere applied to pillars, which are said to be 'set up' Gen 28¹⁸ 31⁴⁵ 35¹⁴; nor are altars and pillars ever said to be erected together. Is it possible that there are here traces of combination to which we may also owe the doublets in ³ and ⁷?

^{8a} M Or, upon all these conditions.
^{8b} Are these the 'Words' of ⁴, or (as some critics suppose) the Decalogue of 20¹⁻¹⁷?

¹⁰ M Or, work of bright sapphire.—5†.

¹² This clause can hardly be original in its present form, as there is nowhere any mention of any law or commandment written by God except the Ten Words, which would hardly be described in these terms. (5) and Sam omit *and*. It is possible that the order may have become confused, and that the words 'which I have written' should immediately follow the 'tables of stone' cp 32¹⁵, but such a combination seems hardly natural. The phrase as it now stands may have been expanded from a shorter one on the basis of Deut 5²⁷. The word 'teach' is not the Deuteronomic *umméd* cp 27^{1b}, but *horah* cp Deut 17¹⁰, 24⁸

³ And Moses came and told the people all the words of Yahweh, and all the judgements: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which Yahweh hath spoken will we do. ⁴ And Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the mount, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. ⁵ And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto Yahweh. ⁶ And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. ⁷ And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that Yahweh hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. ⁸ And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which Yahweh hath made with you concerning all these words.

⁹ Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: ¹⁰ and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness. ¹¹ And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.

¹² And Yahweh said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law and the commandments, which I have written, that thou mayest teach them. ¹³ And Moses rose up, and Joshua his minister: and Moses went up into the mount of God. ¹⁴ And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever hath a cause, let him come near unto them. ^{15a} And Moses went up into the mount,

^{15b} And the cloud covered the mount. ¹⁶ And the glory of Yahweh abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. ¹⁷ And the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. ^{18a} And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud, and went up into the mount:

^{18b} and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

²⁵ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children

33¹⁰ Lev 10¹¹, from which the term *torah* 'law' (teaching) is derived.

¹⁸ This statement seems premature, as in ¹⁴ Moses addresses the 'elders' (?) who are left below, with Aaron and Hur at their head, to carry on the judicial work which Moses had hitherto superintended (cp Ex 18¹²). The repetition of Moses' ascent in ^{18a} shows that either ^{18a} is an accidental anticipation, or ¹⁴ is an afterthought from another hand.

¹⁴ The 'elders' here named cannot be the seventy ⁹ who are already on the mountain. If the word is original, the elders must be addressed as representatives of the people cp 31⁶ 42⁹. It has been suggested, however, that it is due either to accidental reminiscence in copying or perhaps to intentional harmonizing, and replaces the 'people.'

^{10b} At this point the narrative of P interrupted in 19² is resumed: in ^{15a-17} the great manifestation on the mount is described in its peculiar terms, and the way is prepared for the corpus of P's Sinaitic legislation, beginning with the Dwelling, its sacred furniture and vessels, and its priests. In the following analysis the linguistic affinities with the general matter of P (both in narrative and laws) are briefly indicated, but many technical terms in the description of the fabric and its contents remain unnoticed, as no critical questions in any way depend on them for solution. The repetitions of the different sections constituting 25-31 will be found tabulated under 35¹.

²⁵ The conception of the Dwelling and its furniture, together with the appointment of the Aaronic priesthood to

JE

P

a 35²¹ 29 Qal^t
 b Num 4⁶ 15⁸³
 Ezek 23⁶ 27⁷
 c Num 4¹³ Ezek
 27⁷
 d Lev 14⁴ Num
 4⁸ 16⁶
 e 27²⁰
 f 29¹ 30²⁵ 35⁸
 1 Kings 10² al
 g 29¹ 30²⁵ &c
 (23⁷) cp 23
 h 28¹⁷
 i 28³⁵ 39 Lev
 8⁸
 j 4103¹ b d
 f Ezek 40⁴ cp Ex
 25⁴⁰ 26³⁰ 27⁶
 Num 8⁴
 k 40 Josh 22²⁸
 ct Deut 41¹⁸⁻¹⁸
 Ezek 89¹⁰⁸
 10-21 420 100;
 l Ct Deut 10¹ 8
 m Gen 61⁶
 n Gen 614 cp
 2683 35 27 31
 40²² Lev 16²

of Israel, that they take for me an ¹⁰offering: ¹¹of every man whose heart
 "maketh him willing ye shall take my ¹²offering. ¹³And ¹⁴this is the ¹⁵offering
 which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass; ¹⁶and ¹⁷blue, and
 "purple, and ¹⁸scarlet, and "fine linen, and goats' hair; ¹⁹and rams' skins
 dyed red, and ²⁰sealskins, and acacia wood; ²¹oil for the light, ²²spices for the
 anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; ²³onyx stones, and stones ²⁴to be set,
 for the ephod, and for the ²⁵breastplate. ²⁶And ²⁷let them make me a
 "sanctuary; that I may ²⁸dwell ²⁹among them. ³⁰According to ³¹all that
 I shew thee, the ³²pattern of the ³³Dwelling, and the pattern of all the
 furniture thereof, ³⁴even so shall ye make it.

³⁵And ³⁶they shall make an ³⁷ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half
 shall be the ³⁸length thereof, and a cubit and a half the ³⁹breadth thereof, and
 a cubit and a half the ⁴⁰height thereof. ⁴¹And thou shalt overlay it with
 "pure gold, "within and without" shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon
 it a "crown of gold round about. ⁴²And thou shalt ⁴³cast four rings of gold
 for it, and put them in the four feet thereof; and two rings shall be on the
 one ⁴⁴side of it, and two rings on the other ⁴⁵side of it. ⁴⁶And thou shalt
 make staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. ⁴⁷And thou shalt
 put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark withal.

e 118⁸
 d 188⁶
 e 104
 f 95⁶
 g 59
 h 91
 i 54
 j 22
 k 94

i 42⁶
 m 128

minister in it, is universally recognized as the centre of P's representations of the Mosaic institutions. The whole section 25-31^{18a} is bound together by numerous links of thought and language, which serve in like manner to establish connexions with the rest of P's narrative and legislation (see the margins). Yet this passage plainly falls apart into two uneven divisions at 25⁴³: the character of the series of paragraphs in 30-31¹¹ is discussed in the notes *in loc*. But the constitution of 25-29 also demands attention. Here likewise there appear occasional signs of supplemental handiwork, see notes on 27²⁰ 28³⁵ 41 29²¹ 38. But behind these lies the curious fact that in 25-27¹⁹ the sanctuary is always called the 'Dwelling', ⁵⁴while in 28-29 this name is replaced by the older term 'Tent of Meeting' cp 33⁷ (Intro VIII 12, XII 2e). The title 'Dwelling' is of course freely used in the great repetition Ex 35-40, but the main portions of the Priestly Law in Lev ignore it. In Lev 8¹⁰ 17⁴ its appearance is due to the harmonist: in 15³¹ 26¹¹ it seems to denote not the visible fabric but the ideal presence of Yahweh with his people. Similarly the allusions to the court in Lev 6¹⁸ 28 may be regarded as glosses. In the regulations for the annual atonement ceremony Lev 16 the name is avoided, though the Tent of Meeting is curiously said ¹⁶to 'dwell' with Israel in the midst of their uncleanness, and the references to the Testimony, the ark, and the 'covering' agree with the description in Ex 25. The Dwelling becomes again prominent in the arrangements for the Camp and its removal Num 1⁴⁸. 3-4 9-10 (cp 16-31³⁰ 47). The absence of the term from the Priestly Law proper, which is usually based on the older name 'Tent of Meeting', is highly significant (in Lev 17⁴⁻⁶ 9 19²¹ there is reason to suspect editorial redaction; P^h prefers 'sanctuary' Lev 19³⁰ 20³ 21¹² 22 26³¹, but it is doubtful whether in all these passages the word can be restricted to the meaning 'holy place' cp 19¹). This regular preference for different terms in different groups of passages, must have some cause, and suggests that the account of the Dwelling and its place in the centre of the camp has been substituted for an older delineation of the Tent of Meeting. Delicate indications of this may perhaps be found in the fact that Ex 25⁴⁸ represents the entrance of the Tent as the meeting-place between Yahweh and Moses 'to speak there unto thee' cp 33⁸, whereas in 25²² the meeting place is before the ark containing the Testimony, and Yahweh speaks from between the two cherubim on the covering above. This is indeed recognized in Lev 16², yet the same passage neglects the fundamental distinction of Ex 26³⁰, and still calls the shrine of Yahweh's appearing the 'holy place'. It seems not impossible, therefore, that Ex 25-27¹⁹ with its connected sections elsewhere may have been elaborated on the basis of an older account of the Tent of Meeting which preceded the institution of the Aaronic priesthood. It can hardly have belonged to P^h which afterwards ignores it, though the close in Ex 25⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹ is not without affinities with that collection. [In the description of the Dwelling it may be noted that the Tables-bearing the Ten Words are designated as the 'Testimony' 21⁶¹, and the

ark which holds them is the 'ark of the Testimony' instead of the ark of Yahweh or of the covenant. The term 'covenant', however, appears in (G) Ex 27²¹ 31⁷ 38¹⁵ (H) 39⁸⁵ cp Josh 4¹⁶. Allowance must be made for accident or carelessness on the part of copyist or translator, especially in passages which on other grounds cannot be regarded as original; but there remains some possibility of genuine variation which may be due to differences in the incorporation of materials of different dates.] But Ex 25-27¹⁹ still shows some further peculiarities. The form of 25²⁰⁻⁷ is that of an exhortation to the people by Moses, 'ye shall take' cp 35⁵ (in 8 for 'of them' read 'of you'). This breaks the connexion of 28 and 8 according to our present G, though in 8 G reads 'thou shalt make'. In 8 the pattern has yet to be shown to Moses, while in 40 26³⁰ 27⁸ the vision is apparently over. On the signification of the parallel with Ezek 40⁴ cp Intro XIII 35 i 130: the perfects in the subsequent passages may be fairly interpreted as *futura exacta*, 'when Moses has descended from the mountain he is to conform to what "will have been revealed" to him' Kuenen, *Hex 74*, cp Driver, *Tenses in Hebrew* 3 § 17, Ges-Kautzsch, *Hebr Gram* (Collins and Cowley 1898) pp 324, 328 cp 408. It does not seem necessary, therefore, to resort to hypotheses either (1) of displacement (as though much of the instructions now given to Moses on the mount originally belonged to the period after his descent 34²⁹⁻⁵), or (2) of duplicate records, one of the vision and another of commands founded on the vision, cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr* (1897) 318. The general view indicated above finds unexpected support in Klostermann's elaborate essay, which contains many interesting textual suggestions. But his interpretation of Ex 33⁷, as the account of a single incident 24⁵, and his ascription of the sections on the Dwelling to the age of Solomon 383, do not seem in any way tenable. Cp Nowack, *Archäol* li 53¹, and Benzinger, *Archäol* 395¹.

25²² M Or, *heave offering*.

29 On the possibility that 29-7 is not original cp 1⁸.

4 M Or, *cotton*.—Cp Gen 41⁴² Ezek 16¹⁰ 27⁷.

5 M Or, *porpoise-skins*.—Cp Num 4⁸ Ezek 16¹⁰.

6 G omits. The references to supplemental passages, anointing oil 30²²⁻³³, sweet incense 30³⁴⁻³⁸, show that the verse has been inserted for completeness by a later hand.

7 M Or, *beryl*.—Cp 28⁹ 30 35 39 Gen 21² Ezek 28¹⁸ Job 28¹⁶ 1 Chron 29².

8 (G) and *thou shalt make* . . . and *I will appear among you*. Cp 25⁴⁵ Ezek 37²⁶⁻²⁸.

9a So M G. T *tabernacle*. Cp 54^{ab}.

9b The grammatical difficulty involved in the 'even', may possibly be overcome if this clause (notice the plural) could be regarded as a fragment from the address in 29-7. (G) reads more simply, 'thou shalt make it'; Sam also makes the verb singular, but retains the difficult 1. Cp however Driver, *Tenses in Hebrew* § 124.

10 (G) Sam and thou shalt make as in 13 17, 23 31 &c cp 11.

11 M Or, *rim*. Or, *moulding*.—Cp 24. 30⁸. 37² 11. 26¹, f. 12 G rib.

JE

P

¹⁵ The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it. ¹⁶ And thou shalt put into the ark the "testimony which I shall give thee. ¹⁷ And thou shalt make a "covering of pure gold: two cubits and a half [shall be] the "length thereof, and a cubit and a half the "breadth thereof. ¹⁸ And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of "beaten work shalt thou make them, at the two ends of the covering. ¹⁹ "And make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other end: "of one piece with the covering shall ye make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. ²⁰ And the cherubim shall spread out their wings "on high, "covering the covering with their wings, with their faces "one to another; toward the covering shall the faces of the cherubim be. ²¹ And thou shalt put the covering "above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the "testimony that I shall give thee. ²² And there I will "meet with thee, and I will "commune with thee from above the covering, from between the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

²³ "And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits [shall be] the "length thereof, and a cubit the "breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the "height thereof. ²⁴ And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a "crown of gold round about. ²⁵ And thou shalt make unto it a "border of an "handbreadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden "crown to the "border thereof round about. ²⁶ And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four "corners that are on the four feet thereof. ²⁷ "Close by the "border shall the rings be, for places for the staves to bear the table. ²⁸ And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them. ²⁹ And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to "pour out withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them. ³⁰ And thou shalt set upon the table "shewbread before me "always.

³¹ "And thou shalt make a "candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its "base, and its shaft; its "cups, its "knops, and its "flowers, shall be "of one piece with it: ³² and there shall be six "branches going out of the "sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: ³³ three cups "made like almond-blossoms" in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of the candlestick: ³⁴ and in the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: ³⁵ and a knop under two branches "of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches "of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches "of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of the candlestick. ³⁶ Their knops and their branches shall be "of one piece with it: the whole of it one beaten work of pure gold. ³⁷ And thou shalt make the lamps thereof, seven: and "they shall "light the lamps thereof, to "give light over against it. ³⁸ And the "tongs thereof, and the "snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold. ³⁹ Of a talent of pure gold "shall it be made, with all these vessels. ⁴⁰ And see that thou make them after their "pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

²⁶¹ "Moreover thou shalt make the "Dwelling with ten "curtains; of fine "twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the "cunning workman shalt thou make them. ² The length of each curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits:

e 37² 40³ 21⁴ cp
Ezek 2814 18

p H = speak 29⁴²
Num 7⁶⁹

28-30 L12da 7ha

g Cp 11M

r 37 37¹² 14⁴ cp
1 Kings 7²⁸
s 37¹² Ezek 40⁵
43 43¹³⁴
t Lev 13⁴¹ Num
34³ Josh 15⁸
(32)

u 30⁹ 37¹⁶ Num
28¹ cp Gen
35¹⁴

81-40 L12db
v Lev 24⁴ Num
381 4⁹ 84
w Gen 44²
x Am 9¹
y Num 84 17⁸
z Gen 41⁵
a' Gen 61⁶
b' 84 37¹⁰ +

c' Cp 31bm

d' Gen 15 Num
8²
e' 37²³ Num 4⁴
f' Num 4⁹ cp 27³

1-14 L12ba
a 26 36 Num 42⁵
b 26-28 36 38⁴
c 31 28⁸ 16 35¹
38⁸

25¹⁷ So M. T mercy-seat.

18 M Or, turned.—Cp 31 36 37¹⁷ 22 Num 84 10² Jer 10⁵ +.

19a This verse may be supplemental: H begins הוּנִי, a formula only used in 28⁴², while the plural 'ye' 19b is unexpected.

(G) Sam begin 'they shall be made' and in b read 'thou.'

19b M H out of the mercy-seat.

30 M Or, Presence-bread.

31a M H thigh.

37a Sam (G) thou shalt.

38 (G) 'shalt thou make all these vessels'; Sam also reads 'shalt thou make.'

26¹ So M. T tabernacle.

31b M H out of the same.

37b M Or, set up.

JE

P

d 287 30⁴ Ezek
19 11

e 26 36†

f 361² Hiph†
g 11 33 35¹¹
361⁹ 39⁸³†h Ct J¹²⁵
i 281⁶ 39⁸ Ezek
21¹⁹†

j 5†

k 35¹¹ 361⁹ al op
Gen 81³l 25⁶
m 26 36 39⁸³ 40¹²
Num 39⁸ 43¹
Ezek 27⁸†n 25⁹o Gen 13¹⁴p 36 27⁹ 36²³
38⁹ Num 21⁰
34⁹ 10⁸ Deut
37⁷ Ezek
20⁴⁸ alq 26 35-40 Num
31⁶ 43¹ Cant
51⁵ Job 38⁴†r 23 27 36²⁷ 82⁸
1 Kings 61⁶
Ezek 461⁹ als 36²⁴†
t 36²⁸ op Cant 4²u 36²⁹* Ezek
4621⁹ Neh 32⁴v Deut 3⁵w 36³³* Judg 7¹⁹
Ezek 41⁷ alx 121²y 25⁹z 125⁶

all the curtains shall have one measure. ³ Five curtains shall be ^dcoupled together ^bone to another; and [the other] five curtains shall be coupled one to another. ⁴ And thou shalt make ^dloops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain ^bfrom the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is outmost in the second ^bcoupling. ⁵ Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is in the second ^bcoupling; the loops shall be ^dopposite ^bone to another. ⁶ And thou shalt make fifty ^dclasps of gold, and couple the curtains ^bone to another with the clasps; and the Dwelling shall be one. ⁷ And thou shalt make curtains of goats' [hair] for a tent over the Dwelling: ^celeven curtains shalt thou make them. ⁸ The length of each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: the eleven curtains shall have one measure. ⁹ And thou shalt couple five curtains ^bby themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt ^ddouble over the sixth curtain in the ^dforefront of the tent. ¹⁰ And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain that is outmost in the ^dcoupling, and fifty loops upon the edge of the curtain which is [outmost in] the second ^bcoupling. ¹¹ And thou shalt make fifty clasps of brass, and put the clasps into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may be one. ¹² And the ^doverhanging part that ^dremaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the back of the Dwelling. ¹³ And the cubit on the one side, and the cubit on the other side, of that which ^dremaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over the sides of the Dwelling on this side and on that side, to cover it. ¹⁴ And thou shalt make a ^dcovering for the tent of ^drams' skins dyed red, and a covering of ^dsealskins ^fabove.

¹⁵ ^dAnd thou shalt make the ^mboards for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up. ¹⁶ Ten cubits shall be the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. ¹⁷ Two tenons shall there be in each board, ^bjoined ^bone to another: ^bthus shalt thou make for all the boards of the Dwelling. ¹⁸ And thou shalt make the boards for the Dwelling, twenty boards for the ^dsouth side ^dsouthward. ¹⁹ And thou shalt make forty ^dsockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons: ²⁰ and for the second side of the Dwelling, on the north side, twenty boards: ²¹ ^dand their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. ²² And for the ^dhinder part of the Dwelling westward thou shalt make six boards. ²³ And two boards shalt thou make for the ^dcorners of the Dwelling in the hinder part. ²⁴ And they shall be ^ddouble ^bbeneath, and in like manner they shall be entire unto the top thereof ^gunto ^bone ring: thus shall it be for them both; they shall be for the two ^bcorners. ²⁵ And there shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. ²⁶ And thou shalt make ^bbars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the Dwelling, ²⁷ and five bars for the boards of the other side of the Dwelling, and five bars for the boards of the side of the Dwelling, for the hinder part westward. ²⁸ And the ^bmiddle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass through from end to end. ²⁹ And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold. ³⁰ ^dAnd thou shalt ^brear up the Dwelling according to the fashion thereof which hath been ^bshewed thee in the mount.

³¹ ^dAnd thou shalt make a ^bveil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the ^dcunning workman ^bshall it be made: ³² and thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with

26⁴ M Or, that is outmost in the first set.

4b M Or, set.

10a M Or, first set.

5 M Or, set.

10b M Or, set.

17 M Or, morticed.

13 G shalt thou make it: Sam shall they make it.

14 M Or, porpoise-skins.

24 M Or, the first.

JE

P

27 36 38†
33-35 121i/

2 25²⁵
a' 25³¹

33 121b d
b' 26-35 39 Num
3-2 Sam 17¹⁹
18 228 Ps
105^{39†}
c' 26-28 35-38
Ps 139¹⁵ Pu†

1-8 120d p 120a
a 27-30 37-39
Kings 7⁶
Ezek 41²¹ 43¹⁶
Qal†

b 382*
c 168 383*
d Num 4¹⁸ Piel*
e 388 Num 4¹⁴*
f 388 Num 4¹⁴
713.*
g Lev 10¹ 1619
Num 4¹⁴ 166
cp 25³⁸ 6
h 35 38†
i 9 384*
j 384†
k 25¹³

l 387 Jer 52²¹
Job 11¹²*
m 25⁹
n 19 122a:
o 2618
p 35 38- Num 326
42²¹ Kings
634†
q 261
r 2619
s 2632
t 30. 3638 3810-†

t 2655

u 3518 38- Num
337 432 Judg
526 al
20: 120b 120c
v 3034 Lev 24² 7
Prov Job†
w 2940 Lev 24²
Num 28³
x Kings 51†

gold, their "hooks [shall be] of gold, upon four sockets of silver. ³³ And thou shalt hang up the veil under the clasps, and shalt bring in thither within the veil the "ark of the testimony: and the veil shall "divide unto you between the "holy place and the "most holy. ³⁴ And thou shalt "put the "covering upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place. ³⁵ And thou shalt set the "table without the veil, and the "candlestick "over against the table on the side of the Dwelling toward the "south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side. ³⁶ And thou shalt make a "screen "for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the "embroiderer. ³⁷ And thou shalt make for the screen five pillars of acacia, and overlay them with gold; their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt "cast five sockets of brass for them.

²⁷ And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be "foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits. ² And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four "corners thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it: and thou shalt overlay it with brass. ³ And thou shalt make its "pots to "take away its ashes, and its "shovels, and its "basins, and its "fleshhooks, and its "firepans: "all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass. ⁴ And thou shalt make for it a "grating of "network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brassen rings in the four "corners thereof. ⁵ And thou shalt put it under the "ledge round the altar "beneath, that the net may reach halfway up the altar. ⁶ And thou shalt make "staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. ⁷ And the staves thereof shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two "sides of the altar, in bearing it. ⁸ (Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it hath been "shewed thee in the mount, "so "shall they make it.

⁹ And thou shalt make the "court of the "Dwelling: for the south side "southward there shall be "hangings for the court of fine "twined linen an hundred cubits long for one side: ¹⁰ and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their "sockets twenty, of brass; the "hooks of the pillars and their "fillets [shall be] of silver. ¹¹ And likewise for the north side in length there shall be hangings an hundred cubits long, and the pillars thereof twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.

¹² And for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets ten. ¹³ And the breadth of the court "on the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits. ¹⁴ The hangings for the one side [of the gate] shall be fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁵ And for the other side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁶ And for the gate of the court shall be a "screen of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer: their pillars four, and their sockets four. ¹⁷ All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted with silver; their hooks of silver, and their sockets of brass. ¹⁸ The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass.

¹⁹ "All the instruments of the Dwelling in all the "service thereof, and all the "pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

²⁰ And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee "pure olive oil "beaten for the light, "to cause a lamp to burn "continually. ²¹ In the "tent of meeting, without the "veil which is before the "testimony, "Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before Yahweh: it shall be a "statute "for ever "throughout their generations "on the behalf of the children of Israel.

26³⁴ (G) shalt put the veil upon the ark &c, reading דִּפְתָּרָה for הַכֶּסֶּף. In 25²¹ instructions have been already given for putting the covering on the ark. Cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchl Zeitschr* (1897) 57.

³⁶ (G) omits for the door of the Tent.

27⁴ M. הַנְּדָבָה. ⁷ M. הַנְּדָבָה.

²⁰ This reference to the provision of oil for the ever-burning lamp breaks the otherwise orderly sequence of 25-29 cp 25⁴. It

implies that the Tent of Meeting is ready, and the Aaronic priesthood installed in their sacred charge. Compared with Lev 24¹⁻³ Num 8¹⁻⁴ it seems to have been inserted later here for completeness. It is not reproduced in 35-40.

^{20b} M. Or, to set up a lamp continually.—Cp 30²⁰ Lev 24²

Num 8².

^{21a} M. See 25²² 29¹² 30³⁶.

^{21b} M. Or, due.

^{21c} M. Or, from

j 161b
k 53
l 88a
m 88d
n 47
o 121

p 128

a 21*

b 169*

c 54*

d 56

e 140

f 104
g 124
h 171
i 161
j 121
k 62
l 76b

JE

P

1-29 LHC^h
1-8 L12g^aa 31⁶ 35¹⁰ 36¹ 8
Job 9⁴ 37²⁴
Prov 10⁸
b 31⁸ 33⁸¹ 85

c Cp 188

d 25⁷
e 28-39 Lev 87^a
f 5⁴†g 28-39 Lev 89
Ezek 21²⁸†
h 28-39 Lev 87 13
16⁴ 18 22²¹†i 4 L12g^b
i 25⁴
6-12 L12g^b
j 26¹k 27-29⁸ 39 Lev
87⁴
l 39⁵ et Is 30²²m 11 86 1 Kings
7³⁶ Zech 3⁸n 39⁶ 13 cp Ezek
41²⁴ et Num
32⁸³ 5⁴†
o 28-39 Ps 45¹⁵†p 15-29 L12g^c
p 39¹⁵ 1 Kings
7¹⁷ 2 Chron
35¹⁶†
q 28-39^ar 27¹
s 26⁹
t 39^{9a}
u 25⁷
v 28-39 1 Kings
69⁶ 72- Ezek
46²³ 2 Chron
48¹³w 39¹⁰ Ezek 28¹³
Job 28¹⁹†x 24¹⁰
y 39¹²†
z 39¹³ Ezek 28¹³†
aa Cp Gen 9⁵ 5⁴
ab Cp 165

28¹ ¹And ^abring thou near unto thee ^bAaron thy brother, and ^chis sons ^dwith him, from among the children of Israel, that he may ^eminister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, ^fNadab and Abihu, ^gEleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons. ² And thou shalt make ^hholy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty. ³ ⁱAnd thou shalt speak unto all that are ^jwise hearted, whom I have ^kfilled with the spirit of wisdom, that they make Aaron's garments to ^lsanctify him, that he may ^mminister unto me in the priest's office. ⁴ And ⁿthese are the garments which they shall make; a ^obreastplate, and an ^pephod, and a ^qrobe, and a coat of ^rchequer work, a ^smitre, and a ^tgirdle: and they shall make ^uholy garments for ^vAaron thy brother, ^wand his sons, that he may ^xminister unto me in the priest's office. ⁵ And they shall take ^ythe gold, and the ^zblue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen.

⁶ ^zAnd they shall make the ^{aa}ephod of gold, of blue, and purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the ^{ab}cunning workman. ⁷ It shall have two shoulderpieces joined to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined together. ⁸ And the ^{ac}cunningly woven band, which is upon it, ^{ad}to gird it on withal, shall be like the work thereof, [and] of the same piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. ⁹ And thou shalt take two ^{ae}onyx stones, and ^{af}grave on them the names of the children of Israel: ¹⁰ six of their names on the one stone, and the names of the six that remain on the other stone, according to their ^{ag}birth. ¹¹ With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou ^{ah}engrave the two stones, ^{ai}according to the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be ^{aj}inclosed in ^{ak}ouches of gold. ¹² And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulderpieces of the ^{al}ephod, to be stones of ^{am}memorial for the children of Israel: Aaron shall bear their names before Yahweh upon his two shoulders for a ^{an}memorial.

¹³ ^{ao}And thou shalt make ^{ap}ouches of gold: ¹⁴ and two ^{aq}chains of pure gold; like ^{ar}cords shalt thou make them, of ^{as}wreathen work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on the ^{at}ouches. ¹⁵ And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgement, the work of the ^{au}cunning workman; like the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make it. ¹⁶ ^{av}Foursquare it shall be [and] ^{aw}double; a ^{ax}span shall be the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. ¹⁷ And thou shalt set in it ^{ay}settings of stones, four ^{az}rows of stones: a row of ^{ba}sardius, ^{bb}topaz, and ^{bc}carbuncle shall be the first row; ¹⁸ and the second row an ^{bd}emerald, a ^{be}sapphire, and a ^{bf}diamond; ¹⁹ and the third row a ^{bg}jacinth, an ^{bh}agate, and an ^{bi}amethyst; ²⁰ and the fourth row a ^{bj}beryl, and an ^{bk}onyx, and a ^{bl}jasper: they shall be inclosed in gold in their settings. ²¹ And the stones shall be according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings of a signet, ^{bm}every one according to his name, they shall be for the twelve ^{bn}tribes. ²² And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. ²³ ^{bo}And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. ²⁴ And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. ²⁵ And the [other] two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ^{bp}ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the

28¹ As the priesthood of Aaron alone is specified in 1⁴, the reference to his sons and the enumeration of their names may possibly be the additions of a later editor.

⁸ In 8-9 it is possible that the compiler has added a supplemental passage after the type of 31⁹ 35¹⁰. The enumeration in ⁴ does not follow the order of the subsequent sections, and the introduction of the plural 'they shall make' causes the same kind of confusion as has been already noticed in 25¹⁰ 10. The opening of ⁶ should probably run 'and thou shalt make' cp 18¹⁵ 81 88 89.

⁸ M See 25⁸.

⁴ M Or, turban.

⁹ M Or, beryl.—Cp 25⁷.

11 (5) omits according to the names . . . ¹² put the two stones. (5) APL omits thou shalt make them . . . of gold.

17a M Or, ruby.—39¹⁰ Ezek 28¹³†.

17b M Or, emerald.—39¹⁰ cp Ezek 28¹³†.

18a M Or, carbuncle.—39¹¹ Ezek 27¹⁶ 28¹³†.

18b M Or, sardonyx.—39¹¹ Ezek 28¹³†.

19 M Or, amber.—39¹²†.

30a M Or, chaledony.—39¹³ Ezek 1¹⁰ 10⁹ 28¹³ Cant 5¹⁴ Dan 10⁴†.

30b M Or, beryl.

23 (5) omits 23-28 as it stands in 5, but after 29 inserts an abridgement of 24.

JE

P

e' 57 26⁰ cp 71d' C¹ 28 5e' 39²¹†30 L¹nc 12g¹31-38 L¹2g²J' 39¹ Num 4⁶J' 39¹ Lev 63²Deut 13¹⁰33¹⁰e' 35³⁵ 39²² 27*h' 39²³†J' 34 39²⁴-28*

Is 61

J' 34 39²⁵†L' 43 29³⁰ 30²⁰35¹⁹ 39¹ 28 41et Deut 10⁸30-38 L¹2g¹L' 39²⁰ Lev 8⁹

m' 5*

39 L¹2g¹

m' Cp 30 inclosed

5†

40 42 L¹nc¹ 12g¹e' 29⁹ 39²⁸ Lev

813†

41 L¹nc¹ d¹42 L¹nc¹J' 39²⁸ Lev 610

164 23 32*

e' 39²⁸ Lev 610164 Ezek 44¹⁸†1-35 L¹nc¹ 12ja (27) Cp Gen 18⁷2 7m¹b (13) 2 Sam 61²

3 (38) et Gen

117 9*

d (7) 1 Chron

23²⁹†

e (42) Gen 188*

cp Ezek 1613 19

4614

ephod, in the ^eforepart thereof. ²⁶ *And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which is toward the side of the ephod inward. ²⁷ And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and shalt put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod ¹underneath, ^din the forepart thereof, ¹close by the coupling thereof, above the ^kunningly woven band of the ephod. ²⁸ And they shall ^ebind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be upon the ^kunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not ^eloosed from the ephod. ²⁹ And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the ^holy place, for a ¹memorial before Yahweh ¹continually. ³⁰ *And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement ¹the ¹Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before Yahweh: and Aaron shall bear the judgement of the children of Israel upon his heart before Yahweh ¹continually.

³¹ *And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod ¹all of blue. ³² And ¹it shall have a hole for the head in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of ¹woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of a ¹coat of mail, that it be not rent. ³³ And upon the ¹skirts of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the skirts thereof; and ¹bells of gold between them round about: ³⁴ a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about. ³⁵ And it shall be upon Aaron to ¹minister: and the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the ^holy place before Yahweh, and when he cometh out, ¹that he die not.

³⁶ *And thou shalt make a ¹plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, ¹HOLY TO YAHWEH. ³⁷ And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it shall be upon the ¹mitre; upon the ¹forefront of the ¹mitre it shall be. ³⁸ And it shall be upon Aaron's ¹forehead, and Aaron shall ¹bear the iniquity of the ¹holy things, which the children of Israel shall ¹hallow ¹in all their holy gifts; and it shall be ¹always upon his forehead, that they may be ¹accepted before Yahweh. ³⁹ *And thou shalt ¹weave the coat in ¹chequer work of ¹fine linen, and thou shalt make a ¹mitre of ¹fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of the embroiderer. ⁴⁰ *And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and ¹headties shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty. ⁴¹ *And thou shalt put them upon ¹Aaron thy brother, and upon ¹his sons ¹with him; and shalt ¹anoint them, and ¹consecrate them, and ¹sanctify them, that they may ¹minister unto me in the priest's office. ⁴² *And thou shalt make them ¹linen ¹breeches to cover the flesh of their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach: ⁴³ and they shall be upon ¹Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go in unto the tent of meeting, or when they come near unto the altar to ¹minister in the ^holy place; that they ¹bear not iniquity, ¹and die: it shall be a ¹statute for ever unto ¹him and unto his seed after him.

²⁹ *And ¹this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to ¹hallow them, to ¹minister unto me in the priest's office: ¹take one ¹young bullock^a and two rams ¹without blemish, ² *and unleavened bread, and ¹cakes unleavened ¹mingled with oil, and ¹wafers unleavened ¹anointed with oil: of ¹fine wheat flour shalt thou make them. ³ And thou shalt put them into one

l 169^c

m 43

u 88^a

o 124

p 170

q 52^ar 90^bs 28^at 88^au 86^av 21^b

w 17

x 23

y 86^a

z 62

a' 162

a 188^bb 86^cc 129^a

d 123

e 23

28²⁸ This passage 26-28 seems to contain another account of the two rings ²⁸ and their fastening on to the shoulderpieces.

30 omits.

31 M. That is, the Lights and the Perfections.

32 M. Or, there shall be a hole in the top of it.

37 M. Or, turban.

39²⁸ M. Or, silk.

39²⁸ M. Or, turban.

41¹⁸ This verse breaks the immediate connexion, anticipates instructions in the next chapter, and (in particular) gives directions for the anointing of Aaron's sons who are not included in the unction 29²⁹ cp Lev 8¹³. The reservation of the ceremony for Aaron is implied elsewhere in the title 'the Anointed Priest' cp 23³. On the other hand Aaron's sons are anointed in 30³⁰ 40¹⁰ Lev 7³⁰ 10⁷ Num 3³, all of them passages in P¹. In the present

passage and its parallels 20²¹ Lev 8³⁰ the ritual seems to have been editorially conformed to the advanced standard.

41¹⁸ M. G. fill their hand.—Cp 69.

42 Dillmann suggests that 42¹⁸ may be an addition founded on Lev 61¹⁰; the linen breeches are not named in 29²⁹ Lev 8¹³. A slight linguistic confirmation is found in the opening formula ¹וְעָלָה, elsewhere only in 25¹⁹, itself perhaps doubtful.

29¹ The description of the ceremonies of priestly consecration introduces at once a number of the ritual terms peculiar to P whether in the limits of the Hexateuch, or in the wider range of the Old Testament. It has not been thought necessary to tabulate the details: the marginal figures in brackets denote the number of occurrences of each significant phrase, while occasional points of linguistic contact are further noted for general purposes of illustration.

JE

P

f Lev 82

p Ritually (39)

op 174

5 110c

h 284

i Lev 87†

j 280 Lev 89 2112

7 110b

k 250

8 110c

l 284

m 2840

n 110a

11-14 L78f

n (18) ep Am 314

o (9)†

p (7)†

q (11)†

r (16) ct Deut

s (5)

t Lev 411 817

u 1627 Num 195

v Mal 28†

w 18-18 L76m

x Lev 16 12 820*

y Sam 117 al

z (3) Judg 1029

aa Ezek 244 6†

ab (8) Am 312†

19-24 L77j

ac (8)†

ad Cp 56d ct Gen

ae 139

af Lev 823.

ag 1414...

ah thumb=great

ai for 5 (14)

aj Jude 16†

ak 21 L77n

al Lev 39 78 825

am 919†

an L' (15) Deut

ao 2833

ap 23-23 L77m

aq

ar

as

at

au

av

aw

ax

ay

az

ba

bb

bc

bd

be

bf

bg

bh

bi

bj

bk

bl

bm

bn

bo

bp

bq

br

bs

bt

bu

bv

bw

bx

by

bz

ca

cb

cc

cd

ce

cf

cg

ch

ci

cj

ck

cl

cm

cn

co

cp

cq

cr

cs

ct

cu

cv

cw

cx

cy

cz

da

db

dc

dd

de

df

dg

dh

di

dj

dk

dl

dm

dn

do

dp

dq

dr

ds

dt

du

dv

dw

dx

dy

dz

ea

eb

ec

ed

ee

ef

eg

eh

ei

ej

ek

el

em

en

eo

ep

eq

er

es

et

eu

ev

ew

ex

ey

ez

fa

fb

fc

fd

fe

ff

fg

fh

fi

fj

fk

fl

fm

fn

fo

fp

fq

fr

fs

ft

fu

fv

fw

fx

fy

fz

ga

gb

gc

gd

ge

gf

gg

gh

gi

gj

gk

gl

gm

gn

go

gp

gq

gr

gs

gt

gu

gv

gw

gx

gy

gz

ha

hb

hc

hd

he

hf

hg

hh

hi

hj

hk

hl

hm

hn

ho

hp

hq

hr

hs

ht

hu

hv

hw

hx

hy

hz

ia

ib

ic

id

ie

if

ig

ih

ii

ij

ik

il

im

in

io

ip

iq

ir

is

it

iu

iv

iw

ix

iy

iz

ja

jb

jc

jd

je

jf

jg

jh

ji

jj

jk

jl

jm

jn

jo

jp

jq

jr

js

jt

ju

jv

jw

jx

jy

jz

ka

kb

kc

kd

ke

kf

kg

kh

ki

kj

kk

kl

km

kn

ko

kp

kq

kr

ks

kt

ku

kv

kw

kx

ky

kz

la

lb

lc

ld

le

lf

lg

lh

li

lj

lk

ll

lm

ln

lo

lp

lq

lr

ls

lt

lu

lv

lw

lx

ly

lz

ma

mb

mc

md

me

mf

mg

mh

mi

mj

mk

ml

mm

mn

mo

mp

mq

mr

ms

mt

mu

mv

mw

mx

my

mz

na

nb

nc

nd

ne

nf

ng

nh

ni

nj

nk

nl

nm

nn

no

np

nq

nr

ns

nt

nu

nv

JE P^hP^eP^a29 L110¹

e' 2835

J' Num 8²⁶ 15¹¹⁻¹⁸
cp Deut 25⁹

38 L12k

38-42 L7da 12l

g' (16) Ezek 4¹¹
43²⁴ 46⁵.†
M' 27²⁰
40 L7wb
49. L10a-ui' Ct 25²²

45 L10a,r

J' Cp 66.

1-10 L12d/
a 5†

unto Yahweh. ²⁹ ^LAnd the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to be anointed in them, and to be consecrated in them. ³⁰ Seven days shall the son that is priest in his stead put them on, when he cometh into the tent of meeting to ^eminister in the ^hholy place. ³¹ And thou shalt take the ram of consecration, and seethe its flesh ^yin a holy place. ³² And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket, at the door of the tent of meeting. ³³ And they shall eat those things wherewith ^katonement was made, to ^vconsecrate [and, to sanctify them: but a ^vstranger shall not eat thereof, because ^mthey are holy. ³⁴ And if aught of the flesh of the consecration, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because ^mit is holy. ³⁵ And ^Jthus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all that I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them. ³⁶ ^{NL}And every day shalt thou ^voffer the bullock of sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt ^vcleanse the altar, when thou makest atonement for it; and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. ³⁷ Seven days thou shalt make atonement for the altar, and sanctify it: and the altar shall be ^vmost holy; ^vwhatsoever toucheth the altar shall ^vbe holy.

³⁸ ^{NL}Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs ^vof the first year day by day ^vcontinually. ³⁹ The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer ^{at} ^veven: ⁴⁰ and with the one lamb a ^vtenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with the fourth part of an ^vhin of ^hbeaten oil; ²and the fourth part of an ^hin of wine for a ^vdrink offering. ⁴¹ And the other lamb thou shalt offer ^{at} ^veven, and shalt do thereto according to the ^vmeal offering of the morning, and according to the ^vdrink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ⁴² It shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your ^vgenerations at the door of the tent of meeting before Yahweh: where I will ^vmeet with you, to ^vspeak there unto thee. ⁴³ And there I will ^vmeet with the children of Israel; ^vand [the Tent] shall be ^xsanctified by my ^vglory. ⁴⁴ And I will sanctify the tent of meeting, and the altar: Aaron also and his sons will I sanctify, to minister to me in the priest's office.

⁴⁵ ^{NL}And I will ^vdwell among the children of Israel, and will ^a'be their God. ⁴⁶ And they shall ^vknow that I am Yahweh their God, that ^Jbrought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may ^vdwell among them: ^a'I am Yahweh their God.

³⁰ ^{NL}And thou shalt make an altar ^a'to burn ^a'incense upon: of acacia wood shalt thou make it. ² A cubit shall be the length thereof, and

²⁹³³ ^hfill their hand: the words which follow seem to be an explanatory gloss.

^{36a} Addis, *Hex* ii 268, treats ³⁶ as an afterthought based on Lev 8. It may, however, be pointed out that Lev 8³⁴ regards the sevenfold atonement as already prescribed, and this involved purging the altar ¹⁵ cp Ex 29¹², so that some instructions of this kind might be expected in Ex 29.

^{36b} M Or, *purge the altar, by thy making atonement.*—Cp 137^a.
³⁷ M Or, *whosoever.*—Cp 30²⁹ Lev 11²⁴. 15¹⁰. 22⁴ Num 19¹¹. cp Ex 10¹².

³⁸ The directions concerning the continual burnt offering ³⁸⁻⁴¹ are hardly in keeping with the commands for the construction of the sanctuary and the consecration of the priesthood. They would seem more appropriate at the head of a ritual calendar, such as Num 28. There they are actually to be found 28³⁻⁸ cp Lev 6⁸⁻¹³, but opinions differ as to which is the more original, and there are no decisive indications. The comparison, however, indicates that 'thou' in Ex 29³⁸⁻⁴¹ is not addressed to Moses as in ³⁷ and ⁴². (On the relation of the passage to the covenant in Neh 10³³ cp *Introd* XIII 118 f 156.) The passage is treated here, therefore, as an editorial extension, to which a closing verse has been added in ⁴²; note the transition from 'thou' to 'your,' and 'you' and 'thee' in the last clause (where ^h and Sam have sing alone), and the attempt to harmonize different views of the Tent of Meeting. Yahweh promises both to meet his people and to speak with Moses (cp 33^b) at the door of the Tent of Meeting; but in 25²² the meeting with Moses takes place in the innermost sanctuary, where the divine voice is to be heard from between the Cherubim above the ark. If ⁴² and ⁴³ were originally discontinuous, ⁴³ might be naturally regarded

as the sequel of ³⁷, the altar being the place where Yahweh met his people in the act of sacrifice.

³⁹ ⁴¹ M ^hbetween the two evenings.

⁴³ Sam 'and they shall be sanctified,' ^h 'and I will be sanctified.' Klostermann (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr* 1897 310) proposes to correct by Lev 10³ בקרשי בקרשי 'and I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me.'

⁴⁵ The language of ⁴⁵ shows affinities with P^h (cp *Introd* XIII 87 f 145), and the passage may have wound up the account of the institution of the Tent of Meeting now replaced by the Dwelling of P^e cp 25¹⁸, but such a description cannot be safely assigned to P^h proper which avoids the term and only speaks of a 'sanctuary,' Lev 10³⁹ 20³ 21¹⁹ (23) 26².

³⁰ After the full close in 29⁴²⁻⁴⁶ the instructions for an additional altar in front of the veil 1-10 have a supplemental look. The sections which follow appear to share the same character cp 11 17 22 34ⁿ. Various considerations confirm this view, eg (1) the phrase 'the altar' 27¹ implies that there was no other. This designation occurs not less than 100 times in P; but in the latest strata the distinction is marked in various ways cp 30²⁶ 31¹⁴. 38³⁰ Lev 4⁷ &c. (2) There is no mention of the incense altar in the ceremony of atonement described in Lev 16, and the reference in ¹⁰ depends on the ritual there enjoined. (3) 'According to Lev 10 Num 16, the priests offered incense, not on an altar, but on pans or censers' (Addis). (4) Sam places 30¹⁻¹⁰ between 26³⁵ and ³⁶; but ^h follows the order of ^h. (5) The reference to the spices for the incense 25⁶ which seems to presuppose 30¹ is an editorial insertion 25^{5N}. Cp *Introd* XIII 10a. On the allied questions connected with the altars in the Temples of Solomon and Ezekiel see Stade, *ZATW* iii 168, and Nowack, *Archäol* ii 40.

JE P^hP^aP^a

a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it.
³ And thou shalt overlay it with ^bpure gold, the ^ctop thereof, and the ^dsides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a ^ecrown of gold round about. ⁴ And two golden rings shalt thou make for it under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make them; and they shall be for places for staves to bear it withal. ⁵ And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. ⁶ And thou shalt put it before the ^fveil that is by the ark of the ^gtestimony, ^hbefore the ⁱcovering that is over the testimony, where I will ^jmeet with thee. ⁷ ^kAnd Aaron shall ^lburn thereon ^mincense of ⁿsweet spices: every morning, when he dresseth the ^olamps, he shall burn it. ⁸ And when Aaron ^plighteth the lamps ^qat ^reven, he shall ^sburn it, a ^tperpetual incense before Yahweh throughout your ^ugenerations. ⁹ Ye shall offer no ^vstrange ^wincense thereon, nor ^xburnt offering, nor ^ymeal offering; and ye shall ^zpour no ^{a'}drink offering thereon. ¹⁰ ^{b'}And Aaron shall make ^{c'}atonement ^{d'}upon the horns of it ^{e'}once in the year: with the blood of the ^{f'}sin offering of atonement once in the year shall he make atonement ^{g'}for it throughout your ^{h'}generations: it is ^{i'}most holy unto Yahweh.

¹¹ ^{h'}And Yahweh ^{i'}spake unto Moses, saying, ¹² When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, ^{j'}according to those that are numbered of them, then shall they give every man a ^{k'}ransom for his ^{l'}soul unto Yahweh, ^{m'}when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them. ¹³ This they shall give, every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, ^{n'}half a shekel after the shekel of the ^{o'}sanctuary: (the shekel is twenty gerahs:) half a shekel for an offering to Yahweh. ¹⁴ Every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, from ^{p'}twenty years old and upward, shall give the ^{q'}offering of Yahweh. ¹⁵ The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not ^{r'}give less, than the half shekel, when they give the offering of Yahweh, to make atonement for your souls. ¹⁶ And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the ^{s'}service of the tent of meeting; that it may ^{t'}be a ^{u'}memorial for the children of Israel before Yahweh, to make atonement for your souls.

¹⁷ ^{h'}And Yahweh ^{i'}spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁸ Thou shalt also make a ^{j'}laver of brass, and the ^{k'}base thereof of brass, to ^{l'}wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou

b 42

o 171

d 161

e 47

f 111

g 37

h 95b

i 32

j 124

k 75b

l 153

m 118c

n 118h

o 118d

p 25

q 118j

r 90b

s 185

t 18a

u 146

v 82

w 88c

x 169b

y 118e

z 105

a' 140

b' 27

c' 113

7.. 171f

b Cp 84

c 25³⁷d 25²⁹

10 177c 116b

9h^a

11-16 140b 121m

e Cp 21⁸⁰

f 3 omits

17 1120b

g 28 31⁹ 35 38.Lev 811^a

1 Kings 730.

h 40³⁰ 2 Chron4⁶ et Gen24⁵² 530^{3a} M 5 roof.—37²⁶.3b M 5 walls.—37²⁶.3c M Or, rim. Or, moulding.—25¹¹.

⁶ This clause is omitted by Sam (G and some 5 MSS, and has rather the appearance of an explanatory gloss.

^{8a} M Or, setteth up. 5 causeth to ascend.—Cp 27³⁰.

^{8b} M 5 between the two evenings.

^{10a} M Or, for.

^{10b} This verse implies the rite described in Lev 16, where no mention, however, is made of the incense altar, cp 12-14 where it is expressly ignored. This section, therefore, must be regarded as posterior to that institution. On the place of Lev 16 in P cp 16¹⁸.

^{10c} M Or, upon.

¹¹ The poll-tax of half a shekel ¹³ practically rests upon the completed sanctuary and the census (Num 1) of which nothing has yet been said: and this anticipatory reference itself indicates its supplemental character. The tax is devoted to the service of the sanctuary, but it is not prescribed how often it is to be paid. In 2 Chron 24⁶ the tax is plainly understood as an annual contribution. But in the covenant under Nehemiah Neh 10³² only one-third of a shekel is demanded. Different explanations have been offered of this discrepancy. Kuenen

and Cornill (with whom Addis agrees) suppose that the text represents a later stage of codification than the agreement under Nehemiah (a similar discrepancy may be noticed in the age at which the Levites were to begin to serve Num 8²⁴ and 4³ 23³⁰, cp 1 Chron 23²⁴.), and that this section is a post-Ezra addition. For other suggestions cp Ryle, *Ezr-Neh*, *in loc*. The objection that a later scribe in incorporating this rule would have emphasized its annual character, seems partly met by the consideration that the 'service of the tent of meeting' for which the money was 'appointed' ¹⁶ was a permanent institution, obviously needing continuous support, and partly by the fact that the Jews themselves in accepting the Levitical arrangements as types for their regular guidance, actually did regard this as a yearly due.

¹⁷ The natural place for the instructions about the laver would have been in 27, after the directions concerning the altar 1-8; cp its position in the repetition 38⁸. Its association here with other later items throws it into the group of secondary passages, but the opening words of 18 'And thou shalt make' cp 1 3 5 25 35, suggest that it was once continuous with some other passage. It may be noted further that there is no description of the size or design of the laver, while in other cases there is an abundance of precise detail.

JE P^hP^gP^a19. ^LInf. 12h.

shalt put water therein. ¹⁹ ^LAnd ^a'Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat: ²⁰ when they go into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, ^a'that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn an ^a'offering made by fire unto Yahweh: ²¹ so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a ^a'statute for ever to them, even to him and to his seed throughout their ^a'generations.

d' 12'

e' 52^af' 118^a

g' 62

22-32 ^L12d, fi ^h = andj Gen 621 ^hk 25^hl Lev 25¹⁰ ^h*m Prov 7¹⁷ Cantn 35²⁸ Is 3²⁴ alo 35 ^h†p 1 Chron 9⁸⁰q 2 Chron 16¹⁴†r 35 37²⁹*s 1 Chron 9⁵⁰t Eccl 10¹u 25²³v 25³¹w Cp 1⁷x Ct 27¹y ^L12d, f

²² ^LMoreover Yahweh spake unto Moses, ^a'saying, ²³ ^JTake thou also unto thee the chief ^a'spices, of ^a'flowing ^m'myrrh five hundred [shekels], and of sweet ^m'cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty, and of ^a'sweet calamus two hundred and fifty, ²⁴ and of ^a'cassia five hundred, after the shekel of the ^a'sanctuary, and of olive oil an hin: ²⁵ and thou shalt make it an ^a'holy anointing oil, a ^a'perfume ^a'compounded after the art of the ^a'perfumer: it shall be an holy anointing oil. ²⁶ And thou shalt ^a'anoint therewith the tent of meeting, and the ark of the testimony, ²⁷ and the ^a'table and all the vessels thereof, and the ^a'candlestick and the vessels thereof, ²⁸ and the ^a'altar of incense, and the ^a'altar of burnt offering with all the vessels thereof, and the ^a'laver and the base thereof. ²⁹ And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be ^a'most holy: ^a'whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy. ³⁰ ^LAnd thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and sanctify them, that they may ^a'minister unto me in the priest's office. ³¹ And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your ^a'generations. ³² Upon the flesh of man shall it not be ^a'poured, neither shall ye make any like it, according to the ^a'composition thereof: it is holy, [and] it shall be holy unto you. ³³ Whosoever ^a'compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a ^a'stranger, he shall be ^a'cut off from his people.

h' 89

i' 23

j' 90

k' 129^a

l' 50

v Cp Deut 2840^aw Ct 5⁸24-38 ^L12i, 12d, gx ^h†

³⁴ ^LAnd Yahweh said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, ^a'stacte, and ^a'onycha, and ^a'galbanum; sweet spices with pure ^m'frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight; ³⁵ and thou shalt make of it incense, a ^a'perfume after the art of the perfumer, ^a'seasoned with salt, pure [and] holy: ³⁶ and thou shalt ^a'beat some of it very small, and put of it before the ^a'testimony in the tent of meeting, ^a'where I will ^a'meet with thee: it shall be unto you ^a'most holy. ³⁷ And the incense which thou shalt make, according to the ^a'composition thereof ye shall not make for yourselves: it shall be unto thee holy for Yahweh. ³⁸ Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, he shall be ^a'cut off from his people.

m' 72

y 2 Sam 2248¹ Psz 1842 Job 14¹⁹†a Cp 6^a1-11 ^L12a, la 7¹

³¹ ^LAnd Yahweh ^a'spake unto Moses, saying, ² ^a'See, I have called by name ^a'Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the ^a'tribe of Judah: ³ and I have ^a'filled him with the ^a'spirit of God, in wisdom, and in ^a'understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of ^a'workmanship, ⁴ to devise ^a'cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, ⁵ and in cutting of stones for ^a'setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of ^a'workmanship. ⁶ ^a'And I, behold, I have appointed with him ^a'Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the ^a'tribe of Dan; and in the hearts of all that are ^a'wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee: ⁷ the tent of meeting, and the ^a'ark of the testimony, and the ^a'covering that is thereupon, and all

a 185

b 13

c 165

d 177^b

e 15

f 161

g 47

b 283

c 35³¹ Gen 1¹d 41³⁸ Nume 24²⁴f 35³¹ 26¹ Deutg 29²⁸h 35³² . Ct Geni 66 ^h*j Cp 25⁷k Gen 64⁷l 28³

³⁰²² The use of the holy oil assumes the existence of the two altars ²⁸ and the laver; and this section, therefore, cannot be earlier than 1-10; moreover in ³⁰ the unction is enjoined on Aaron's sons (i.e. ordinary priests) whereas in 29⁷ Lev 8¹² Aaron alone is to be anointed.

²⁴ M Or, *costus*.—Ezek 27¹⁹†. ²⁹ M Or, *whosoever*.—29³⁷.

³⁴ The prescriptions concerning the incense are the natural sequel to the ordinance of the incense-altar 1-10. That they were not included in the original scheme is confirmed by the

fact that the references to the incense and the oil for the chrism 25⁶ have been added. On the history of incense-offerings cp Benzinger, *Archäol* 444, and Nowack, *Archäol* 1 247.

^{34b} M Or, *opobalsamum*.—^h = drop Job 36²⁷†.

³⁵ M Or, *tempered together*.—Cp Lev 2¹³ Ezek 16⁴†.

³¹ The recapitulation in 1-11 is based on the series of instructions in 25. including 31; the passage belongs therefore to the secondary strata of P and prepares the way for the great repetition 35-40.

J E P ^h	P ^s	P ⁱ
i 25 ²² j 25 ³¹ k 36 ¹ l 30 ²⁸ et 27 ¹ m 30 ¹⁸ n 28 ² o 37 ⁵ p 31 ³⁴ q Cp 189 ^b	the furniture of the Tent; ⁸ and the 'table and its vessels, and the pure 'candlestick with all its vessels, and the 'altar of incense; ⁹ and the 'altar of burnt offering with all its vessels, and the 'laver and its base; ¹⁰ and the 'finely wrought 'garments, and the 'holy garments for 'Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to 'minister in the priest's office; ¹¹ and the 'anointing oil, and the incense of 'sweet spices for the 'holy place: 'according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.	h 88 ^o i 12 ^a j 129 ^a k 88 ^a
12. 19b ^h r 17 'S = token Gen 9 ¹² 17 ¹¹ 14-17 19b ^o s Ezek 20 ¹⁶ 21 ²⁴ 22 ⁸ al	¹² ¹² And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹³ ¹³ Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily ye shall keep my 'sabbaths: for it is a 'sign between me and you throughout your 'generations; that ye may 'know that I am Yahweh which 'sanctify you. ^{14a} ^{14a} Ye shall keep the 'sabbath therefore; for 'it is holy unto you: every one that 'profaneth it shall 'surely be put to death.	l 188 ^b m 137 n 76 ^b o 179 ^b p 86 ^c q 90 ^a r 53 ^b
t Gen 2 ³ u 23 ¹² v Gen 17 ²² S	^{14b} For whosoever 'doeth any work therein, 'that soul shall be 'cut off from among his people. ¹⁵ Six days shall 'work be done; but on the seventh day is a sabbath of 'solemn rest, 'holy to Yahweh: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath day, he shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁶ Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their 'generations, for a 'perpetual covenant. ¹⁷ It is a 'sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he 'rested, and was 'refreshed.	s 177 ^a t 50 ^a u 137 ^c v 90 ^b w 62
1-24 15b ^d e ^o a S Polel Judg 28 ⁴ b Ct 28 cp 24 c S 24 Gen 27 ⁴⁰ Qal* d Cp Gen 35 ⁴ e Is 81 ⁴ f 34 ¹⁷ Lev 19 ⁴ Num 33 ⁵² Deut 5 ¹² 16 27 ¹⁵ Hos 12 ² al g Cp Ex 13 ⁵ h 24 ⁴ i 30 ¹⁸ j 20 ²⁴ k Gen 25 ³⁴ l Cp Gen 21 ⁹ S m Dent 9 ¹²	^{18b} ^{18b} And Yahweh gave him the two] tables of stone, written with the finger of God. ^{32¹} ^{32¹} And when the people saw that Moses 'delayed to come down from the mount, the people 'gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us 'gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that 'brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. ² And Aaron said unto them, 'Break off the golden 'rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me. ³ And all the people 'brake off the golden rings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron. ⁴ And he received it at their hand, and fashioned it with a 'graving tool, and made it a 'molten calf: and 'they said, 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which 'brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. ⁵ And when Aaron saw 'this', he 'built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow shall be a 'feast to Yahweh. ⁶ And they 'rose up early on the 'morrow, and 'offered 'burnt offerings, and brought 'peace offerings; and the people sat down to 'eat and to drink, and rose up to 'play. ⁷ ⁷ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, Go, 'get thee down; for thy people,	x 7 y 161 ^d a 136 b 137 c 110

31¹⁰ M Some ancient versions render, *garments of service*.

¹² The language of the Sabbath-law here enforced with such emphasis has several affinities with P^h; ¹³ 'keep my sabbaths' cp Lev 19³⁰ 26²; 'I am Yahweh which sanctify you' Lev 20⁸ 21⁸ 22²⁸ 23¹⁶ 32; ¹⁴ 'profane' (of the sabbath only here in Hex), frequent in P^h in other applications Lev 18²¹ 19⁸ 22²⁹ 23²⁸ 24¹² 15 22²² 9 16 32; 'every one that profaneth it' S¹ pl followed by sing vb cp Lev 17¹⁴ 19⁸. It may be inferred that the language of an older law is here incorporated and enriched with a fuller setting. In what stage of P this took place is less clear. It is not certain how far P^s made similar appropriations, though there are phenomena in 62² 20⁴², which point in that direction. One or two words, however, are not in the manner of P^s; ¹⁶ 'to observe (lit do) the sabbath' only in Deut 5¹⁶, ¹⁷ 'made heaven and earth' instead of 'created, and 'was refreshed.' On the argument founded by Budde on these peculiarities cp 21¹⁸ Gen 1¹⁸; they are, however, not out of character with the more varied usage of other secondary passages. Note further the transition

to 'children of Israel' ¹⁶; 17^b reads like an explanatory addition.

^{18b} At this point the compiler resumes the narrative of E, suspended in 24^{18b}. The description of the tables of stone as 'written with the finger of God' reappears in Deut 9¹⁰ and was certainly in D's source. As the narrative that follows 32¹⁻⁶ seems due to E, it is most natural to ascribe ^{18b} to the same document. The words in brackets are supplied from Deut 9¹⁰ (S¹ delivered = gave).

^{32^{1a}} The narrative of the apostasy of the golden calf seems to contain various elements, but its main story is almost unanimously ascribed to E. In ¹⁵ 17 Moses descends with Joshua from the mount with the two tables in his hands, the description in ¹⁶ cohering with 31^{18b} and 24¹⁸. The passage in ¹⁵⁻²⁴ appears to be homogeneous (only Dillm breaks it at ¹⁹) and carries with it ¹⁻⁶. For details of the analysis cp 7²⁵ 30, and on the place of the whole story cp 34²⁸.

¹⁵ M Or, a god.

^{4a} (S¹) he.

^{4b} M Or, This is thy god.

⁷ In the sequel of the story 17-19 Moses seems wholly unpre-

J E

JE

J E P

n Cp Hos 9⁹
o Cp Pri4

p Deut 9¹³ cp
Gen 7¹ 32¹² Ex
3⁷ 9
q 33³ 5 34⁹ Deut
9⁸ 13⁴
r Ct Deut 9¹⁴ 5
cp 2 Sam 16¹¹
12 33³ 6 cp Num
25¹¹
t Gen 12² Num
14¹²

u 5¹ 1 Sam 13¹²
v Num 14¹⁷
w Ex 3¹⁹
x Num 14¹⁶
y Gen 44²⁹ 5
z Deut 13¹⁷ Josh
7²⁸
a' Num 25⁴ 32¹⁴
b' Deut 9²⁷
c' Gen 22¹⁸
d' Gen 12⁷

e' 7²⁸ Deut 9¹⁶
f' Cp 25⁸⁷ 28⁸ 5

g' 31^{18b}
h' 5¹ †
i' Mic 4⁹ Job
36³³ †

j' Cp 15²¹ Num
21¹⁷ 5 Qal¹
k' Deut 32²⁴ cp
Ex 17¹¹ 5

l' 17¹³
m' = j' 5 Piel Is
27² Ps 38
title¹ †
n' 15²⁰
o' Cp 19¹⁷

p' Num 11⁸ Deut
9²¹
q' Deut 9²¹
r' Cp Lev 26³³
s' Num 16³⁷
t' 30. Gen 20⁹
u' Ct 19⁸
v' Cp 1

25-29 LXX-a
v' Cp 5⁴

which thou "broughtest up out of the land of Egypt, have "corrupted themselves: ⁸ they have "turned aside "quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a "molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed unto it, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which "brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. ⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, ²I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a "stiffnecked people: ¹⁰ "now therefore "let me alone, that my wrath may "wax hot against them, and that I may "consume them: and I will "make of thee a great nation. ¹¹ And Moses "besought Yahweh his God, and said, Yahweh, why doth thy wrath "wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with "great power and with a "mighty hand? ¹² Wherefore should the Egyptians "speak, saying, "For evil did he bring them forth, to "slay them in the mountains, and to "consume them from the "face of the "ground? ¹³ Turn from thy "fierce wrath, and "repent of this evil against thy people. ¹³ v Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, "thy servants, to whom thou "swarest by thine own "self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your "seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I "give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever. ¹⁴ And Yahweh "repented of the evil which he said he would do unto his people.

¹⁵ And Moses "turned, and went down from the mount, with the two tables "of the testimony in his hand; tables that were written on both their J' sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. ¹⁶ And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of "God, "h"graven upon the tables. ¹⁷ And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they "shouted, he said unto Moses, "There is a noise of war in the camp. ¹⁸ And he said, It is not the voice of them that J' shout for "mastery, neither is it the voice of them that J' cry for "being overcome: but the noise of them that m' sing do I hear. ¹⁹ And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the "dancing: and Moses' anger "waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them "beneath the mount. ²⁰ And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and v'ground it to "powder, and "strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it. ²¹ And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought a "great sin upon them? ²² And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my "lord "wax hot: "thou knowest the people, that they are [set] "on evil. ²³ For they said unto me, Make us "gods, which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, the man that "brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. ²⁴ And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them "break it off; so they gave it me: and I cast it into the fire and there came out this calf.

...²⁵ NZ And when Moses saw that the people were broken v' loose; for

d 43

e 18^{7b}
f 233

g 210
h 40
i 20^b
j 207
k 217
l 204

m 56^a
n 174

pared for the discovery of the apostasy. It is certainly conceivable that the actual spectacle of it should have aroused a wrath before unrealized; but, as Bacon has observed, "the fact remains that 15-24 would be a great deal simpler and more intelligible if 7-14 had not preceded." The intercession in 9-14 is marked by special J phrases, e.g. 'face of the ground' 'repent' (of Yahweh) 12, but as it refers in 13 to a supplemental passage in Gen 22¹⁵ it must be assigned to the harmonist (unless with Bacon 13 be ascribed to a subsequent hand, in which case the rest might be derived from J). But the whole interview is parallel in style and thought to another in Num 14¹¹., where again there seem traces of later adaptation. On the whole, therefore, 9-14 is here treated as continuous. The introduction to it is found in 7., which has apparently replaced the account of the conclusion of Moses' stay in the mount preceding his descent 15. The verses were probably known to D in their present position cp Deut 9¹².. It may be noticed that 9 which seems to make a fresh start is omitted by (S). Steuernagel (Deut 33) ingeniously supposes that it has been introduced here from Deut 9¹³.

32¹² So 5. T earth.

¹⁵ The reference to the 'testimony' shows here the hand of Rp cp 16r: in Deut 9¹³ 16 the sacred stones are called 'tables of the covenant'; they are carried in Moses' hand cp 34²⁹; D represents them as borne in his hands Deut 9¹⁵ cp Ex 32¹⁹ Q'rī (K^otib hand). The detail in 16b is after the manner of P; for the rare use of נָחַץ in the sense of 'side' cp 25⁸⁷ 28⁸ 5.

^{25a} The account of the massacre in which the Levites take Yahweh's side is difficult to harmonize with the rest of the narrative, for after so severe a punishment why should the people need further chastisement 35? It is not clear what is the precise meaning of 25, nor whether Moses pauses at the gate 26 on first entering the camp on the descent from the mount, or whether (after expostulating with Aaron 21..) he then takes up his position there to prevent the escape of the guilty people. Further obscurity shrouds the close of the incident 29, where the tribe of Levi is apparently consecrated as the sacred tribe in consequence of its vigorous championship of Yahweh's cause. This is altogether different from the programme of P in 28: and it seems wholly unconnected with the arrangements of the

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
v ^o 15 ⁷			Aaron had let them loose for a ^a 'derision among their ^w 'enemies: ²⁶ then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Whoso is on Yahweh's side, [let him come] unto me. And all the sons of Levi ^a 'gathered themselves together unto him. ²⁷ And he said unto them, ^o 'Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and ^s 'slay ^p 'every man his ^q 'brother, and every man his ^p 'companion, and every man his neighbour. ²⁸ And the sons of Levi did ^a 'according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. ²⁹ And Moses said, ^a 'Consecrate yourselves to-day to Yahweh, ^a 'yea, every man ^a 'against his son, and ^a 'against his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day....			o 87
v ^o Gen 29 ⁸ et 1			³⁰ ^a 'And it came to pass on the ^a 'morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a ^a 'great sin: and ^a 'now I will go up unto Yahweh; ^a 'peradventure I shall make ^a 'atonement for your sin. ³¹ And Moses returned unto Yahweh, and said, ^a 'Oh, this people have sinned a ^a 'great sin, and have made them gods of gold. ³² Yet ^a 'now, if thou wilt ^a 'forgive their sin—; and if not, ^a 'blot me, ^a 'I pray thee, out of thy ^a 'book which thou hast written. ³³ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. ³⁴ And ^a 'now go, ^b 'lead the people unto [the place] of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, ^c 'mine ^a 'angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I ^a 'visit, I will visit their sin upon them.			p 112 q 2
v ^o Ct 2 ⁵ v ^o Gen 50 ¹⁷			³⁵ And Yahweh ^a 'smote the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.			r 64
a ^o Mal 3 ¹⁸ Ps 65 ²⁸ Dan 12 ¹			³³ ^a 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, Depart, ^a 'go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast ^a 'brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land of which I ^a 'swore unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I ^b 'give it: ² and I will ^a 'send an ^a 'angel before thee; and I will ^a 'drive out the ^a 'Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: ³ unto a land ^a 'flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the ^a 'midst of thee; for thou art a ^a 'stiffnecked people: lest I ^a 'consume thee in the way. ⁴ And when the people heard these evil tidings, they ^a 'mourned: and no man did put on him his ^a 'ornaments.			s 135 t 186
b ^o 13 ¹⁷ c ^o 23 ²⁸ 33 ² d ^o Cp Gen 50 ²⁵ Am 3 ¹⁴ e ^o Cp 12 ²³ Josh 24 ⁶						u 97
a Gen 13 ¹						
b Gen 12 ⁷ c Cp 23 ³⁰ 32 ³⁴ d Cp 23 ²⁸ 14 ⁸ e Cp 23 ²⁸ 17 ^c						a 136 b 217 c 4
f 5 ^{32a}						d 34 e 58
g Gen 37 ³⁴ Num 14 ^{39a} h 5. ^a ' cp 32 ²						

Tent of Meeting described in E 33⁷⁻¹¹ where the care of the sanctuary is entrusted to the Ephraimite Joshua. These considerations suggest the derivation of 26-29 from J, who has already recognized the sacerdotal function, though the relation between the new Levites and the priests mentioned in 10²² is nowhere explained. The ascription is not free from objection on grounds both of matter and form. Linguistically, the phrases ²⁵ 'broken loose' 'let them loose', ²⁷ 'thus saith Yahweh God of Israel' 'every man his brother', point to E; though in ²⁸ 'according to the word of Moses' the style of J is approached: no sharp lines, however, can be drawn around the possibilities of interchange in such expressions. More perplexing is the question, if 25-29 be drawn from J, what was its antecedent in that document? Did J also relate the calf-apostasy? There is no reason to think so, unless it be this passage itself, which would hardly have been introduced here by the harmonist unless its connexion in J had some affinities with its new setting in E. It seems to replace in the combined narrative the manifestation of the divine anger against Aaron, which must have been a feature in the original story cp Dent 9²⁰. This circumstance confirms its assignment to J, but throws no light on its place in that document. Bacon conjectures that the offence thus punished was rather rebellion than idolatry; but there is no adequate evidence for any confident decision.

32^{28b} M ^a' whispering.—^a'^{29a} M ^a' Fill your hand.
29^b M Or, for every man hath been against his son and against his brother.

29^c M Or, upon.

30 In 30-35 it is usual to see the sequel of E's narrative, and the margins show abundant points of contact with E's usage. There is still, however, some incongruity between 33. and 35. The implication of 34^b is that the punishment is indefinitely postponed (the passage has been thought to refer to the fall of the kingdom of Israel Am 3¹⁴), and the immediate infliction of the plague in 35 is wholly unexpected. In allotting it to

J Bacon can only overcome a similar incongruity in relation to 26-29 by suggesting that R^o has inserted 'people' for the original authors of the movement whom he identifies with Nadab and Abihu. It is further probable that 30-34 is a later expansion of the narrative. The metaphor of the 'book' only appears elsewhere in post-exilic literature: the developed consciousness of sin, atonement, and personal responsibility (cp Ezek 18) may belong to a more advanced order of theological reflection. In 35 the awkward juxtaposition of the two final clauses seems to result from some editorial manipulation.

33¹ In 32³⁴ Moses has already received instructions to commence the march. The fresh command 'depart, go up hence' is accordingly ascribed to J. The sequence of 3 on 1 is interrupted by the renewed promise of the guidance of the Angel, introduced probably from 32³⁴ cp 23³⁰ 23. But this promise is practically inconsistent with the refusal of Yahweh 3 to accompany the people, for the Angel was his manifested presence. Both grammatical connexion and harmonizing purpose mark this verse, therefore, as an addition. In 4 the mourning of the people on hearing that they must undertake the journey without the divine aid, has been apparently amplified by the clause 'and no man did put on him his ornaments,' which is wanting in G. 4^b is really inconsistent with 6 which is most naturally assigned to E (its absence from G, however, may be also due to the perception of its incongruity with 6, so that it was dropped to avoid confusion). On the hypothesis that 7-11 was preceded by an account of the institution of the sacred tent cp 7^a, Bacon (with whom Battersby agrees) suggests that the ornaments which the people now strip from themselves as they had once stripped them from the Egyptians (5 = 'spoiled') were offered in penitential self-devotion for the decoration of the Meeting-place of Yahweh and Israel. R has then combined the representations of 1-4 and 6 by means of the connexion in 5. But in respect of J's version of the Covenant now placed in 34, the command in 1 to depart is evidently placed too soon.

J E

JE

J E P

⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a 'stiffnecked people: if I go up into the 'midst of thee for one moment, I shall 'consume thee: therefore now 'put off thy ornaments⁴ from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.

⁶ And the children of Israel 'stripped themselves of their ornaments from mount 'Horeb onward.

...⁷ Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, 'afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which 'sought Yahweh went out unto the tent of meeting, which was without the camp. ⁸ And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the Tent. ⁹ And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the 'pillar of cloud 'descended, and stood at the door of the Tent: and [Yahweh] spake with Moses. ¹⁰ And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and 'worshipped, every man at his tent door. ¹¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses 'face to face, as a 'man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: 'but his 'minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, 'departed not out of the Tent.

¹² And Moses said unto Yahweh, See, thou sayest unto me, 'Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know 'whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also 'found grace in my sight. ¹³ Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have 'found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy 'ways, that I may know thee, to the end that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people. ¹⁴ And he said, My 'presence shall go [with thee] and I will give thee 'rest. ¹⁵ And he said unto him, If thy presence go not [with me] 'carry us not up hence. ¹⁶ For wherein 'now shall it be known that I have 'found grace in thy sight, I and thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we be 'separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the 'face of the 'ground?

¹⁷ And Yahweh said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast 'found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name. ¹⁸ And he said, Shew me, I pray thee, thy 'glory. ¹⁹ And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and will 'proclaim the name of Yahweh before thee; and I will be 'gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will 'shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy. ²⁰ And he said, Thou canst not 'see my face: for man shall not see me and 'live. ²¹ And Yahweh said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand

f 105

g 112^b

h 109

i 31^a

j 40

k 203

33⁷ The sudden introduction of this description of the Sanctuary is in the highest degree surprising. 'The tent'⁷ is evidently well known, but nothing has yet been said about it. For it is clear that this cannot be the Levitical Dwelling 25-29, though in 25⁴² it is called the Tent of Meeting, (1) because the Dwelling has not yet been constructed cp 35-40, and (2) because the place of the Dwelling is in the centre of the camp, with the twelve tribes grouped round it Num 2. The Tent of Meeting, on the other hand, is outside, at a distance cp Num 11¹⁶ 24-30 12⁴. Further, it is not served by the Levitical priesthood, but by the Ephraimite Joshua 11 Num 11²⁸, whose presence in the Dwelling would have been forbidden under pain of death. The passage in the text, therefore, conceives the sanctuary in a manner absolutely incompatible with P, and must be drawn from a wholly independent source (cp *Intro* VIII i 2 i 51). The only available sources are J and E, and the decision in favour of E is unanimous among the critics. No doubt is possible that 7-11 Num 11¹⁶, 24-30 and 12⁴ all belong to the same group of narratives: while the association of Moses with Joshua cp 24¹³ 17⁹, and the stress laid on prophecy, identify them with E. But if E described the usage of the sacred Tent, he must also have narrated, its institution, and with it the construction of the ark. In the final compilation this section was no doubt set aside for the more elaborate representations of P. But it is a probable conjecture that such an account once followed ⁶. The Levitical Dwelling is wrought out of the gifts of the people. The story of their voluntary offerings no doubt had its counterpart in the earlier source: and the statement that the children of Israel parted with their ornaments seems best explained by the application of them to the preparation of the Tent. A curious point of verbal contact is found in the employment of the same

term 'spoiled themselves' which served earlier for the 'spoiling' of the Egyptians.

^{12a} The expostulation of Moses in this passage seems directly connected with the command in 1⁶⁻⁹. But it may be doubted whether the materials of 12-23 are now arranged in their proper order. The words quoted in 12⁴ 'Yet thou hast said ' &c are not uttered till 17: either, therefore, 17 once stood before 12, or, if 17 is in its place, some other divine utterance must have preceded 12. The latter is the view of Bacon who unites ³ with 12 by means of Num 11^{10b-15} and a conjectural passage containing the required phrase (it must be remembered that before the union of JE with P Ex 33-34²⁸ was followed immediately by Num 10²⁹⁻¹²). Another suggestion is that of Kautzsch who proposes to translate 14 as a question, 'Shall (or must) my presence go with thee, and must I give thee rest?' while Dillmann regards 14-16 as the sequel of 34⁶⁻⁹, a suggestion which has the support of Driver. The difficulty may be partially met by a simple rearrangement of the verses; if 17 be transferred as the antecedent of 12, the prayer of Moses 13 'Make me to know thy way' is answered by the promise 'My presence shall go with thee.' Of this 16 Moses desires immediate assurance, which Yahweh grants with the announcement 19 that he will make his goodness pass before him. But Moses, still urgent, prays that Yahweh will enable him to see his glory, his very self 18. The prayer cannot be satisfied 20, 'Thou canst not see my face' (the 'presence' of 15); but in the cleft of the rock he shall behold his back as Yahweh passes by 21-23. The more natural order would seem to be for 17 12-15 19 18 20-23, leading directly to 34⁶⁻⁹.

^{12b} M. Or, him whom.

¹³ Q (K²itib) T & S¹ Gen way: (S¹abl & thyself (thy face) cp 20, and Dillm in loc. ¹⁶ So Q. T earth.

J E	JE	J E P
a ¹ Is 22 ¹⁴	upon the rock: ²² and it shall come to pass, while my "glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a ^a cleft of the rock, and will ^c cover thee with my hand until I have passed by: ²³ and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back: but my ^b face shall not be seen.	
a 4 ^h stones ct 24 ¹² 32 ¹⁸ b Cp 28 ¹⁸ c 19 ¹¹ Josh 84	34 ¹ "And Yahweh said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of "stone like unto the first: and ^b I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest. ² And be ^c ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount "Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the ^d top of the mount. ³ And no man shall come up with thee, ^b neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; ^b neither let the "flocks nor herds feed before that mount. ⁴ And he hewed two tables of "stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount "Sinai, as Yahweh had commanded him, and took in his hand two tables of "stone. ⁵ And Yahweh ^d descended in the "cloud, ^e and he stood with him there, and ^f called upon "the name of Yahweh.	a 76 b 11 c 33
d 19 ²⁰		
e Ct 33 ⁹		d 19 e 13 ^a
f 33 ¹⁹ g Deut 43 ¹ cp 33 ¹⁹ h 22 ²⁷ cp 32 ¹⁹ i Num 14 ¹⁸ j 20 ⁷ ^h = hold [him] guiltless	⁶ "And Yahweh passed by before him, and ^f proclaimed, Yahweh, Yahweh, a God ^g full of compassion and ^h gracious, ⁱ slow to anger, and plenteous in ^j mercy and truth; ^k keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means ^l clear [the guilty]; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. ⁸ And Moses ^m made haste, and ⁿ bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped. ⁹ And he said, If now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let the ^l Lord, I pray thee, go in the ^m midst of us; for it is a ⁿ stiffnecked people; and ^o pardon our iniquity and our sin, and ^p take us for thine inheritance.	f 57 ^a
k 32 ⁹ l Num 14 ¹⁹ .	¹⁰ "And he said, Behold, I ^l make a covenant: before all thy people I will do ^m marvels, such as have not been ⁿ wrought in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among which thou art shall see the work of Yahweh, for it is a terrible thing that I do with thee. ¹¹ ^o Observe thou that which I ^p command thee this day: behold, I ^q drive out before thee the ^r Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the	g 43 h 12 ^b i 31 ^a j 56 k 58 l 18 ^x
m 32 ²⁰ n Cp 15 ^d o Cp 29 ^b p Cp 33 ² q 38 Deut 7 ¹		

34¹ At this point J's narrative of the Covenant 10-27 is introduced (cp 20^{22N}), but in the present text it is combined with other matter which can hardly have belonged to it originally. It is evident that there is a close connexion between 6-9 and 33¹⁹, the solemn proclamation of 6, being the answer to the entreaties of Moses and the fulfilment of the divine promise. The scene in the cleft of the rock where Yahweh passes by 33²² 34⁶ declaring his own august titles, is in a different locality from the top of the mountain where he descends for Moses to stand with him and invoke his aid. But when these verses are removed, it would still seem that the preparation for the great theophany 1-5 is not in its original place. The resemblance to the passages assigned to J in 19 cp 2, with 19^{12b-13} 20², makes it probable that the incident here depicted stood originally in close connexion with them, and constituted the core of J's account of the Sinai-revelation. The Covenant itself is obviously new; the opening words of 10 have no other covenant behind them. But the transpositions consequent on the union of J and E rendered it necessary to find another place for J's version of the 'Words of Yahweh' cp 28¹⁸; and it is here brought into connexion with a renewal of the Tables which had been broken in sight of the apostate Israel. The phrases which seem to have been inserted to effect this adaptation are printed in small type. From Deut 10¹⁻⁵ it may be plausibly inferred that the narrative also provided for the construction of the ark, this reference having been afterwards removed as inconsistent with 25 and 37 cp 33¹⁷. It is, however, possible, so some critics have thought, that the directions concerning the stones may have been derived from E which must have contained an account of their replacement; to this suggestion of Kuenen's Wellh replies that if E did relate the restoration of the tables, the natural place would have been before the account of the sanctuary which contained the ark 33⁷.. Others have suggested that as in 27 Moses is instructed to write the divine words, the original command ran 'thou shalt write,' which was afterwards altered to the promise 'I will write' in conformity with E's representation that the inscription on the stones was divine cp 31^{18b} 32¹⁸. The sudden introduction of the name Moses after 4¹ lends a slight additional probability to the view that 1-5 are foreign elements wrought into J's text 2-3 4b 5.

5a So M. T and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of Yahweh.

5b M Or, Yahweh by name.

6 For the place of this section cp 1¹⁸ and 33^{12N}. Bacon ascribes 7b to R^d, and Battersby regards the proclamation of the divine titles as the expression of a later school of religious thought. Such aggregates of predicates are supposed to belong to a more advanced devotional vocabulary than can be traced with certainty in the writers of the eighth century (cp the difficulty suggested by Am 4¹³ 5⁸ &c). If this view be adopted, it carries with it a similar amplification in 33¹⁹. On the other hand cp Dr A B Davidson (Hastings' DB ii 202a), 'the very surprising ancient passage Ex 34⁵.. left little to be added later.'

7 M See 20⁶.

9 Dillm is inclined to adopt Ewald's emendation 'and lead us' (*n'hithānu* for *n'haltānu*), with reference to the refusal of Yahweh to 'go up in the midst' of Israel 33⁸ cp 33¹³. Dillm then finds the answer to the prayer of Moses in 33¹⁴⁻¹⁷, a connexion also favoured by Driver; cp 33^{12N}.

10a The covenant in 10-27 is obviously parallel (cp 20^{22N}) to the 'Words of Yahweh' in 23 which are solemnly adopted as the base of the Covenant in 24³⁻⁶. As it appeared, however, that the 'Words' had undergone considerable editorial manipulation and expansion, so it may be affirmed that the 'Covenant' of 34 has received various additions to the simplicity of its primitive form. This may be stated on general grounds of analogy, for example, with the Ten Words of 20¹⁻¹⁷, an analogy recognized by the author (or implied by the editor) of 27-28; and it is confirmed by the observation of the occasional close parallels both in phraseology and thought with Deut cp 11-13 15, 21. The language of 10 is also not without features of apparently later date; the announcement to Moses of wonders transcending all human experience resembles similar vindications of the divine greatness by Moses to Pharaoh, in which there was reason to set a later hand, e.g. 10: the phrase 'such as have not been created' finds, indeed, support in Num 16³⁰, but has natural affinities with the language of later prophecy, e.g. Jer 31²² Is 45¹⁸ 48⁷ &c (cp Cheyne, *Intro to the Book of Isaiah* 21¹ and 48); and 'work of Yahweh' is found elsewhere only in Deut 11⁷ (cp 3) Josh 24³¹ || Judg 2⁷ Jer 5¹⁰. On the whole, though with hesitation, the chief part of 10 is assigned to the expander. Much other growth must probably be recognized if the description in 28 be applied to the original form of 10-27.

10b M ^h created.

J E

JE

J E P

Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. ¹² Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee: ¹³ but ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and ye shall cut down their Asherim: ¹⁴ for thou shalt worship no other god: for Yahweh, whose name is jealous, is a jealous God: ¹⁵ lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; ¹⁶ and thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods. ¹⁷ Thou shalt make thee no molten gods. ¹⁸ The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. ¹⁹ All that openeth the womb is mine; and all thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. ²⁰ And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb: and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. ²¹ And none shall appear before me empty. ²² Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest. ²³ And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, [even] of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end. ²⁴ Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Yahweh, the God of Israel. ²⁵ For I will cast out nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou goest up to appear before Yahweh thy God three times in the year. ²⁶ Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover remain all night unto the morning. ²⁷ The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy God. ²⁸ Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. ²⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. ³⁰ And he was there with Yahweh forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.

m 18

n 120

o 178

9 Cp Gen 24⁶
 10 8
 11 Deut 7¹⁶
 12 56a
 13 Deut 7⁵
 14 56a
 15 208
 16 208
 17 Num 14³⁸
 18 Deut 31¹⁸
 19 Deut 7³
 20 15b
 21 208
 22 Lev 19⁴⁴
 23 24 15a
 24 15a
 25 231b
 26 13
 27 13
 28 13
 29 13
 30 13
 31 13
 32 13
 33 13
 34 13
 35 13
 36 13
 37 13
 38 13
 39 13
 40 13
 41 13
 42 13
 43 13
 44 13
 45 13
 46 13
 47 13
 48 13
 49 13
 50 13
 51 13
 52 13
 53 13
 54 13
 55 13
 56 13
 57 13
 58 13
 59 13
 60 13
 61 13
 62 13
 63 13
 64 13
 65 13
 66 13
 67 13
 68 13
 69 13
 70 13
 71 13
 72 13
 73 13
 74 13
 75 13
 76 13
 77 13
 78 13
 79 13
 80 13
 81 13
 82 13
 83 13
 84 13
 85 13
 86 13
 87 13
 88 13
 89 13
 90 13
 91 13
 92 13
 93 13
 94 13
 95 13
 96 13
 97 13
 98 13
 99 13
 100 13

34^{18a} M Or, obelisks.—Cp 23²⁴.

18b M Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah. The participle 'for' may be the connecting link between the previous exhortation and the first 'Word.'

20 M Or, kid.

21 This verse is obviously out of place cp 23¹², as it interrupts the sequence of the feasts, and the law of firstlings connected with the early spring festival of Unleavened Bread. It probably stood between 17 and 18.

22 M 5 revolution.—5* 1 Sam 12²⁰.

24 The indications of Deuteronomistic phraseology in this verse, 'cast out,' 'enlarge thy borders,' 'Yahweh thy God,' receive a curious confirmation from the fact that the worshipper who desires to 'see Yahweh's face' must go up. Does this mean to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem cp Deut 17²? Apparently, for it is provided that during his absence at the distant temple his land shall be undisturbed.

26a In 23¹⁸ 'my feast'; here limited apparently to the passover, which is not otherwise named, and may be specified in later harmony with Deut 16⁴.

26b 5 as in 23¹⁸ Deut 16⁴. T be left.

28a This verse seems the natural sequel of 10-27 and is so here printed. But it is not free from embarrassment. If the text of 27. is continuous, then the words of the Covenant were inscribed on the tables by Moses. On the other hand in 1 Yahweh promises to write the words himself. Can 28 and 1 be assigned to the same source? The suggestion already quoted in 18 for overcoming this difficulty seems certainly rather forced. It must, therefore, be regarded as conceivable that 28 is wholly or partially derived from another document, which

can only be E. This view receives some support from two circumstances. (1) The words of the Covenant are called the Ten Words, a title which is elsewhere given to 20²⁻¹⁷ cp Deut 10⁴: for reasons stated in 28²⁰ it does not seem likely that this designation was also applied to J's Covenant (it may, however, be supposed that the appositional phrase is a later gloss). (2) A very early use of the words *he wrote* &c applies them unhesitatingly to Yahweh Deut 10⁴. D, therefore, could hardly have found them in a connexion in which Moses was the subject: in reading Deut 10⁴ it does not seem possible to thrust in Ex 34¹⁰⁻²⁷ between 3 and 4. As E reported the first tables to have been written by God 32¹⁶, it would be natural for the second pair to be in like manner divinely graven: and those critics who find traces of E in 1 and 4, see similar indications in 28.

28b M 5 words.—Different reconstructions of the 'Ten Words' out of 14-28 have been offered by F W Newman, *Hist of the Hebrew Monarchy* (1847) 123; Stade, *Gesch* 1 510; Wellh, *Comp* 331-; Holzinger, *Eint* 217; Bacon, *Exodus* 297; Briggs, *Higher Crit* 189-210.

28c At the close of the difficult sections containing the Sinai-Horeb revelation according to JE 19-24 32-34²⁸, it may be desirable to sum up the general results of the analysis, bearing in mind the cautious remark of Driver that 'more than one hypothesis may be framed which will account, at least apparently, for the facts demanding explanation.' The present form of the narrative is the result of a long process the steps of which can be very imperfectly traced. The elements of the problem can perhaps best be approached through a consideration of the parallel narrative in Deut: the following table exhibits the corresponding passages in J E and D.*

* The passages are cited in their present form irrespective of the activity of E.

J (Ex)	E (Ex)	D (Deut)
Theophany at Sinai 319.	Theophany at the Mount (Horeb) 219. The Ten Words 201-17. Approach of Moses alone 2018-21. The Words of Yahweh 2022-28. The Book of Judgements 21-239. The Words of Yahweh (continued) 2310-33.	The Covenant on Horeb 58-5. The Ten Words 56-21. Approach of Moses alone 522-21.
Summons to Moses, Aaron, &c 241-2.	The Covenant of the Words of Yahweh 248-8.	
Ascent of Moses, Aaron, &c, to a sacred Feast 249-11.	Ascent of Moses and Joshua 2412-15a. Moses in the Mount for forty days 2418b. Gift of the tables 3118b. The Golden Calf 321-6.	Moses in the Mount for forty days 99. Gift of the Tables 910.
(JE) Warning of Yahweh and intercession of Moses 327-14.	Descent of Moses and Joshua; fracture of the Stones; destruction of the calf and expostulation with Aaron 3218-24.	Warning of Yahweh 912-14. Descent of Moses; fracture of the Stones; intercession of Moses, anger of Yahweh with Aaron, and destruction of the calf 915-21 25-29.
Massacre by the Levites and their appointment as the sacred tribe 3226-29. Instructions to depart and refusal of Yahweh to go with Israel 331-4.	Intercession of Moses; instructions to depart; plague 3230-35. The people strip themselves of their ornaments. Usage of the Tent of Meeting 336-11.	
Colloquy with Yahweh 3312-23. Preparation of the Stones and ascent of Mount Sinai 341-5. Yahweh passes by before Moses 346-9. Yahweh's Covenant 3410-27. Moses writes the Words of the Covenant, the Ten Words 3428.	[?] Yahweh writes the Words of the Covenant, the Ten Words 3428.]	Preparation of the Stones and Ark, and ascent of Mount Sinai 101-3. Yahweh writes the Ten Words, and the stones are placed in the ark 104-5. Separation of the tribe of Levi to carry the ark 108.

The questions suggested by this table are manifold; but (1) it may be well to start from the element common to J E and D, viz the solemn institution of a Covenant at Sinai (Horeb) between Yahweh and Israel. Yet the terms of this Covenant are not identical. In all three documents they are described as 'Words,' but the contents of the 'Words' do not agree. There is a close approximation between the Covenant-words of J and E, but the Ten Words of D are obviously independent. (2) The representation of D is definite and emphatic that the published legislation at Horeb was limited to the Ten Words. In Deut 5³⁰, the people are dismissed to their tents, while Moses remains on the mount: 'but as for thee stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the commandment, and the statutes, and the judgements which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I give them to possess it.' The new legislation which forms the substance of the Deuteronomic code, is thus conceived to have been communicated to Moses at Horeb, but first promulgated to Israel on the eve of their passage over the Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan. But (3) while the greater part of the Covenant-words of J and E reappear later on in D among the laws delivered in the land of Moab, E contains in addition the Ten Words which D selects as the basis of the Horeb-covenant, and a book of Judgements besides, which is also largely reproduced at the end of the wanderings in D. It was long ago noticed by Goethe that according to the present arrangement of 34¹⁰⁻²⁸ the second tables contained another

version of the Ten Words, and recent criticism has widely adopted this view. But that was seen to carry with it the implication that it was derived from a different source; and as soon as the Ten Words of 20 were definitely assigned to E, the Ten Words of 34 naturally fell to J. Accordingly (to go no further back than 1880) Dillm proposed to transfer 34¹¹⁻²⁸ to the scene between Yahweh and Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and the seventy representative elders 241-2; the feast upon the mount 9-11 then solemnized the ratification of the covenant. It is impossible here to review all the suggestions of reconstruction which have since been made, but two schemes require a brief exposition. (1) In his treatise on the *Hexateuch* Kuen dwelt with much force on the evidences of a Deuteronomic redaction of the Sinai-Horeb sections of JE; and he pointed out that while D had used the Covenant-book of E ('Words' + 'Judgements'), he made no reference to its delivery to Moses or its acceptance by the people, and further that there was also no room in D for the Covenant-words of J at Sinai. From this he inferred that neither E's Covenant-book nor J's Covenant-words formed part of JE's account of the events at Sinai. Seeking a more suitable place for them originally, and observing that the contents of both codes were designed for the settled life of Canaan, he suggested that they had originally occupied in JE the place now assumed by D itself, viz the 'field of Moab.' The promulgation of the Deuteronomic 'Statutes and Judgements' is itself regarded as a second Covenant; it superseded both the Covenant-book and the Covenant-words; and if these were to be preserved at all, it was needful to find for them some other occasion. It was the work of R⁴ to transfer them to the Sinai-Horeb period; and adapt them to the new setting. These were not, however, the only additions which the original narratives received. The Ten Words in 20¹⁻¹⁷, and the fabrication of the Golden Calf, were incorporated into E, when it passed from Ephraim and was expanded in Judea. The nucleus of the Horeb Covenant-story was found in 24¹, 9-11 which Kuen ascribed to E¹; the Covenant-book and the Covenant-sacrifice beneath the mount on which Moses died in Moab being fused together with the sacred Covenant-meal upon the Mount of God. Thus E's Horeb-scenes underwent successive enlargements in different stages of its history, the latest of all being the great transposition of the Covenant-book from the end to the beginning of the wanderings. The redistribution of Kuen has been enthusiastically adopted by Cornill and Krätzschar. (2) A very different reconstruction has been presented by Bacon. Distinguishing the Covenant-book of the older criticism into a collection of 'Judgements' and a book of the 'Words of Yahweh,' he accepts Kuen's theory of the displacement caused by union with D so far as concerns the 'Judgements': but this leaves the Covenant-words and ceremony still at Horeb. The main problem then before him is to determine the original places of the two Covenants in J and E. While, with Kuen, he sends the 'Judgements' of 21-23³ forward to Moab, with Dillm he draws the Covenant-words of J back to 24¹, 9-11 and regards them as J's version of the Ten Words. The Ten Words of 20¹⁻¹⁷ are left in their place: but if they constituted the sole contents of the Horeb-covenant of E (cp Deut 5), what occasion can be found for further Words and their deliberate ratification? These are viewed as a renewal of the Covenant-relation which has been broken by the great apostasy. The brilliant combinations of Bacon assume many dislocations in the existing narrative, but do not involve such wholesale transpositions as the proposals of Kuen; they save much more for the original material of the Sinai-Horeb revelation both in J and E. The two documents, according to Bacon, must have run here, as elsewhere, a closely parallel course: and the general harmony of their contents may be exhibited as under:—

J	E
Yahweh appears on Sinai 10 ²⁰⁻²² 24 11b-13 26.	Yahweh (Elohim) appears on Horeb 10 ^{2a} 9 ^{7-11a} 14-17 19.
Ascent of Moses &c: Covenant-meal 24 ¹ , 9-11.	The Ten Words 20 ¹⁻²¹ 19 ^{3b} . J 6b-8.
Preparation of the Stones, the Covenant-words 34 ¹⁻⁵ 10-28 ¹ .	Ascent of Moses to receive the Tables 24 ¹²⁻¹⁴ 18b.
[Rebellion of Israel.]	The Golden Calf 32 ¹⁻⁶ .
Intercession with Yahweh 31 ⁷⁻¹⁴ .	Moses descends with the tables 31 ^{18b} 32 ¹⁶ and destroys the Calf 32 ¹⁷⁻²⁴ .
Massacre by the Levites 33 ²⁵ -29.	
Chastisement by Yahweh who commands Moses to depart 33 ²⁵ 33 ¹ .	Intercession of Moses who is instructive to lead the people away 32 ³¹⁻³⁴ .

JE P^bP^aP^a

²⁹ And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount ^PSinai with the two tables of the ^qtestimony in ^PMoses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face ^qshone ^{by} reason of his speaking ^qwith him. ³⁰ And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him. ³¹ And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the ^rrulers of the ^ccongregation returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. ³² And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that Yahweh had spoken ^rwith him in mount Sinai. ³³ And when Moses had ^wdone speaking ^qwith them, he put a ^vveil on his face. ³ But when Moses went in before Yahweh to ^w speak with him, he took the ^vveil off, until he came out; and he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he ²was commanded: ³⁵ and the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the ^vveil upon his face again, until he ^wwent in to speak with him.

³⁵ ^NL And Moses ^aassembled all the ^acongregation of the children of Israel, and said unto them, ^bThese are the words which Yahweh hath commanded, that ye should do them. ² ^Six days shall ^wwork be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an ^holy day, a ^sabbath

P 7

q 161

r 185^o

s 131

t 45

a 45^b

b 188

c 177

d 90^ae 137^c^w Lev 1620 Josh19⁵¹ 5^a cp

Gen 1722

^w 33-35 5^a^w Cp 2522 Num

789

² Lev 885 1018

Num 318 362

cp Gen 4519

Ezek 311

1-3 19b^c

J
Renewed intercession of
Moses (Num 11^{10c} 11, 14.) 33¹⁹⁻²⁸,

Second great manifestation
of Yahweh, with pardoning
mercy 34⁶⁻⁹.

[Construction of the Ark and
Tent, and appointment of the
Levites to carry the Ark.]

Visit of Hobab 18⁷ 10.

Departure from Sinai Num
10³⁶⁻³⁸.

Every reader of Bacon's elaborate expositions of this scheme must admire its boldness and skill. It does not altogether overcome the difficulty on which Kuen has laid so much stress, viz the Deuteronomic affirmation that the Horeb-legislation was limited to the Ten Words. Too much weight, however, must not be attached to this assertion in view of the free adaptation which can constantly be traced in D's use of older materials. But not only does it emphasize (in the case of E) a Covenant-renewal which D ignores, it also ascribes to the Ten Words of E a Covenant-character of which the narrative says nothing, yet it altogether neglects them when the Covenant is remade. Further, in identifying the Covenant-words of J with the Ten Words, it suggests by implication that those of E were of later date; for if they were known to J, why should he have substituted others for them? This is not a difficulty to the critics who, like the numerous writers already cited 20¹⁸, regard the Ten Words of E as the product of the great prophetic movement of the eighth century, but it is an embarrassment to the view of their earlier origin. If the Ten Words in their simplest form are really of ancient use, it seems inconceivable that J should have produced a totally different code and called it by the same name. Apart from that designation (which may, after all, be a later and mistaken gloss) there is close concurrence between the terms of the two Covenants in J and E, rendering it probable that in the original documents they occupied similar places. Substantial agreement, with variations in terminology and order, is the natural mark of a common antiquity. It is in the last resort conceivable, therefore, that J and E both contained the Ten Words and the Covenant-story: in the union of JE one delivery of the Ten Words was found sufficient; and while E's version was retained, J's was set aside. The two Covenants,

E
Mourning of the people and
surrender of their ornaments
33⁴ 6.

[Construction of the Ark and
the Tent.]

The Covenant renewed: the
second Ten Words 26²²⁻²⁶
23¹⁰⁻¹⁶ 22²⁹⁻³¹ 23¹⁸ 19b 15 20-31
24³⁻⁸

Visit of Jethro 18¹ 27^r.

Usage of the Tent of Meeting
33⁷⁻¹¹

Scenes at the Tent (1) the
Seventy Elders Num 11¹⁶, 24-30
(2) murmurs at Moses' wife Num
12¹⁻¹⁵,

[Departure from Horeb.]

however, did not resemble each other so closely as to be incompatible at a little distance, and both therefore were incorporated at different stages of the united narrative, undergoing further revision afterwards by R⁴. The Covenant-idea rose into prominence in reflexion on the past, and D, in embodying the materials of JE's 'Covenant-words' in the legislation of Moab may have transferred the conception with the title to the utterance in the hearing of the people at the Mount of God. (This view, however, seems less probable than that suggested in 20¹⁸.) In the analysis in the text nothing further is attempted than the distribution of the narrative into its constituent elements. The reader must form his own judgement as to the processes through which they have passed on the way to their present combination. Cp (for a different criticism) Battersby, 'Exodus' in Hastings' DB i 810a.

³⁴ ^{20a} This section is closely allied to P, and seems the natural continuation of 31¹⁸. But it has not been assigned to P^a without challenge, for Kuen observes that it 'presupposes the existence of the sanctuary that, according to P, has still to be built, and seems to place it outside the camp ³⁴, in common with 33⁷⁻¹¹.' He regards it, therefore (*Hex* 76 332) as an addition from a much later hand. It is clear that ³⁴, implies the sanctuary, but there is no reference to its situation and it is difficult to know why it should be supposed to be outside. The narrative of P must have contained some mention of Moses' descent, and his communication of the divine instructions to the people. It is probable, therefore, that 29-33 belongs to it, while the expander may have added the particulars concerning the removal of the veil on occasion of Moses' attendance on Yahweh in the sanctuary, thus converting into a continuous phenomenon what was the exceptional result of his solemn communion on the mount. In this view ³², which obviously anticipates 35⁴, in the present text, served as the earlier conclusion of the Sinai scene in P before the insertion of the great Repetition (cp 35¹⁸ and 4⁸) and ³⁴, is an addition of a later editor.

^{29b} The awkward occurrence of the name Moses here (which Sam corrects into 'his') and the repetition of the clause 'when he came down from the mount' point to some kind of amalgamation, possibly from the narrative of J.

^{28c} M Or, sent forth beams (5 horns).

^{28d} M Or, while he talked with him.

³⁵ The Sabbath-law in 1-3 is often regarded as a part of the great Repetition of the instructions for the preparation of the Dwelling cp 31¹²⁻¹⁷. But the title 'these are the words' &c suggests a longer series of injunctions than the commands in 2-; and of these 2 only is actually contained in 31¹², 3 being entirely independent. It is probable, therefore, that this was the beginning of a more extensive collection, and does not stand in its original place. At the close of 3 (5) adds the phrase 'I am Yahweh.' If the words are genuine, it becomes almost certain that the passage has been editorially transposed cp Lev 23³. ² M See 31¹⁸,

JE P ^b	P ^a	P ^c
	of solemn rest to Yahweh: whosoever 'doeth any work therein shall be put to death. ³ Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your 'habitations upon the sabbath day ^a .	f 55 ^a
a (G) Adds 1 am Yahweh 4-9 L ^{12a}	⁴ ¹² And Moses ⁵ spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, ⁶ This is the thing which Yahweh commanded, saying, ⁷ Take ye from among you an offering unto Yahweh: whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, Yahweh's offering; ⁸ gold, and silver, and brass; and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' [hair]; ⁹ and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, and acacia wood; ¹⁰ and oil for the light, and spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; ¹¹ and onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate. ¹² And let every wise hearted man among you come, and make all that Yahweh hath commanded; ¹³ the Dwelling, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and its boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets; ¹⁴ the ark, and the staves thereof, the covering, and the veil of the screen; ¹⁵ the table, and its staves, and all its vessels, and the ¹⁶ shewbread; ¹⁷ the candlestick also for the light, and its vessels, and its lamps, and the oil for the light; ¹⁸ and the ¹⁹ altar of incense, and its staves, and the ²⁰ anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the door, at the door of the Dwelling; ²¹ the ²² altar of burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the ²³ laver and its base; ²⁴ the hangings of the court, the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court; ²⁵ the pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their ²⁶ cords; ²⁷ the ²⁸ finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place,	g 185
c (G) om 8 cp 25 ⁶ 10-19 L ^{12a}		
d 30 ¹⁻¹¹ e 30 ²⁶ f 30 ⁸³ g Ct 27 ¹ h 30 ¹⁸ i 39 ⁴⁰ Num 32 ³⁷ 42 ⁵²		

35⁴ The lengthy narrative of the construction of the Dwelling in 35⁴⁻⁴⁰ obviously reproduces 25-28 30-31¹¹: the following table is designed to show the variations of order between the original and the repetition, and between P and G in the second section —

Ex 25-31.	Ex 35 ⁴⁻⁴⁰ G.	Ex 35 ⁴⁻⁴⁰ G.
25 ¹⁻⁹ the Offerings and the Pattern	35 ⁴⁻¹⁹	35 ⁴⁻⁸ G om, 9-19 with variations [20-36 ⁷]
10-21 the Ark	37 ¹⁻⁹	38 ¹⁻⁶ curtailed
23-30 the Table	10-18	9-12 G ¹¹ om, curtailed
31-40 the Lampstand	17-24	13-17 much curtailed, G ²⁴ om
26 ¹⁻¹⁴ the Tent	36 ⁸⁻¹⁹	cp 37 ¹
15-20 the Framework	20-84	cp 38 ¹⁸⁻²¹
51-57 the Veil and Screen	85-38	37 ⁸⁻⁹
27 ¹⁻⁸ the Altar	38 ¹⁻⁷ the Altar of Burnt Offering	cp 38 ²²⁻²⁴
9-19 the Forecourt	9-20	37 ⁷⁻¹⁸ with variations
20-21 the Oil for the Light	—	—
26 ¹⁻⁵ the Priests' Vestments	39 ¹	cp 39 ¹³ 36 ^{8b}
6-12 the Ephod	2-7	36 ⁹⁻¹⁴
13-20 the Breastplate of Judgement	8-21	15-29
31-35 the Robe	22-26	30-34
36-38 the Turban	30-31	38-40
39-43 the Linen Coats	27-29	86-87
29 the Priests' Consecration	Lev 8	Lev 8
30 ¹⁻¹⁰ the Incense Altar	37 ²⁵⁻²⁸	—
11-16 the half-shekel Tax	38 ^[21-28] 24-31	cp 17 ^[19-21] 39 ¹ 10
17-18 the Laver	8	38 ²⁶
19-21 the Priests' Abjurations	cp 40 ³⁰⁻³²	cp 38 ²⁷
22-28 the Perfumes and Oil	37 ²⁹	38 ²⁵
31 ¹⁻¹¹ Bezal and Oholiab	35 ³⁰⁻³⁶	35 ⁸⁰⁻³⁶
	39 ³²⁻⁴⁸ the work finished	39 ¹¹ [12 13 cp 1] 14-28
	40 ¹⁻¹⁸ the Dwelling to be set up	40 ¹⁻¹⁸ G 7 11 om, 8 curtailed
	17-38 the Dwelling set up	14-27 G 28 29b om, G 30-32 om, cp G 38 ²⁷
	34-38 the Cloud upon the Dwelling	28-32

The criticism of this section was first undertaken in 1862 by

Dr J Popper in his treatise *Der Biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte*. His main results have been accepted by Kuenen, who has discussed them in his *Hexateuch* pp 76-80 332. The chief points on which he lays stress are—(1) the incorporation in their proper order of the secondary sections in 30-31¹¹: thus the altar of incense 39¹⁻¹⁰ is described after the ark, table, and lampstand, which stood within the Tent; and the laver 30¹⁷ is named after the altar of burnt offering 38²: this rearrangement implies a hand at least as late as the addition of 30-31¹¹ to 25-29. But (2) it can be shown to have been still more recent, for the account of the half-shekel tax and its purpose differs in 38²⁴⁻³¹ from that in 30¹¹⁻¹⁶ cp 38^{26b}. This conclusion (3) is confirmed by divergences of phraseology in the Repetition; thus 36¹⁰ 12, 22 has *אִתּוֹ אֶחָד* 'one to another,' for *אִתּוֹ אֶל אֶחָד* 26⁵ 5, 17 cp Sam 26³ &c. It is further (4) supported by indications of diversity of authorship in 35-40 (with which Lev 8 = Ex 29 must be combined), e.g. 40²⁷⁻³² anticipates the account of the consecration of the priests Lev 8, and their first sacrifice Lev 9; and in 39¹⁻³¹ the formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' recurs seven times, though not previously employed in 35-38. It is (5) in harmony with this general view of prolonged redactional activity that G should display such marked peculiarities of dislocation, curtailment, or omission: the text of the Repetition could not have been definitely fixed. Moreover, the phenomena of translation are unexpected: technical terms in the Repetition are sometimes rendered by fresh words, and not by their counterparts in the preceding sections: why should such changes have been introduced if the same translator had been at work? and if a new hand took up the task, was it not because new material called for incorporation in the Greek version? Popper, therefore, boldly concluded that 35-40 did not assume its final form until after the preparation of G had begun, and this view is favoured by Kuenen, though it may be doubted how far the variations of rendering suffice to justify the conclusion (cp parallel phenomena in Num 3-4). Apart, however, from this particular inference the generally late character of 35-40^a is further indicated (1) by the circumstance that the account of the breastplate of judgement 39⁸⁻²¹ includes alike in G and G the duplicate passage which G omitted from 28¹³⁻³⁰; and (2) by the remarkable parallel between the institution of the new ritual order and the ancient cosmic order. The sevenfold 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 39¹⁻³¹ (cp 40¹⁸⁻³²) matches the sevenfold 'and it was so' and God saw that it was good' of Gen 1; the finished work is inspected by Moses 39⁴⁸ and draws forth his blessing cp Gen 1³¹ 28 23. Such a parallel seems to belong to the age which witnessed the beginnings of Rabbinical speculation (cp Jos, *Ant* iii 7 7, Philo, *Vit Mos* iii 6 ff).

^a M See 25²⁻⁷.

¹⁰ M See 31¹⁰.

¹³ M Or, *Presence-bread*.

* Dillm (*NDJ* 635) admitted that the present sequence has been expanded from a much briefer base, and found the original nucleus in 35¹⁻³ 4, 20, 36²⁻⁶ 40¹. 34-38. No clear criteria, however, seem to be available for such discrimination, though it seems highly probable that P originally contained some brief account of the fulfilment of the instructions in 25-28: cp Gen 6²² Ex 12²⁸ &c.

JE^PhP^gPⁱ

the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.

²⁰ ^LAnd all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses. ²¹ And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, [and] brought Yahweh's offering, for the work of the tent of meeting, and for all the service thereof, and for the holy garments. ²² And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, [and] brought brooches, and ²³ earrings, and signet-rings, and ²⁴ armlets, all jewels of gold; even every man that ²⁵ offered an ²⁶ offering of gold unto Yahweh. ²⁷ And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' [hair], and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, brought them. ²⁸ Every one that did ²⁹ offer an ³⁰ offering of silver and brass brought Yahweh's offering: and every man, with whom was found acacia wood for any work of the service, brought it. ³¹ And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, the blue, and the purple, the scarlet, and the fine linen. ³² And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun the goats' [hair]. ³³ And the rulers brought the ³⁴ onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate; ³⁵ and the spice, and the oil; for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense. ³⁶ The children of Israel brought a freewill offering unto Yahweh; every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all the work, which Yahweh had commanded to be made ³⁷ by the hand of Moses.

³⁸ ^LAnd Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, Yahweh hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; ³⁹ and he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; ⁴⁰ and to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, ⁴¹ and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of cunning workmanship. ⁴² And he hath put in his heart that he may ⁴³ teach, both he, and Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. ⁴⁴ Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of workmanship, of the ⁴⁵ engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any workmanship, and of those that devise cunning works. ⁴⁶ And Bezalel and Oholiab shall work, and every wise hearted man, in whom Yahweh hath put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all the work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that Yahweh hath commanded.

⁴⁷ ^LAnd Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart Yahweh had put wisdom, even every one whose heart stirred him up to ⁴⁸ come unto the work to do it: ⁴⁹ and they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal. And they brought yet unto him freewill offerings every morning. ⁵⁰ And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they wrought; ⁵¹ and they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than ⁵² enough for the service of the work, which Yahweh commanded to make. ⁵³ And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing. ⁵⁴ For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

⁵⁵ ^LAnd every wise hearted man among them that wrought the work made the Dwelling with ten curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he them. ⁵⁶ The length of each curtain was eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains had one measure. ⁵⁷ And he coupled five curtains ⁵⁸ one to another: and [the other] five curtains he coupled one to another. ⁵⁹ And he made loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain ⁶⁰ from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the second ⁶¹ coupling. ⁶² Fifty loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second ⁶³ coupling: the loops were opposite ⁶⁴ one to another. ⁶⁵ And he made fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the curtains ⁶⁶ one to another with the clasps: so the Dwelling was one. ⁶⁷ And he made curtains of goats' [hair] for a tent over the Dwelling: eleven curtains he made them. ⁶⁸ The length of each curtain was thirty cubits, and four cubits the breadth of each curtain: the eleven curtains had one measure. ⁶⁹ And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves. ⁷⁰ And he made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the ⁷¹ coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which was [outmost in] the second ⁷² coupling. ⁷³ And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one. ⁷⁴ And he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of ⁷⁵ sealskins above.

⁷⁶ ^LAnd he made the boards for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up. ⁷⁷ Ten

35^{22a} M Or, nose-rings.35^b M Or, necklaces.—Num 31⁶⁰†.36 M See 31¹⁻⁶.36⁸ M See 26¹⁻¹⁴.

27 M Or, beryl.

38 M Or, craftsman.

11a M Or, that was outmost in the first set.

17a M Or, first set.

19 M Or, porpoise-skins.

11b M Or, set.

17b M Or, set.

20 M See 26¹⁵⁻²⁰.

JE P^bP^aP^a

cubits was the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. ²² Each board had two tenons, ²³ joined one to another: thus did he make for all the boards of the Dwelling. ²⁴ And he made the boards for the Dwelling; twenty boards for the south side southward: ²⁵ and he made forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons. ²⁶ And for the second side of the Dwelling, on the north side, he made twenty boards, ²⁷ and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. ²⁸ And for the hinder part of the Dwelling westward he made six boards. ²⁹ And two boards made he for the corners of the Dwelling in the hinder part. ³⁰ And they were double beneath, and in like manner they ³¹ were entire unto the top thereof unto ³² one ring: thus he did to both of them in the two corners. ³³ And there were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; under every board two sockets. ³⁴ And he made bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the Dwelling, ³⁵ and five bars for the boards of the other side of the Dwelling, and five bars for the boards of the Dwelling for the hinder part westward. ³⁶ And he made the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards from the one end to the other. ³⁷ And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings of gold for places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35. L12bc

³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

37. L12bd

1-2 L12c

³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ^{369</}

JE P^hP^sP^s

it a crown of gold round about. ²⁷ And he made for it two golden rings under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it, for places for staves to bear it withal. ²⁸ And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. ²⁹ ^{ML} And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, after the art of the perfumer.

³⁸ ^{ML} And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof, foursquare; and three cubits the height thereof. ² And he made the horns thereof upon the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of one piece with it: and he overlaid it with brass. ³ And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he of brass. ⁴ And he made for the altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round it beneath, reaching halfway up. ⁵ And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grating of brass, to be places for the staves. ⁶ And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with brass. ⁷ And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made it hollow with planks.

⁸ ^{ML} And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors of ^{the} ^{ML} serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.

⁹ ^{ML} And he made the court: for the south side southward the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an hundred cubits: ¹⁰ their pillars were twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets were of silver. ¹¹ And for the north side an hundred cubits, their pillars twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. ¹² And for the west side were hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. ¹³ And for the east side eastward fifty cubits. ¹⁴ The hangings for the one side [of the gate] were fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three; ¹⁵ and so for the other side: on this hand and that hand by the gate of the court were hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁶ All the hangings of the court round about were of fine twined linen. ¹⁷ And the sockets for the pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapters of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with silver. ¹⁸ And the screen for the gate of the court was the work of the embroiderer, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits, ¹⁹ answerable to the hangings of the court. ²⁰ And their pillars were four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapters and their fillets of silver. ²¹ And all the pins of the Dwelling, and of the court round about, were of brass.

²² ^{ML} This is the "sum of [the things for] the Dwelling, even the Dwelling of the testimony, as they were counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest. ²³ And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁴ And with him was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

²⁵ All the gold that was used for the work in all the work of the sanctuary, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary. ²⁶ ^{ML} And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: ²⁷ a beka a head, [that is], half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that passed over to them that were numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. ²⁸ And the hundred talents of silver were for casting the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the veil; an hundred sockets for the hundred talents, a talent for a socket. ²⁹ And of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five [shekels] he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapters, and made fillets for them. ³⁰ And the brass of the offering was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred shekels. ³¹ And therewith he

a 188
b 190
c 180

d 1181

37²⁹ M See 30^{23, 34}.

38¹ M See 27¹⁻⁸.

³⁸ M See 30¹⁸.—The brevity of the reference is again noteworthy cp 30^{17, 18}; the source of the statement concerning the serving women's mirrors is unknown. Such women are only mentioned elsewhere in a late addition to the text in 1 Sam 2²² (cp Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel* p 26), and the reference to them here may be derived from some Midrash.

³⁸ M Or, the women which assembled to minister.—Cp 92⁸.

³⁸ M See Num 4²³ 24 1 Sam 2²².

³⁸ M See 27⁹⁻¹⁹.

³⁸ as in 25²⁷ 28²⁷ 34³, but hardly in the same sense. Dillm sees in it a sign of later addition to the text; rather does the diversity of usage confirm the conclusion partly suggested by the heightened detail, that the whole passage, like so much else embedded in the Great Repetition, is considerably posterior to the sections of the original design.

²³ M Or, a craftsman.

²⁵ It is noteworthy that in 25-28 the 'silver of the offering' (cp 'gold of the offering' ²⁴ 'brass of the offering' ²⁹) is ignored, and the writer only deals with the product of the poll-tax of half a shekel. This is based (1) on a misunderstanding of 30¹¹⁻¹⁶, where the money is to be applied for the 'service of the tent of meeting' ¹⁸, i.e. for the maintenance of the permanent cultus, not for the construction of the fabric; and (2) on the census of the males now recorded in Num 1. But that census did not take place till a month after the completion of the Dwelling cp Num 1¹ Ex 40¹. Ewald accordingly suggested (*Antiquities* 303⁸) that if Num 1 did not precede this passage originally, a preliminary levy was described and afterwards omitted. The view here taken (after Wellh, Kuen, and Dillm, *Ex* 355 404, *NDJ* 635) regards the discrepancy as due to the misinterpretation of a later amplifying scribe.

JE P¹¹P⁸P³

made the sockets to the door of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, ³¹ and the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the gate of the court, and all the pins of the Dwelling, and all the pins of the court round about.

³² ¹And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place, and made the holy garments for Aaron; ³³as Yahweh commanded Moses.

³⁴ ²And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. ³And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, the work of the cunning workman. ⁴They made shoulderpieces for it, joined together: at the two ends was it joined together. ⁵And the cunningly woven band, that was upon it, to gird it on withal, was of the same piece [and] like the work thereof; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; ⁶as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁷And they wrought the onyx stones, inclosed in ouches of gold, graven with the engravings of a signet, according to the names of the children of Israel. ⁸And he put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel; ⁹as Yahweh commanded Moses.

¹⁰ ¹And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning workman, like the work of the ephod; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. ²It was foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, being double. ³And they set in it four rows of stones: a row of sardius, topaz, and carbuncle was the first row. ⁴And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. ⁵And the third row, a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst. ⁶And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their settings. ⁷And the stones were according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, for the twelve tribes. ⁸And they made upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. ⁹And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold rings; and put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. ¹⁰And they put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. ¹¹And the [other] two ends of the two wreathen chains they put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forefront thereof. ¹²And they made two rings of gold, and put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which was toward the side of the ephod inward. ¹³And they made two rings of gold, and put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod underneath, in the forefront thereof, close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod. ¹⁴And they did bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod; ¹⁵as Yahweh commanded Moses.

¹⁶ ¹And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue; ²and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, as the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about the hole of it, that it should not be rent. ³And they made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet, [and] twined [linen]. ⁴And they made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about, between the pomegranates; ⁵a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about, to minister in; ⁶as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁷ ¹And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work for Aaron, and for his sons, ²and the ³mitre of fine linen, and the goodly headdresses of fine linen, and the linen breeches of fine twined linen, and the girdle of fine twined linen, ⁴and blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work of the embroiderer; ⁵as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁶ ¹And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and ²wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO YAHWEH. ³And they tied upon it a lace of blue, to fasten it upon the ⁴mitre above; ⁵as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁶ ¹Thus was ²finished all the work of the Dwelling of the tent of meeting: and the children of Israel did according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, ³so did they.

⁴And they brought the Dwelling unto Moses, the Tent, and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars, and its pillars, and its sockets; ⁵and the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of ⁶sealskins, and the veil of the screen;

³⁰ This phrase, repeated seven times in 39¹⁻³¹, seems to correspond to the sevenfold refrains in Gen 1 cp ³².

² M. See 28⁹⁻¹².

³ This verse has no counterpart in 28⁶⁻¹².

⁴ M. See 28¹⁵⁻²⁸.—It will be noted that the repetition contains both descriptions 16-18 19-21 of the rings for fastening on the breastplate; and while ⁵ omits 28²⁵⁻²⁸ the corresponding passage 39¹⁹⁻²¹ ⁶ is in its place 36²⁷⁻²⁹ ⁷.

²² M. See 28³¹⁻³⁴.

²⁸ M. Or, turban.

²⁷ M. See 28³⁰, 42.

³⁰ M. See 28³⁰.

^{31a} This verse has no counterpart in the preceding section.

^{31b} M. Or, turban.

³² On the indications of a parallel between the order of the Dwelling and the order of the heavens and the earth in Gen 1 see 35⁴⁸ *ad fin.* ³³ omits 52⁶, and reproduces 35-45 with variations of order and some omissions. The peculiar designation 'Dwelling of the tent of meeting' ³⁹ occurs only here and in 40^{1 6 29}, where ³⁹ has only 'tent of meeting.'

³⁴ M. Or, porpoise-skins.

JE P^hP^ePⁱ

³⁵ the ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the covering; ³⁶ the table, all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread; ³⁷ the pure candlestick, the lamps thereof, even the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for the light; ³⁸ and the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the door of the Tent; ³⁹ the brasen altar, and its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the laver and its base; ⁴⁰ the hangings of the court, its pillars, and its sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court, the cords thereof, and the pins thereof, and all the instruments of the service of the Dwelling, for the tent of meeting; ⁴¹ the finely wrought garments for ministering in the holy place, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office. ⁴² According to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the work. ⁴³ And Moses ⁴⁴saw all the work, and, behold, they had done it; as Yahweh had commanded, even ⁴⁵so had they done it: and Moses ⁴⁶blessed them.

⁴⁰¹ ^LAnd Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ² On the first day of the ^bfirst month shalt thou ^crear up the ^dDwelling of the tent of meeting. ³ And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with the veil. ⁴ And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and ^elight the lamps thereof. ⁵ And thou shalt set the golden altar for incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the screen of the door to the Dwelling. ⁶ And thou shalt set the altar of burnt offering before the door of the ^dDwelling of the tent of meeting. ⁷ ^NAnd thou shalt set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and shalt put water therein. ⁸ And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the screen of the gate of the court. ⁹ And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the furniture thereof: and it shall be holy. ¹⁰ And thou shalt anoint the altar of burnt offering, and all its vessels, and sanctify the altar: and the altar shall be most holy. ¹¹ And thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, and sanctify it. ¹² And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water. ¹³ ^LAnd thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; ¹⁴ and thou shalt anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. ¹⁵ ^LAnd thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them: ¹⁶ ^Land thou shalt ^aanoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: and their anointing shall ^bbe to them for an ^ceverlasting priesthood ^dthroughout their generations. ¹⁶ ^LThus did Moses: according to all that Yahweh commanded him, so did he.

¹⁷ ^LAnd it came to pass in the ^bfirst month in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the Dwelling was ^creared up. ¹⁸ And Moses ^creared up the Dwelling, and laid its sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up its pillars. ¹⁹ And he spread the tent over the Dwelling, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; ²⁰ ^Nas Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁰ ^LAnd he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the covering above upon the ark: ²¹ and he brought the ark into the Dwelling, and set up the veil of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²² And he put the table in the tent of meeting, upon the side of the Dwelling northward, without the veil. ²³ And he set the bread in order upon it before Yahweh; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁴ And he put the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against the table, on the side of the Dwelling southward. ²⁵ And he ^elighted the lamps before Yahweh; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁶ And he put the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the veil: ²⁷ and he burnt thereon incense of sweet spices; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁸ ^NAnd he put the screen of the door to the Dwelling. ²⁹ And he set the altar of burnt offering at the door of the ^dDwelling of the tent of meeting, ³⁰ and offered upon it the burnt offering and the meal offering; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³⁰ ^NAnd he set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water therein, to wash withal. ³¹ ^NAnd Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat: ³² when they went into the tent of meeting, and when they ^bcame near unto the altar, they washed: as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³³ ^LAnd he reared up the court round about the Dwelling and the altar, ³⁴ and set up the screen of the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

³⁴ ^LThen the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the ^eglory of Yahweh filled the Dwelling. ³⁵ And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the cloud ^fabode thereon, and the ^eglory of Yahweh filled the Dwelling. ³⁶ And when the cloud was taken up from over the Dwelling, the children of Israel went onward, throughout all their ^jjourneys: ³⁷ but if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up. ³⁸ For the cloud ^gof Yahweh was upon the Dwelling by day, and there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their ^kjourneys.

a 185^a
b 183
c 60^b
d 54^c

e 27
f 62
g 76^b
h 189

i 79
j 54^a
k 97^c

c Cp Gen 1³¹
d Cp Gen 1²⁸ 2³
1-16 ^L121a

13a ^L110a
13b ^L110d/
14. ^L110pgd
15 ^L110d
a Cp 28⁴¹ 1⁸
16 ^L121b

17-19 ^L121c

20-30 ^L121d

31. ^L121e

b 36²
32 ^L121f

34-38 ^L100y

40⁴ M Or, set up.

19 Again a sevenfold repetition

26 M Or, set up.

29 G omits 29b.

31 M See 30¹⁹.

7 G omits 7¹¹ and curtails 8.

19-32 cp 30¹⁸.

28 G omits.

30-32 G omits cp G 38²⁷.

33 G omits 33b.

38 For יתרו Klostermann proposes (NKZ 1897 p 76) to read יתרו 'was' (otherwise unexpressed in G). The construction 'there was cloud' will then be parallel to G in the next clause. It may be added that 'cloud of Yahweh' occurs elsewhere only in Num 10³⁴, cp 'thy cloud' Num 14¹⁴.

LEVITICUS^NJE P^tP^ePⁱ1-3 ²¹1¹⁰
1-13 ¹⁷6^ja Ct flock and
herd ¹⁸33
b 10 14 ¹16 ¹²
c 10 ³16
d 32 ⁸13 ⁴4e 11 ³2 ⁸13 ⁴4
f 11 ³2 ⁸13

¹ ¹⁸L And Yahweh called unto Moses, and spake unto him ⁹out of the tent of meeting, saying,
² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, "When ^aany man of you offereth
an oblation unto Yahweh, ye shall offer your oblation of the cattle, [even]
of the ^aherd and of the flock.

³ ^bIf his oblation be a burnt offering of the herd, ^che shall offer it a male
without blemish: ^dhe shall offer it at the door of the tent of meeting, that he may be
^eaccepted before Yahweh. ⁴ And ^fhe shall lay his hand upon the head
of the burnt offering; and it shall be ^gaccepted for him to make atone-
ment for him. ⁵ And ^hhe shall kill the bullock before Yahweh: and
ⁱAaron's sons, the priests, shall present the blood, and ^jsprinkle the blood

a 190^bb 17^bc 17^a

The Book of Leviticus forms an important part of the Priestly Code. In the chronology of the *Hex* it comprises the body of legislation imparted to Moses in the month between the erection of the Dwelling Ex 40¹⁷ on New Year's Day at the opening of the second year after the Exodus and the first census, for which instructions were given on the first of the second month in the same year Num 1¹. When its legislative contents are examined, it is seen that they fall into groups, in which the most clearly marked are 1-7, 11-15 and 17-26. At 9 the narrative continuation of Ex 29 seems to be resumed; but this element again falls into the background in 10. The study of the several groups reveals the fact that they are not entirely homogeneous with themselves or with each other. The first is concerned with sacrifice; the second deals chiefly with the laws for the preservation of ritual cleanness; while the third has secured the name of the Holiness-legislation cp *Introd* XIII 8 i 143, its varied contents being again and again summed up under that conception. On the general features of the other two cp *ibid* 9 i 152. By common consent the oldest materials are to be found in P^b; they can be to a certain extent disengaged from the framework in which they are now incorporated; and in some sections, such as the Calendar of the Feasts 23, or the Jubile-law 25, they can be separated from the later legislation with which they are now combined. That this union had been effected at the time of the promulgation of Ezra's law-book has been argued *Introd* i 138, on the basis of a comparison of Lev 23³⁴ with Neh 8¹⁴ cp *ibid* 156. It is probable also that the mass of priestly teaching comprised in 1-7 and 11-15 had also found its place by the same date in the great code of P. Whether the repetition of Ex 29 in 8 was also included may, however, be doubted: and similar uncertainty must affect 16 cp *Introd* XIII 118 i 156-7, and 27 *ibid* XVI 35 i 179. In studying the significance of the code historically, the distinction between the age of a usage or custom and the date of the written law which prescribes it, must be always maintained: this work is concerned only with the attempt to fix the literary relations of the documents and their constituent elements. Cp Driver and White, *Lev* in *Haupt's SBOT* 57.

¹ ¹⁶ The first legislative group 1-7 contains a comprehensive account of the offerings to be brought to the Sanctuary. In its present position this section interrupts the connexion, for the consecration of the priests in 8-9 should follow Ex 35-40 as Ex 29 succeeds 25-28. To what precise editorial method this is due, whether Ex 35-40 and Lev 8-9 were inserted later on either side of the sacrificial code in Lev 1-7, or whether the code was subsequently placed in close relation with the account of the completion of the sanctuary, cannot be precisely determined. But in its existing form the group is certainly later than P^e cp 4¹¹. The conspectus of its contents shows that it is itself composite. Broadly speaking, it falls into two unequal divisions 12-67 and 68-7³⁶, which show a certain parallelism of contents,

¹ 3-17	Burnt Offering	68-13
² 1-16	Meal Offering	614-23
³ 1-17	Peace Offering	711-34
⁴ 1-13	Sin Offering	624-30
⁵ 14-67	Guilt Offering	71-10

The order in the two sections is not identical, nor is their matter the same. The second group must be regarded as

supplementary to the first: it is designed mainly for the priestly officials ⁶9 ²⁵ contrasted with the lay worshippers ¹2 ⁴2; and it is concerned largely with the sacred dues. For differences of detail see the Analysis and the table of Laws vol i. Attention may also be called to the large group of cultus terms and formulae, the constant repetition of which is characteristic of the legal style of P: thus, Aaron's sons ¹²1, atonement ²⁵, without blemish (perfect) ¹²3, bring near (offer, present) ¹¹8^a, burn ³⁷, burn with fire ³⁸, clean ⁴², guilt offering ¹¹8ⁱ, heave offering ¹¹8^e, holy ⁸⁶ &c, kill ¹⁰⁰, lay his hand on ¹⁰², meal offering ¹¹8^b, oblation ¹¹8^b, offering made by fire ¹¹8^e, sacrifice of peace offerings ¹¹8ⁱ, sin offering ¹¹8ⁱ, soul ¹⁴⁶, sprinkle ¹⁴⁸, sweet savour ¹⁵⁸, unclean ¹⁶⁷, wave offering ¹¹8ⁱ, ¹⁰⁷ 177: introductory formulae, Yahweh spake . . . saying ¹⁸⁵, speak unto . . . ¹⁸⁵^b, if any one sin ¹⁹⁰, this is the law . . . ¹⁸⁸. The descriptions of ritual acts are again and again cast in the same mould, as the marginal references will show. On the relation of the priestly teaching (P^t) to P^e cp *Introd* XIII 9 i 152.

¹ ¹⁶ The editor who placed the whole section here seems to have attempted by this title to connect it with the situation implied in the erection of the Tent of Meeting or Dwelling.

² The first division 1-67 might be described as a 'Manual for worshippers, revised and enlarged from various sources, and in part re-written.' The nucleus is found in 1-3 which treats of the burnt offering 1, the meal offering 2, and the sacrifice of peace offerings 3. Neither 4 (late P^t) nor 5-6⁷, which treat of the sin offering and guilt offering, seems to belong to 1-3 in its original form. Perhaps they take the place of the corresponding section of the little code 1-3; or, if that never dealt with these offerings, they have been added supplementally from other sources. The substance of 1-3 seems in the main older than P^e, and somewhat resembles P^b, yet it is not entirely in one piece cp 24-18. Some phrases which may be plausibly assigned to the compiler are marked by small type: whether he was himself also the author of P^e there seems no means of determining.

³ The reference to the Tent of Meeting interrupts the connexion. Lev 22¹⁰⁻²⁵ P^h shows clearly that the acceptance depends on the absence of blemish. In no other passage of 1-3 is the place of offering defined.

⁴ In 1-3 'the priest' occurs eleven times, and 'Aaron's sons, the priests' or an equivalent phrase, eleven times. It seems more natural to regard the plurals as interpolated than as original, for why should each paragraph revert to the singular ⁹12, ²2 &c? In ⁹13 the singular is actually preserved; (5) converts all the verbs 'kill' ⁵5 'flay' 'cut' ⁶6 'kill' ¹¹11 'cut' ¹²12 into plurals, assigning all these functions to the priests, and 'wash' ⁹13 (cp Sam ⁹) is altered to match. The formula of P^e 'Aaron' or 'Aaron and his sons' is here replaced by the peculiar phrase 'Aaron's sons the priests' ⁵5 ¹¹11 ²2 ³3. This appears to be an adaptation of the simple term 'the priest' ⁹9 ¹²12 &c by prefixing the designation 'Aaron's sons' and turning the singular 'priest' into the plural. In one case, however, the unique description 'Aaron's sons the priest' ⁷7 points to the origin of the combination. (6) And Sam, however, read 'the priests,' which is adopted by Kautzsch, Driv-Wh, and Addis.) These and other facts (cp 7³) confirm the suggestion that the substance of 1-3 is earlier than P^e, but the editing later.

JE P^tP^sP^r

7¹² Ex 29¹⁷
 1¹ Gen 22⁹
 1² 820[†]

7¹³ Ex 29¹⁷
 1¹ Sam 9¹ they
 1¹³ 17 2² 8. cp 16

m Ct 5^a

n 9¹ they

14-17 17b^t

o 5⁹
 p 5⁹ 5 = *trall*
 ct 11
 16 110dⁿ
 q 5[†]
 7 4¹² 610.^a
 1¹ 1¹ cp 11:37 26
 Deut 14⁶. Qal

1-3 17maoi

a Ex 29²

b 5¹² Num 526[†]
 c 5¹² 618 Gen
 4147[†]

2 17j^h

4-13 17mb^{on}c
 d 14 ct 1 1²
 e 5[†]
 f Ex 29²

7 621 cp Gen
 185⁵
 h 7⁹

round about upon the altar ^{that is at the door of the tent of meeting.} ⁶ And he shall flay the burnt offering, and ⁷ cut it into its ⁸ pieces. ⁷ And the sons of Aaron the priest shall ⁸ put fire upon the altar, and ¹ lay wood in order upon the fire: ⁸ and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall lay the pieces, the head, and the ² fat, in order upon the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: ⁹ but its ³ inwards and its ⁴ legs shall ¹ he ⁴ wash with water: and the ¹ priest shall burn the whole on the altar, for a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

¹⁰ And if his oblation be of the flock, of the sheep, or of the goats, for a burnt offering; he shall offer it a male without blemish. ¹¹ And he shall kill it ^{on the side of the altar northward} before Yahweh: and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle its blood upon the altar round about. ¹² And he shall cut it into its pieces, with its head and its ¹ fat: and the priest shall lay them in order on the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: ¹³ but the inwards and the legs shall ¹ he ⁴ wash with water: and the priest shall offer the whole, and burn it upon the altar: it is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

¹⁴ ¹⁴ ¹⁴ And if his oblation to Yahweh be a burnt offering of fowls, then he shall offer his oblation of turtledoves, or of young pigeons. ¹⁵ And the priest shall bring it unto the altar, and ¹⁶ wring off its head, and burn it on the altar; and the blood thereof shall be ¹⁷ drained out on the ¹⁸ side of the altar: ¹⁶ and he shall take away its ¹⁹ crop with the ²⁰ filth thereof, and cast it beside the altar on the east part, in the place of the ²¹ ashes: ¹⁷ and he shall ¹⁸ rend it by the wings thereof, but shall not ¹⁹ divide it asunder: and the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire: it is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

²¹ ²¹ And when any one offereth an oblation of a ²² meal offering unto Yahweh, his oblation shall be of ²³ fine flour; and he shall ²⁴ pour oil upon it, and put ²⁵ frankincense thereon: ² and he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the priests: and he shall ³ take thereout his ⁴ handful of the fine flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest shall burn [it as] the ⁵ memorial thereof upon the altar, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: ⁶ and that which is left of the meal offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire.

⁴ ⁴ ⁴ And when ⁵ thou offerest an oblation of a meal offering ⁶ baken in the oven, it shall be unleavened ⁷ cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened ⁸ wafers anointed with oil. ⁵ And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the ⁹ baking pan, it shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil. ⁶ Thou shalt ⁷ part it in ⁸ pieces, and ⁹ pour oil thereon: it is a meal offering. ⁷ And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the ¹⁰ frying pan, it shall be made of fine flour with oil. ⁸ And ⁹ thou shalt bring the meal offering that is made of these things unto Yahweh: and it shall be presented unto the priest, and he shall bring it unto the altar. ⁹ And the priest shall ¹⁰ take up from the meal offering the ¹¹ memorial thereof, and

d 174^a

e 53

a 128

b 72

c 112^b

d 85^a

^{15b} Ct 11^b: the order of the words in 5 'upon the altar round about that is' &c makes it probable that the local description has been added.

⁷ This direction to kindle a special fire seems to conflict with the ordinance for maintaining a perpetual fire on the altar 6²⁻¹³: Kalisch regards it, therefore, as belonging to an antecedent ritual stage. The view of Knobel, repeated by Dillm., that the author here contemplates only the first burnt offering seems sufficiently met by the remark of Kalisch that the precepts of the Chapter are altogether general in their application. If this view is correct, the regulation supplies another testimony to the relative antiquity of the substance of this section.

¹⁴ A supplement, as the title in ² only contemplates 'herd and flock.' Note that here 'the priest' kills the bird; on the subject in ⁵ cp Dillm.-Ryss 'the offerer,' and Driv.-Wh more probably 'one of the attendants at the temple.'

¹⁵ M. Or, *pinch*.—5⁸†. ¹⁶ M. Or, *feathers*.—5[†].

²¹ The word *minhah*, rightly rendered here 'meal offering,' from its invariable usage in P, is in J a generic word for offerings of any sort cp Gen 4³⁻⁵. Its place is taken in P for this sense by the word *qorban*, rendered in this verse and usually 'oblation.' Cp 1¹⁸^b.

⁴ The passage 4-16 is marked as supplementary, as (1) it is merely a more detailed duplicate of 1-3, and (2) the use of 'thou' and 'ye' stamps it as distinct from the rest of 1-3 which is couched in the third person (but cp 8). In 13 is has affinity with P^h.

⁵ M. Or, *flat plate*.—621⁹ Ezek 4³ 1 Chron 23²⁹†.

⁸ 9 'and he shall bring,' which harmonizes with 8^b 'and he shall present it' 5. Perhaps the reading of MT וְהָיָה מִנְחָהּ was originally מִנְחָהּ, the letter נ having been accidentally anticipated. In the last clause it is customary to understand the priest as subject; but the priest's action only begins in 9, and the context points to the worshipper. In that case 8 may be regarded as part of an editorial amalgam.

JE P'

P'

P'

1¹ 1¹hi Ct 7¹³ Am 4⁵j Ex 30³⁵
k Cp Ex 12¹⁵ 514-16 17m^c Oi8c⁶l Josh 5¹¹*m 16¹n 23¹⁴ 2 Kings4⁴²1-16 17p^oa 1³b 9 14 4⁸ Ex29¹³ ct 1⁸c 10 15 Ex 20¹³d 10 15 4⁹ 7⁴*e Ct 11 16 19 13 2²cp 1¹⁷ 61²f Ex 29²²g 5¹14-17 16e^r

shall burn it upon the altar: an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ¹⁰ And that which is left of the meal offering shall be Aaron's and his sons: it is a thing most holy of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire. ¹¹ No meal offering, which ye shall offer unto Yahweh, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, as an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ¹² As an oblation of first fruits ye shall offer them unto Yahweh: but they shall not come up for a sweet savour on the altar. ¹³ And every oblation of thy meal offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt.

¹⁴ And if thou offer a meal offering of firstfruits unto Yahweh, thou shalt offer for the meal offering of thy firstfruits corn in the ear parched with fire, bruised corn of the fresh ear. ¹⁵ And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay frankincense thereon: it is a meal offering. ¹⁶ And the priest shall burn the memorial of it, part of the bruised corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof: it is an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.

³¹ And if his oblation be a sacrifice of peace offerings; if he offer of the herd, whether male or female, he shall offer it without blemish before Yahweh. ² And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it at the door of the tent of meeting: and Aaron's sons the priests shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. ³ And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ⁴ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, with the kidneys, shall he take away. ⁵ And Aaron's sons shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt offering, which is upon the wood that is on the fire: it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

⁶ And if his oblation for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh be of the flock; male or female, he shall offer it without blemish. ⁷ If he offer a lamb for his oblation, then shall he offer it before Yahweh: ⁸ and he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it before the tent of meeting: and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. ⁹ And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the fat thereof, the fat tail entire, he shall take it away hard by the backbone; and the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ¹⁰ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, with the kidneys, shall he take away. ¹¹ And the priest shall burn it upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire unto Yahweh.

¹² And if his oblation be a goat, then he shall offer it before Yahweh: ¹³ and he shall lay his hand upon the head of it, and kill it before the tent of meeting: and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. ¹⁴ And he shall offer thereof his oblation, [even] an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ¹⁵ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, with the kidneys, shall he take away. ¹⁶ And the priest shall burn them upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire, for a sweet savour: all the fat is Yahweh's.

¹⁷ It shall be a perpetual statute throughout your generations in all your dwellings, that ye shall eat neither fat nor blood.

²¹³ Cp 'bread of thy God' 21⁸ &c. 'God' is used with a pronominal suffix, but without the name Yahweh, twenty times in passages assigned to Ph Lev 18²¹ 19¹² 14 32 21⁸-8 13 17 21, 22²⁵ 23¹⁴ 24¹⁵ 25¹⁷ 26 43 Num 10¹⁰ 15⁴⁰ (cp 6). In six out of the ten other passages where it is thus used in the Hex the pronoun is needed by the context in each case. The exceptions are Num 25¹³ (P⁶) Dent 31¹⁷ 32³ (the Song of Moses) Josh 9²³.

³¹ M Or, thank offerings.

² The usual phrase is 'kill it before Yahweh' 1⁵ cp 11. In 8¹⁸ the editor would seem to have found it sufficient to replace 'Yahweh' by 'the tent of meeting' as the place of his presence. Cp 1³.

^{4 10 15} M Or, which he shall take away by the kidneys.

¹¹ M. 5 bread.—Cp Lev 21⁶ 8 17 21, 22²⁵, all P^h.

JE P¹P²P¹

1-35 L78j
a 27 21 5
b 5 16 622

c 17 9⁵ 14⁶ 16 51
Num 19¹⁸
d Ex 26⁵⁵
e Ex 30¹..

f Ex 29¹²
g Ex 30²⁸
h 3³
i 3⁴

j Cp 7 ct 3⁵
k Ex 29¹⁷
l Ex 29¹⁴
m Cp 1⁸ ct 611
n 1¹⁶
o 5⁴
p Num 15^{22*} cp
Deut 27¹⁸
q 5²⁻⁴ Num 5¹³
Niph⁴

r Cp 189

s 28 31 35 10...
10²² Num
15²⁶. 38 Niph⁴

t 13...
u 30 34 815 1614
Ex 29¹² Num
19⁴

4¹ ^{N1} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, 'If any one^a shall sin ^{2a}unwittingly, in any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and shall do any one of them: ³ if the ⁴anointed priest shall sin so as to bring ⁵guilt on the people; then let him offer for his sin, ⁶which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto Yahweh for a sin offering. ⁴ And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tent of meeting before Yahweh; and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the bullock, and kill the bullock before Yahweh. ⁵ And the ⁶anointed priest shall take of the blood of the bullock, and bring it to the tent of meeting: ⁸ and the priest shall ⁹dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before Yahweh, before the ¹⁰veil of the sanctuary. ⁷ And the priest shall put of the blood upon the horns of the ⁸altar of sweet incense before Yahweh, which is in the tent of meeting; and all the blood of the bullock shall he pour out at the ⁹base of the ¹⁰altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. ⁸ And all the fat of the bullock of the sin offering he shall ⁹take off from it; the ¹⁰kidneys that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ⁹ and the two ¹⁰kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver; ¹¹ with the kidneys, shall he take away, ¹⁰ as it is ¹¹taken off from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall burn them upon the ¹²altar of burnt offering. ¹¹ And the skin of the bullock, and all its flesh, with its head, and with its ¹²legs, and its inwards, and its ¹³dung, ¹² even the whole bullock shall he carry forth ¹⁴without the camp unto a clean ¹⁵place, where the ¹⁶ashes are ¹⁷poured out, and burn it on wood with fire: where the ashes are ¹⁸poured out shall it be burnt.

¹³ And if the whole ¹⁴congregation of Israel shall ¹⁵err, and the thing be ¹⁶hid from the eyes of the ¹⁷assembly, and they have done any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and are ¹⁸guilty; ¹⁴ when the sin wherein they have sinned is known, then the assembly shall offer a ¹⁵young bullock for a sin offering, and bring it before the tent of meeting. ¹⁵ And the elders of the ¹⁶congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock before Yahweh: and the bullock shall be killed before Yahweh. ¹⁶ And the ¹⁷anointed priest shall bring of the blood of the bullock to the tent of meeting: ¹⁷ and the priest shall ¹⁸dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before Yahweh, before the veil. ¹⁸ And he shall put of the blood upon the horns of the ¹⁹altar which is before Yahweh, that is in the tent of meeting, and all the blood shall he pour out at the ²⁰base of the ²¹altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. ¹⁹ And all the fat thereof shall he ²²take off from it, and burn it upon the altar. ²⁰ Thus shall he do with the bullock; ²¹ as he did with the bullock of the sin offering, ²² so shall he do with this: and the priest shall make atonement for them, and they shall be ²³forgiven. ²¹ And he shall carry forth the bullock ²⁴without the camp, and burn it as he burned the first bullock: it is the sin offering for the assembly.

²² When a ²³ruler sinneth, and doeth ²⁴unwittingly any one of all the things which Yahweh his God hath commanded not to be done, and is ²⁵guilty; ²³ if his sin, wherein he hath sinned, be made known to him, he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a male without blemish; ²⁴ and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill it in the ²⁵place where they kill the burnt offering before Yahweh: it is a sin offering. ²⁵ And the priest shall ²⁶take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the ²⁷altar of burnt offering, and the blood thereof shall he pour out at the ²⁸base of the altar of burnt offering. ²⁶ And all the fat thereof shall he burn upon the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin, and he shall be ²⁹forgiven.

²⁷ And ²⁸if any one of the ²⁹common people sin ³⁰unwittingly, in doing any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and be ³¹guilty; ²⁸ if his sin, ²⁹ which he hath sinned, be made known to him, then he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a ³⁰female without blemish, for his sin ³¹which he hath sinned. ²⁹ And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill the sin offering in the ³²place of burnt offering. ³⁰ And the priest shall ³³take of the blood thereof with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the ³⁴altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the ³⁵base of the altar. ³¹ And all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat is taken away from off the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be ³⁶forgiven.

³² And if he bring a ³³lamb as his oblation for a sin offering, he shall bring it

⁴ The description of the rites of the sin offering in 4 is clearly later than the bulk of 1-7 for it distinguishes the 'altar of sweet incense' ⁷ from the 'altar of burnt offerings' cp Ex 30¹. For other indications cp notes ³ 14 ³², and the marginal references.

² M Or, through error.

³ The following section illustrates the enrichment of ritual and the elaboration of ceremonial characteristic of the later P² compared with P¹ and the earlier P². Ct Ex 29¹⁰⁻¹⁴ P², and Lev 8¹⁴⁻¹⁷ P², where the blood of the sin offering is not taken into the inner sanctuary. ⁹ M See 3⁴.

¹³ The use of this word ¹³. ²¹ is unexpected by the side of the term 'congregation.' For the 'elders' ¹⁵ cp Ex 12²¹ and Lev 9¹.

¹⁴ This requirement is probably another indication of later date. In 9³ ¹⁵ 16⁵ &c (P²) the offering of a he-goat is enough. ¹⁶ and Sam add 'without blemish.'

²⁷ M 5 people of the land.

³² In ²⁸ a goat is required cp ³ 14 ²³. This section which allows a lamb as alternative, may therefore be a supplement, but as the language is unchanged, it is probably from the same hand.

JE P^aP^sP^r

a 'female without blemish. ³³ And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill it for a sin offering in the 'place where they kill the burnt offering. ³⁴ And the priest shall 'take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the 'altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the 'base of the altar: ³⁵ and all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat of the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn them on the altar; 'upon the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: and the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin 'that he hath sinned, and he shall be 'forgiven.

⁵¹ ^{NL} And if any one sin, in that he heareth the voice of 'adjuration, he being a witness, whether he hath seen or known, if he do not utter 'it, then he shall 'bear his iniquity: ² ^L or if any one touch any unclean thing, whether it be the carcase of an unclean beast, or the carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean 'creeping things, and it 'be hidden from him, and he be unclean, then he shall be 'guilty: ³ ^L or if he touch the 'uncleanness of man, whatsoever his uncleanness be wherewith he is unclean, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty: ⁴ ^L or if any one swear 'rashly with his lips to 'do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall utter 'rashly with an oath, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in one of these [things]: ⁵ and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these [things], that he shall 'confess that wherein he hath sinned: ⁶ and he shall bring 'his guilt offering unto Yahweh for his sin 'which he hath sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a goat, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin.

⁷ ^{NL} And if his means 'suffice not for a lamb, then he shall bring 'his guilt offering for that wherein he hath sinned, two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, unto Yahweh; one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering. ⁸ And he shall bring them unto the priest, who shall offer that which is for the sin offering first, and 'wring off its head from its neck, but shall not 'divide it asunder: ⁹ and he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin offering upon the 'side of the altar; and the rest of the blood shall be 'drained out at the 'base of the altar: it is a sin offering. ¹⁰ And he shall 'offer the second for a burnt offering, 'according to the 'ordinance: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin 'which he hath sinned, and he shall be 'forgiven.

¹¹ ^L But if his 'means suffice not for two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, then he shall bring his oblation for that wherein he hath sinned, the 'tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall put no 'oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon: for it is a sin offering. ¹² And he shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall 'take his handful of it as the memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar, 'upon the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: it is a sin offering. ¹³ And the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin 'that he hath sinned 'in any of these things, and he shall be 'forgiven: and [the remnant] shall be the priest's, as the meal offering.

¹⁴ ^{NL} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁵ If any one commit a 'trespass, and sin 'unwittingly, in the holy things of Yahweh; then he shall bring his guilt offering unto Yahweh, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy

a 28^ab 157^bc 81^ad 167^c

e 44

f 109

g 160^bh 164^a

i 168

5-7 *LmLc*1-6 *L78a*1 *L46b*a Cp Num 5²¹2 *L65d*b 2-4 *L13*3 *L68c*4 *L56a*c Ps 106³³ Prov1218⁺d Cp Is 41²³e 4³7-10 *L78b*f Cp Ex 36⁵ct 11 *L5*g 11⁷h 11⁵i 4⁷f 9¹⁶ Num 15²⁴2018^bk 15¹⁶ 18 67 42011-13 *L78c*

l 21

m 22

n 4²14-16 *L78a*

⁴³⁵ M Or, after the manner of.

⁵¹ This chapter has been regarded as an appendix to 4. But there are no clear indications of late date like those in 4 (cp 6 with 4²⁸⁻³¹). On the other hand the passage in 5-6⁷ is rather a collection of fragments (cp 14 61) of different origin and date on the sin and guilt offerings (see vol i *Laws*). The oldest nucleus seems to lie in 51-6, because of the absence of ritual direction, and the greater individuality of style. In 1 the cause of guilt is by no means parallel with the error of inadvertence 4². The accumulation of different cases in 1-4 ct 4³ 13 22 27, the phrase 'bear his iniquity,' and the stress on 'uncleanness,' point to affinity with P^b: while the absence of any definite distinction between sin and guilt offerings implies that the use of the terms was not yet fully fixed. ⁶⁷⁵ M Or, for his guilt. Or, his trespass offering.

⁷¹⁸ A supplement added to meet cases of poverty. The elaborate ritual directions in 8, ct 6 show the later origin of the passage.

⁸ M Or, pinch.—Cp 11⁵.

¹⁰⁶ A reference to the usage already defined 14¹.

¹² M Or, after the manner of.

¹⁴ In 14-16 and 61-7 guilt offerings are required as well as restitution in full with one-fifth more, in cases of withholding what is due to Yahweh and to a neighbour. These passages seem later than 51-6 as they distinguish the guilt offering clearly, but they are somewhat similar in form. The same may be said of 17-19 which now interrupts the sequence of the 'trespass' sections, and seems to be itself supplemental to 51-6. The discovery of guilt incurred unconsciously 4 is met by confession and atonement. But what of the cases where subsequent calamity or misfortune (cp Dillm in loc) suggested the presence of guilt for which the sufferer could not account 17⁷? These also required a proper guilt offering, and a ram is demanded 18, ct the goat of 4²³ 29.

JE P^aP^aP^a

¹estimation in silver by shekels, after the ^kshekel of the sanctuary, for a guilt offering: ¹⁸ and he shall ¹make restitution for that which he hath done amiss in the holy thing, and shall add the ²fifth part thereto, and give it unto the priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering, and he shall be ^kforgiven.

¹⁷ ¹And if any one sin, and do any of the things ²which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done; though he knew it not, yet is he guilty, and shall ^abear his iniquity. ¹⁸ And he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy ¹estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning the thing wherein he erred ¹unwittingly and knew it not, and he shall be ^kforgiven. ¹⁹ It is a guilt offering: he is certainly guilty before Yahweh.

²⁰ ¹And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²If any one sin, and commit a ^a'trespass against Yahweh, and deal falsely with his ^a'neighbour in a matter of ^a'deposit, or of ^a'bargain, or of ^b'robbery, or have ^c'oppressed his neighbour; ³ or have found ^d'that which was lost, and deal ^e'falsely therein, and ^f'swear to a lie; in any of all these that a man doeth, sinning therein: ⁴ then it shall be, if he hath sinned, and is ^b'guilty, that he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing which he hath gotten by oppression, or the ^a'deposit which was committed to him, or the ^d'lost thing which he found, ⁵ or any thing about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in ^f'full, and shall ^a'add the fifth part more thereto: unto him to whom it appertaineth shall he give it, in the day of his ^b'being found guilty. ⁶ And he shall bring his guilt offering unto Yahweh, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy ¹'estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the priest: ⁷ and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh, and he shall be ^k'forgiven; concerning whatsoever he doeth so as to be ^e'guilty thereby.

⁸ ¹And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²Command Aaron and his sons, saying, ³'This is the law of the burnt offering: ⁴'the burnt offering shall be ^a'on the ^b'hearth upon the altar all night unto the morning; and the fire of the altar shall be ^c'kept burning thereon. ¹⁰ ¹And the priest shall put on his linen ^b'garment, and his linen ^c'breeches shall he put upon his flesh; and he shall ^d'take up the ^e'ashes whereto the fire hath consumed the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. ¹¹ And he shall ^f'put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes ^a'without the camp unto ^b'a clean place. ¹² And the fire upon the altar shall be ^c'kept burning thereon, it shall not ^d'go out; and the priest shall ^e'burn wood on it every morning: and he shall lay the burnt offering in order upon it, and shall burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings. ¹³ Fire shall be ^f'kept burning upon the altar ^a'continually; it shall not ^b'go out.

¹⁴ ¹And this is the law of the meal offering: the ^a'sons of Aaron shall offer it before Yahweh, before the altar. ¹⁵ And he shall ^b'take up therefrom his handful, of the fine flour of the meal offering, and of the oil thereof, and

o 65
p 65 22¹⁴ 27¹³
Num 5⁷ cp
Gen 47²⁴

17-19 L⁷⁸
2 4¹³

1 [5²⁰ in 5]
1-7 L⁷⁸ 3a/9b
5²¹
c 2¹ et Gen 41³⁴
d Is 61⁸ Ezek 22²⁹
Ps 62¹⁰
e 10¹³ Ezek 18¹⁸
f Ex 22⁹
g 10¹¹

f Ex 30¹² Num
5⁷ 5
g 5¹⁶

h 5¹³

8 [6¹ in 5]
1-3 L⁷⁸ b
i Cp Is 33¹⁴ Ps
102³
j 12¹ Deut 32²²
10 10¹⁰ 10¹⁰ g
k 5¹
l Ex 28⁴²
m 1¹⁰
n 16²³

o Ex 35³ 5

14-18 7m/oi

p 2²

j 61
k 88^c

a 154^a

b 81^a

c 81^b

d 61

e 85

f 120^a

g 124

62^a On 2-7 cp 5^{14N}. The word 'neighbour' 5 is found elsewhere only in P^a 206: its occurrence here suggests that this passage may have some affinity with that group cp 5^{1N}.

2^b M Or, *pledge*.—5¹.
8 The section 6²-7³⁸ which closes the sacrificial code, might be called 'a manual for priests, edited afresh with several additions.' The original constituents are easily separated by following the clues afforded by the introductory formulae 'this is the law of . . .' and the terms of the colophon 7³⁷. Both the order of subjects, and the framework in which they are set, show that this collection is not based on 1-6¹, or by the same author as 1-3. But the ease with which the references to P^a can be eliminated, seems to indicate that in its original form this section was, like 1-3, older than P^a. The phrases that appear to be from an editor's hand are again marked by small type.

9^a This is the first occurrence of a phrase which occurs altogether seventeen times cp 183^b, but always in passages already isolated on other grounds as part of a collection of

priestly teaching. In titles it will be found in Lev 6⁹ 14 23 7¹¹ 14² Num 6¹³ 9¹⁴; in colophons Lev 11⁴⁶ 12⁷ 13⁵⁹ 14³² 54 57 15³² Num 5²⁰ 6²¹.

9^b It may be a question whether the law in 9-13 has not been modified by the editor. It seems, though somewhat obscurely, to refer to the daily burnt offering, and in particular to that of the evening. If this was only instituted very late, as some critics have suggested cp Nowack, *Hebr Archäol* ii 222, this paragraph must be either late or revised. Some authorities, chiefly on this ground, ascribe the whole section 6²-7 to P^a. But the analogy of the remaining paragraphs confirms the belief that the general case of the burnt offering was originally in the writer's view cp 12^b.

9^c M Or, *on its firewood*.

11 This direction shows that the passage is at least earlier than 1¹⁶ and 4¹¹, where 'the place of the ashes' is apparently well known.

14 Ct 'the priest' 10-12. In inserting 'sons of Aaron' the editor has left the singular in the next verse.

JE P'

P'

P'

16-18 *Lm*i17 *Lm*i
g 754 Num 188
18...r Ct 29 7^b
⑥ priests19-23 *Lm* m: mde

s Cp 8-9

t 7¹² : Chron
u 4³ 20[†]24-29 *Lm* d28 29 *Lm* i
v Cp 16w 15¹³ 14⁵ 50 15¹²
Num 517*
x Jer 46² z Chron
416[†]
y 1511.*
z 7^b cp 18
30 *Lm* aj1-7 *Lm* d

a 15

b Ex 29²²
c 3^b Ex 29¹³e. *Lm* i
d 62²⁹
e 62⁶8 *Lm* b, *Lm* n9 *Lm* m, *Lm* i
f 27[†]
10 *Lm* m, *Lm* j
g 2⁶
h 5[†]

all the frankincense which is upon the meal offering, and shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour, as the memorial thereof, unto Yahweh. ¹⁶ *L* And that which is left thereof shall Aaron and his sons eat: it shall be eaten without leaven in a ^hholy place; in the court of the tent of meeting they shall eat it. ¹⁷ *L* It shall not be baked with leaven. I have ^ggiven it as their portion of my offerings made by fire; it is most holy, as the sin offering, and as the guilt offering. ¹⁸ Every male among the ^hchildren of Aaron shall eat of it, as a ^hdue for ever ^hthroughout your generations, from the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: whosoever toucheth them shall be holy.

¹⁹ *NL* And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁰ This is the oblation of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer unto Yahweh ^ain the day when he is anointed; the ¹tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering ^bperpetually, ^hhalf of it in the morning, and half thereof in the evening. ²¹ On a ^bbaking pan it shall be made with oil; when it is ^csoaked, thou shalt bring it in: in ^bbaked pieces shalt thou offer the meal offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ²² And the ^aanointed priest that shall be in his stead from among his sons shall offer it: by a ^bstatute for ever it shall be wholly burnt unto Yahweh. ²³ And every meal offering of the priest shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.

²⁴ *L* And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁵ Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: in the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before Yahweh: it is most holy. ²⁶ *L* The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it: in ^aa holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tent of meeting. ²⁷ *W* Whatsoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt ¹wash that whereon it was sprinkled in ^aa holy place. ²⁸ But the ¹earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brassen vessel, it shall be ²scoured, and ³rinsed in water. ²⁹ *L* Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most holy.

³⁰ *NL* And no sin offering, whereof any of the blood is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt with fire.

⁷¹ *L* And this is the law of the guilt offering: it is most holy. ² In the place where they kill the burnt offering shall they kill the guilt offering: and the ^ablood thereof shall he sprinkle upon the altar round about. ³ And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof; the ^bfat tail, and the ^cfat that covereth the inwards, ⁴ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, ⁵ with the kidneys, shall he take away: ⁶ and the priest shall burn them upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: it is a guilt offering. ⁶ *L* Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it shall be eaten in ^aa holy place: it is most holy. ⁷ As is the sin offering, so is the guilt offering: there is one law for them: the priest that maketh atonement therewith, he shall have it.

⁸ *NL* And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt offering which he hath offered.

⁹ *L* And every meal offering that is baked in the oven, and all that is dressed in the ^ffrying pan, and on the ^bbaking pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it.

¹⁰ *NL* And every meal offering, ^amingled with oil, or ^bdry, shall all the sons of Aaron have, ^aone as well as another.

⁶¹⁶ This direction is repeated in ²⁶ 7^b 10¹²⁻¹⁴, and the unusual expression 'a holy place' also occurs in ²⁷: the clause defining the locality as 'the court' &c seems to have been added to explain the ambiguous phrase. In 10¹⁶⁻²⁰, a later supplement based on 6²⁵⁻³⁰, the phrase is altered into 'the place of the sanctuary,' which confirms the conjecture that the defining clauses are explanatory glosses.

¹⁹ An ordinance about the double daily meal offering seems here to have been applied to the day of the priestly consecration to avoid the appearance of clashing with the daily burnt offering: or the phrase may have been inserted to prepare the way for the ceremonies of 8.

^{21a} *M* See 2⁵.

^{21b} *M* The meaning of the 5 word is uncertain.—†.

²⁷ *M* Or, whosoever.

³⁰ This regulation has the appearance of a supplement, marking an exception to the 'law of the sin offering,' arising out of the introduction of varieties of sin offering in *P*², as in 4. Ct 'holy place' (*H* = holiness 88*) with 'a holy place' ²⁶: the reference to the 'tent of meeting' coincides with 4⁵, and is not supplemental as in ²⁶.

⁷⁴ *M* See 3⁴.

⁸ The references to the priest's dues on the burnt offering and meal offering are plainly additions in their present context. But it is hard to see why they should have been thrust in here. With ⁸ ct Ex 29¹⁴ where the skin is burnt: it is now made a requisite of the officiating priest. ⁹ *M* See 2⁵.

¹⁰ This seems a later supplement, providing for the kind of meal offering that had then become most common. See *Lm*¹⁰.

JE P¹P²P¹

11-21 L⁷D^h
12-16 L⁷N¹tb
13 15 22²⁹
ct Josh 7¹⁹
j Ex 29²

L 621

16-18 L⁷O^f
1 Ct 22³⁰ G
16 L⁸S^gd

m 19⁸

n 19⁷ Ezek 4¹⁴
Is 65⁴
19-21 L⁶O^c

21 L⁶B^c

o 12, 10-13 20 23 41
Ezek 810 Is
661⁷ + cp Deut
29¹⁷

22-27 L⁶E^g

p 17¹⁶ 22⁸ cp Ex
22³¹

q Ex 29²⁴r Ex 29²⁶31-34 L¹11^k

s 211

t Ex 29²⁸
u Num 3¹² 816
r⁸⁸
v 617
36. L¹11^j d^j

¹¹ ^L And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which one shall offer unto Yahweh. ¹² ^L If he offer it for a 'thanksgiving, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened 'cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened 'wafers anointed with oil, and 'cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour ^hsoaked. ¹³ With 'cakes of leavened bread he shall offer his oblation with the sacrifice of his peace offerings for 'thanksgiving. ¹⁴ And of it he shall offer one out of each oblation for an heave offering unto Yahweh; it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace offerings. ¹⁵ ^L And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings for 'thanksgiving shall be eaten on the day of his oblation; he shall not 'leave any of it until the morning. ¹⁶ ^L But if the sacrifice of his oblation be a vow, or a freewill offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offereth his sacrifice: and ^mon the morrow that which remaineth of it shall be eaten: ¹⁷ but that which remaineth of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire. ¹⁸ And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings be eaten on the third day, it shall not be 'accepted, neither shall it be imputed to him that offereth it: it shall be an 'abomination, and the soul that eateth of it shall 'bear his iniquity. ¹⁹ ^L And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire. And as for the flesh, every one that is clean shall eat thereof: ²⁰ but the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that pertain unto Yahweh, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people. ²¹ ^L And when any one shall touch any unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or an unclean beast, or any unclean 'abomination, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which pertain unto Yahweh, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people.

²² ^L And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²³ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no fat, of ox, or sheep, or goat. ²⁴ And the fat of that ^pwhich dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any other 'service: but ye shall in no wise eat of it. ²⁵ For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, even the soul that eateth it shall be 'cut off from his people. ²⁶ And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your 'dwellings. ²⁷ Whosoever it be that eateth any blood, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people.

²⁸ ^L And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁹ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings unto Yahweh shall bring his oblation unto Yahweh out of the sacrifice of his peace offerings: ³⁰ his own 'hands shall bring the offerings of Yahweh made by fire; the fat with the 'breast shall he bring, that the breast may be waved for a wave offering before Yahweh. ³¹ ^L And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar: but the 'breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'. ³² And the right 'thigh shall 'ye give unto the priest for an heave offering out of the sacrifices of your peace offerings. ³³ He ⁿamong the sons of Aaron, that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall have the right 'thigh for a 'portion. ³⁴ ^N For the wave breast and the heave 'thigh have I 'taken of the children of Israel out of the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have 'given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a 'due for ever from the children of Israel.

³⁵ ^N This is the 'anointing-portion of Aaron, and the anointing-portion of his sons,

⁷¹ The paragraph on the 'peace offerings' especially conveys the impression of a very early piece. With ¹²⁻¹⁴ ct Num 15⁸; ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ cp 22²⁹; ¹⁸ 'abomination' cp 19⁷, 'bear his iniquity' cp 19⁸ 20¹⁷ 19, 20, 'cut off from his people' 17⁴ 9. 18²⁹ 19⁸ 20¹⁸ (22³) 23²⁹: there are thus several phraseological affinities with P^h. ¹² The order in G 'and fine flour soaked cakes mingled with oil' is peculiar. G omits the repetition of 'cakes mingled.' Cp 8²⁶ Ex 29²².

²² A supplement of uncertain origin and date (though showing affinity with earlier passages) providing for the slaughter and consumption of animals not offered in sacrifice.

²³ A supplement similar to the preceding, about the priests'

dues. The appearance of 'Aaron and his sons' in ³¹ after 'the priest' is noteworthy, and similarly 'ye' ³². Can this be an early draft of Ex 29²⁶⁻²⁸ completed and inserted here? In that case ³⁵, would be its conclusion by the later editor.

³²⁻³⁴ M Or, shoulder.—Ex 29²².

³³ The position of these words in G after 'fat' confirms the general grounds for their rejection.

³⁴ A supplement by R^p who here returns to the use of the first person in the divine utterance to which he is accustomed.

^{35a} Here the sons of Aaron share in his anointing, as in P² only; cp Ex 28⁴¹.

^{35b} M Or, portion.—Cp Num 18⁸ G in this sense†.

JE P^a

P^s

P^r

out of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire, in the day when he presented them to minister unto Yahweh in the priest's office; ³⁶ which Yahweh commanded to be given them of the children of Israel, in the day that he anointed them. It is a ^adue for ever throughout their ^ggenerations.

i 129^a
j 23
k 76^b

37 17a_n

³⁷ ^{NI} This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meal offering, and of the sin offering, and of the guilt offering, and of the consecration, and of the sacrifice of peace offerings; ³⁸ ^N which Yahweh commanded Moses in mount ^m Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto Yahweh, in the wilderness of Sinai.

l 69^b
m 7

1-36 L11d:f

a Ex 29⁵
b Ex 29⁷
c Ex 29¹¹
d Ex 29¹⁴

⁸ ^{NI} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Take Aaron and his sons ^a with him, and the ^cgarments, and the ^canointing oil, and the ^cbullock of the sin offering, and the ^ctwo rams, and the basket of unleavened bread; ³ and ^aassemble thou all the ^ccongregation at the ^cdoor of the tent of meeting. ⁴ And Moses ^ddid as Yahweh commanded him; and the congregation was assembled at the door of the tent of meeting. ⁵ And Moses said unto the congregation, ^eThis is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded to be done. ⁶ ^L And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and ^cwashed them with water. ⁷ ^L And he ^fput upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. ⁸ ^L And he placed the ^gbreastplate upon him: and in the breastplate he ^hput ^mthe Urim and the Thummim. ⁹ And he ⁱset the ⁿmitre upon his head; and upon the ⁿmitre, in ^jfront, did he set the golden plate, the holy ^kcrown; ^las Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹⁰ ^L And Moses took the anointing oil, ^{NI} and anointed the ^lDwelling and all that was therein, and ^msanctified them. ¹¹ ^N And he ⁿsprinkled thereof upon ^mthe altar seven times, and ⁿanointed the altar and all its vessels, and the ⁿtower and its base, to ^osanctify them. ¹² And he ^opoured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to ^psanctify him. ¹³ ^L And Moses ^qbrought Aaron's sons, and clothed them with coats, and girded them with girdles, and bound headties upon them; ^las Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹⁴ ^L And he brought the bullock of the sin offering: and Aaron and his sons ^rlaid their hands upon the head of the bullock of the sin offering. ¹⁵ And he ^sslew it; and Moses ^ttook the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, ^uand ^upurified the altar, and ^upoured out the blood at the base of the altar, and ^usanctified it, to make ^katonement for it. ¹⁶ And he took all the ^ufat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses burned it upon the altar. ¹⁷ But the ^ubullock, and its skin, and its flesh, and its dung, he burnt with fire ^vwithout the camp; ^las Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹⁸ ^L And he presented the ram of the burnt offering: and Aaron and his sons ^wlaid their hands upon the head of the ram. ¹⁹ And he ^xkilled it: and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. ²⁰ And he ^ycut the ram into its pieces; and Moses burnt the

a 176
b 24^a
c 45
d 189^b
e 188^b
f 54^b
g 86^c
h 149
i 128

6 L12a:c

e Ex 29⁴
7-9 13 L12g
f Ex 29⁵

8 L11b:f

g Ex 29⁵
h Ex 28³⁰
i Ex 29⁶
j Ex 28³⁷
k Ex 29⁶
l Ex 30¹
10a-12 L11d:c
10b L10b:
m Ex 29¹² 27¹
n Ex 30¹⁸

13 L11g:e

o Ex 29⁵

14-17 L7b:i

p Ex 29¹⁰

q Ex 29¹¹

r Ex 29¹²

s Ex 29¹³

t Ex 29¹⁴

18-21 L7b:p

u Ex 29¹⁵

v Ex 29¹⁸

w Ex 29¹⁷

j 143^a
k 25^a
l 120^b

⁷³⁷ The colophon concludes this little 'priests' manual.' The words 'and of the consecration' seem to have slipped into the wrong place from the margin, where they may have been a gloss to refer to 28-36 or to 6⁹⁻²³. The rest defines the original items of the collection, 'burnt offering' 6⁹⁻¹³, 'meal offering' 6¹⁴⁻¹⁸, 'sin offering' 6²⁵⁻³⁰, 'guilt offering' 7¹⁻¹⁰, 'peace offerings' 11-21. The other paragraphs 6¹⁹⁻²³, 7²²⁻²⁷, 28-34 36, are thus excluded as supplementary.

³⁸ The reference to 'Mount Sinai' contrasted with 'out of the tent of meeting' ¹¹, bears out the suggestion 6³⁸ that the materials of this section may have been derived from sources older than P^s. Cp 25¹ 26¹⁶ P^h. The treatment has been adjusted to the camp 6¹⁴, but the usages described seem to be those of the Temple priests.

⁸¹ M See Ex 29.—This chapter is usually regarded as an expansion of an earlier and briefer account of the fulfilment of Ex 29, just as Ex 35-40 may be founded on a shorter version of the construction of the Dwelling Ex 25-28 30 31. This passage, however,

is earlier than Ex 35-40 as it recognizes only one altar. Its laborious reproduction of Ex 29, with a few slight modifications, eg 8²⁰, 28³¹, shows that it cannot well have formed part of P^s. The formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' serves as a kind of refrain 9¹⁸ 17²¹ 28³⁴ (cp 8³⁴) Ex 30¹: on its secondary character cp *Introd* i 155^a.

⁸ M That is, the *Lights and the Perfections*.

⁹ M Or, *turban*.

¹⁰ Probably an interpolation, as (x) there is no parallel in Ex 29, and (y) G has a rather different order, placing 10^b after 11.

¹¹ This verse similarly contrasts with Ex 29 which, except for the interpolation in 21, religiously restricts the application of the holy oil to 'Aaron's head.' It is therefore probably another gloss like 30 Ex 28⁴¹ 29²¹.

¹⁵ The 'purification,' 'sanctification,' and 'atonement' for the altar seem like the explanations of a writer anxious to leave nothing in his original Ex 29¹² without its interpretation.

JE P^aP^sP^a

x 18 ct 9¹³ Ex
29¹⁷
y Ex 29¹⁸

22-22 17 P^a
z Ex 29¹⁹ 22

d' Ex 29²⁰

b' Ex 29²⁰

c' Ex 29²²

28 31. 17 m j
d' Ex 29²³

c' Ex 29²⁴

f' Ex 29²⁵

g' Ex 29²⁶

30 17 f₂

h' Cp Ex 29³¹

32 17 o g

i' Ex 29³⁴

j' 12^a 25³⁰ Num
6⁵ 13 5

k' Ex 29³⁵

l' Ex 34³⁴

1-24 17 n b d
a 888

b Ct 4³

c Cp 16⁵ P⁸ ct
4¹⁴ P⁸

d Ex 29²

e Gen 17¹

f 614 5

"head, and the pieces, and the ^afat. ²¹ And he washed the inwards and the legs with water; and Moses ^bburnt the whole ram upon the altar: it was a burnt offering for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²² ^LAnd he presented the ^aother ram, the ^aram of ^mconsecration: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram. ²³ And he ^aslew it; and Moses took of the blood thereof, and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot. ²⁴ And he brought Aaron's sons, and Moses put of the blood upon the tip of their right ear, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot: and Moses ⁱsprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. ²⁵ And he took the fat, and the ^efat tail, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right ^tthigh: ²⁶ ^Land out of the ^dbasket of unleavened bread, that was before Yahweh, he took one ⁿunleavened cake, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and placed them on the fat, and upon the right thigh: ²⁷ and he ^eput the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons, and waved them for a wave offering before Yahweh. ²⁸ And Moses ^ftook them from off their hands, and burnt them on the altar upon the burnt offering: they were a ^mconsecration for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ²⁹ And Moses ^etook the breast, and waved it for a wave offering before Yahweh: it was Moses' ^eportion of the ram of ^mconsecration; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³⁰ ^{NE}And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood which was upon the altar, and ^ssprinkled it upon Aaron, upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon his sons' garments ^awith him; and sanctified Aaron, his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments ^awith him. ³¹ And Moses said unto Aaron and to his sons, ^hBoil the flesh at the door of the tent of meeting: and there eat it and the bread that is in the basket of ^mconsecration, ^aas I commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it. ³² ^LAnd that which ^eremaineth of the flesh and of the bread shall ye burn with fire. ³³ And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting seven days, until the days of your ^mconsecration be ^ffulfilled: for he shall ⁿconsecrate you ^kseven days. ³⁴ As hath been done this day, so Yahweh hath commanded to do, to make ^katonement for you. ³⁵ And at the door of the tent of meeting shall ye abide day and night seven days, and ⁿkeep the charge of Yahweh, ^athat ye die not: for so I ^vam commanded. ³⁶ And Aaron and his sons did all the things which Yahweh ^vcommanded by the hand of Moses.

³⁷ ^{NE}And it came to pass on the ^aeighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the ^aelders of Israel; ² and he said unto Aaron, Take thee a ^bbull calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, ^awithout blemish, and offer them before Yahweh. ³ And unto the children of Israel thou shalt ^bspeak, saying, Take ye a ^hhe-goat for a sin offering; and a calf and a lamb, both ^eof the first year, without blemish, for a burnt offering; ⁴ and an ox and a ram for peace offerings, to sacrifice before Yahweh; and a meal offering ^dmingled with oil: for to-day Yahweh ^aappeareth unto you. ⁵ And they brought that which Moses commanded ^fbefore the tent of meeting: and all the ^dcongregation drew near and stood before Yahweh. ⁶ And Moses said, ^aThis is the thing which Yahweh commanded that ye should do: and the ^gglory of Yahweh shall

m 69^bn 39^bo 52^ap 180^a

a 123

b 185^bc 119^b

d 45

e 188^b

f 79

⁸²² The amplifying term is introduced earlier here cp Ex 29²⁶: the original author can hardly be supposed to have thus annotated his own work.

²⁵ M Or, shoulder.

²⁶ A substitute for the homelier 'loaf of bread' in the original Ex 29²³. ³⁰ See Ex 28⁴¹ 29²¹ and notes.

³¹ M (G) Onkelos and S read, as I am commanded. See ³⁵ 10¹³.

³³ M G fill your hand.

⁹¹⁴ The main thread of the Priestly Law and History Book is resumed here from Ex 29, and it is not necessary to suppose the elimination of anything more in the interval than some brief account of the construction and erection of the sanctuary and

the consecration of the priesthood, such as has been expanded into Ex 35-40 and Lev 8. The terminology of the ritual in this chapter coincides entirely with that of P, cp Aaron and his sons, sin offering, burnt offering, peace offering, meal offering, make atonement, offer the oblation, slay, pour, sprinkle, burn, &c. That the ritual is that of P⁸ is inferred (1) because it implies only one altar 7-19 12-14 & 3; (2) the blood is not brought into the inner sanctuary cp 4³⁸; (3) the ritual of the sin offering 8-11 16 is less detailed than that in 8¹⁴⁻¹⁷ cp 4¹⁻²¹, and similarly with the burnt offering 13-14 cp 8¹⁸⁻²¹.

¹⁵ Perhaps an indication of later correction (Dillm), of 'children' ¹⁵ where Sam and G again introduce 'elders.'

JE P'

P'

P'

g Ex 1610

8-11 15 L78j

h 4⁶
i Ex 2912
j Ex 2918

k Ex 2914

12-14 16 L7bⁿl 18 18 5ⁿ

m Ex 2916

n Cp Ex 2917 ct
820

o 510

p 22 ct P69 5

18-21 L7pk

q Ex 2925

22 L7hj

r Cp Num 623

s 102 Num 1635

t Cp Deut 3243

Hiph*

1-5 L71a

a Ex 273

b 924

c 5 = consumed

924

d Ex 144 = get me

honour 52

e Ex 618 22

e L7f/d:

appear unto you. ⁷ And Moses said unto Aaron, Draw near unto the altar, and offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering, and make atonement for thyself, and ⁸for the people: and offer the oblation of the people, and make atonement for them; as Yahweh commanded. ⁸ ¹²So Aaron drew near unto the altar, and slew the calf of the sin offering, ⁹which was for himself. ⁹ And the sons of Aaron presented the blood unto him: and he ^hdipped his finger in the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar: ¹⁰ but the ⁱfat, and the kidneys, and the caul from the liver of the sin offering, he burnt upon the altar; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹¹ And the ^kflesh and the skin he burnt with fire without the camp. ¹² ¹²And he slew the burnt offering; and Aaron's sons ^ldelivered unto him the blood, and he ^msprinkled it upon the altar round about. ¹³ And they ^ldelivered the burnt offering unto him, ⁿpiece by piece, and the ⁿhead: and he burnt them upon the altar. ¹⁴ And he ^owashed the inwards and the legs, and burnt them upon the burnt offering on the altar. ¹⁵ And he presented the people's oblation, and took the ^ogoat of the sin offering which was for the people, and slew it, and offered it for sin, as the first. ¹⁶ And he presented the burnt offering, and offered it according to the ordinance. ¹⁷ And he presented the meal offering, and ^pfilled his hand therefrom, and burnt it upon the altar, besides the burnt offering of the morning. ¹⁸ ¹⁸He slew also the ox and the ram, the sacrifice of peace offerings, which was for the people: and Aaron's sons ^ldelivered unto him the blood, and he ^msprinkled it upon the altar round about, ¹⁹ and the fat of the ox; and of the ram, the fat tail, and that which covereth [the inwards], and the kidneys, and the caul of the liver: ²⁰ and they put the fat upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat upon the altar: ²¹ and the breasts and the right thigh Aaron ^qwaved for a wave offering before Yahweh; ²²as Moses commanded. ²² ¹²And Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people, and ^rblessed them; and he came down from offering the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and the peace offerings. ²³ And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting, and came out, and blessed the people: and the ^sglory of Yahweh appeared unto all the people. ²⁴ ²⁴And there ^tcame forth fire from before Yahweh, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat: and when all the people saw it, they ^ushouted, and ^ufell on their faces.

¹⁰¹ ¹²And ^uNadab and ^uAbihu, the sons of Aaron, took each of them his ^acenser, and put fire therein, and laid ^bincense thereon, and ^coffered ^cstrange fire before Yahweh, which he had not commanded them. ² And there ^bcame forth fire from before Yahweh, and ^cdevoured them, and they died before Yahweh. ³ Then Moses said unto Aaron, ^dThis is it that Yahweh spake, saying, I will be ^esanctified in them that ^ecome nigh me, and ^fbefore all the people I will be ^gglorified. And Aaron held his peace. ⁴ And Moses called ^hMishael and ^hElzaphan, the sons of ⁱUzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Draw near, carry your brethren from before the ^jsanctuary ^jout of the camp. ⁵ So they drew near, and carried them in their coats ^jout of the camp; as Moses had said.

⁸ ¹²And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons, ^uLet

97 Read with (5) 'for thy house'; the people are named in the next clause.

⁸ (5^{ab} omit: (5^l 'calf of his sin offering.')

²¹ (5^{ab} Sam 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' cp 10.

²⁴ Possibly ^{24a} is an interpolation, for in ¹³ and ¹⁶ the fat is not mentioned in connexion with the burnt offering ct 820, while it is stated that Aaron burnt the pieces that were delivered to him one by one for that very purpose. Moreover ²² records the conclusion of the whole sacrificial process. How then can 'the burnt offering and the fat' be still upon the altar? (Cp De Wette, *Beiträge* ii 302-4 quoted by Kalisch.) It is possible that (5's rendering in ¹³, ¹⁷ 30 'offer' and 'put' for 'burn' may be influenced by this consideration, but the same terms are not unfrequently employed elsewhere, eg ¹³ ¹³ 15 17 21 30 ³ 11.

¹⁰¹ The materials of 10 are composite, and the regulations in 6-20 seem to have been somewhat loosely thrown together, though 6, 12-13 and 16-20 are attached to the main incident in 1-5. This appears due to P², where it stands as the immediate sequel of 9²⁴ as an illustration of the danger of unauthorized cultus. For the quotation in ³ see Klostermann's emendation Ex 20¹³⁸.

³ M Or, are nigh.

^{6a} A secondary supplement as it includes all priests alike in the unctio cp Ex 28⁴¹⁸. Moreover ⁷ seems to imply that the consecration was not yet complete: but according to 9¹ it was finished.

^{6b} M Some ancient versions render, *Uncover not your heads*.

JE P ⁱ	P ^e	P ⁱ
f 13 ⁴⁵ 21 ¹⁰ Num 51 ⁸⁸ g 13 ⁴⁵ 21 ¹⁰ † h Ex 16 ²⁰ Num 16 ²² Josh 21 ¹⁸ i Ex 16 ³¹ j Num 16 ³⁷ 7 17 ¹⁰ † k Ex 26 ⁷ 8 17 ¹¹ †	not the hair of your heads/ go loose, neither rend your clothes; that ye die not, and that he be not wroth with all the congregation: but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which Yahweh hath kindled. ⁷ And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting, lest ye die: for the anointing oil of Yahweh is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses. ⁸ And Yahweh spake unto Aaron, saying, ⁹ Drink no wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tent of meeting, that ye die not: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations.	k 52 ^a l 46
10 16 ¹⁶ 17 ¹¹ m l 1 Sam 21 ⁴ Ezek 22 ²⁶ 42 ²⁰ 44 ²³ 48 ¹⁶ † m 20 ²³ n 14 ²⁷ cp Ex 24 ¹² cp Deut	¹⁰ And ye shall put difference between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean; ¹¹ and ye shall teach the children of Israel all the statutes which Yahweh hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses.	m 185 ^a n 176 o 62 ^c p 76 ^a
12-15 17 ¹¹ k 12 17 ¹¹ m/† o 16 61 ⁰	¹² And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the meal offering that remaineth of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire, and eat it without leaven beside the altar: for it is most holy: ¹³ and ye shall eat it in a holy place, because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: for so I am commanded. ¹⁴ And the wave breast and the heave thigh shall ye eat in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee: for they are given as thy due, and thy sons' due, out of the sacrifices of the peace offerings of the children of Israel. ¹⁵ The heave thigh and the wave breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave offering before Yahweh: and it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee, as a due for ever; as Yahweh hath commanded.	u 118 ^b v 118 ^b w 90 ^a x 87 ^b y 175 z 85
p 38 ⁵ 14 17 ¹⁰ n q 7 ³⁴	¹⁶ And Moses diligently sought the goat of the sin offering, and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with Eleazar and with Ithamar, the sons of Aaron that were left, saying, ¹⁷ Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the place of the sanctuary, seeing it is most holy, and he hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before Yahweh? ¹⁸ Behold, the blood of it was not brought into the sanctuary within: ye should certainly have eaten it in the sanctuary, as I commanded. ¹⁹ And Aaron spake unto Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin offering and their burnt offering before Yahweh; and there have befallen me such things as these: and if I had eaten the sin offering to-day, would it have been well-pleasing in the sight of Yahweh? ²⁰ And when Moses heard [that], it was well-pleasing in his sight.	a' 118 ^b
16-20 17 ¹¹ l r 9 ³ 15	²¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying unto them, ²² Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, These are the living things which ye shall eat among all the	1/ 118 ¹ c' 28 ^a d' 25 ^a
s 6 ¹ Kings 61 ⁸ ul t 62 ⁸ u 9 ² 7.		e' 118 ¹
1-23 16 ^{6a}		a 185 b 188 ^a

10⁸ A fragment, marked by a closing formula ^{9b}, but slenderly connected with the text (note the phrase 'that ye die not' ⁹ cp ⁶). Laws directly addressed to Aaron are rare Num 18¹ 20⁸. For the prohibition in ⁹ cp Ezek 44²¹.

10^a Another fragment attached to the preceding without any apparent link. On the lack of grammatical connexion cp Driver and White (*Leviticus* in Haupt's *SBOT* 5 p 28). The passage shows affinity with Pⁱ in its emphasis on teaching cp *Intro* XIII 9a i 152. D also lays stress both on distinctions of clean and unclean Deut 14³⁻²⁰, and on the priestly duty of instruction 24⁸, cp 33¹⁰. ^{10b} 11 So M. T and that ye may.

12 This paragraph, also a fragment, is joined to the context by the introductory clause. The rest recalls 614-18 25-26 ⁷ by its provision for eating the holy food 'in a holy place' ¹³, 'in a clean place' ¹⁴. Nowhere else is the peculiar expression 'a holy place' defined, without reference to the Tent of Meeting, as 'beside the altar' ¹⁵. For the substance of the paragraph cp 7³⁰⁻³⁴. Owing to the completeness with which the earlier matter has been assimilated with the later form, the regulation is here ascribed to P^a.

16 A very late supplement. The anger of Moses is not caused by neglect to bring the blood into the sanctuary, as provided in 4 (Pⁱ); it is assumed that Aaron was aware of that provision, and had sufficient reason for not carrying it out. Aaron is only charged with a less serious omission in not eating a sin offering which had thus become of a lower grade. Cp also 618⁸.

17 M. Or, to take away.

11 The subject of sacrifice with which the priesthood is first concerned 1-10 now makes way for the treatment of uncleanness and purification 11-15 under four heads, animals 11, child-birth 12, leprosy 13-14, issues 15. The laws are addressed partly to Moses alone, as in earlier sections 12¹ 14¹, partly to Moses and Aaron together 11¹ 13¹ 15¹. In its present position the series interrupts the sequence of 16¹ on 10¹⁻⁵, and its place is rather due to the compilers of the complex whole of the Priestly Code

than to the author of P^e. Its existing form, therefore, may be due to P^a, and this view is supported by occasional signs of acquaintance with regulations of the sacrificial code, as in 12⁸⁻⁹ 14¹³. . 21. . 15¹⁴. 20¹. But like 1-3 5-6¹ and 6⁸⁻⁷, the legislation in 11-15 seems to contain materials for the most part older than P^e, worked up in a later setting. Occasional resemblances to P^b have led some critics to ascribe them mainly to that source. Thus Driver-Wh assign 11²⁻²³ 41-47 to P^b. It seems probable, however, that the whole law is more complex cp 28¹; and it is here placed together with the cognate laws in 12-15 with the group of priestly teaching Pⁱ.

2 The contents of the law of the clean and unclean animals are in a high degree complex. Two distinct themes run through it (1) uncleanness as affecting food, and (2) uncleanness as produced by touch. Interpreters differ as to whether the second half of the colophon 47 refers to both or only to the first. Those who restrict 47 to cases of permitted and prohibited food regard the section on uncleanness by touch 24-40 as an addition cp 24⁸. If, however, 47a is not simply repeated in 47b the colophon recognizes both branches of the main subject. But even the regulations dealing with lawful and unlawful foods are not homogeneous. 2b-8 exhibits the distinction of clean and unclean as in Deut 14³⁻⁸. But in 9-23 this nomenclature is dropped, and all forbidden creatures are *shegeg* 'abomination' (cf 'abominable thing' Deut 14³ to *ebhah*), the subject being resumed after the section on defilement by touch 24-40 with another class of 'creeping things' which are also *shegeg* 41¹. The structure of the whole group may be thus tabled:—

I Forbidden food:

- (1) Clean and unclean, land animals 2b-8, Colophon: beast, bird, waters, creeping things on earth.
- (2) Abomination, water-animals 9-12, birds 13-19, winged creeping things 20-23.

	JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
a 3. Deut 14 ⁶⁻⁸	beasts that are on the earth. ³ "Whatsoever ^a parteth the hoof, and is ^b clovenfooted, [and] ^c cheweth the ^d cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat.		
b 7 26 Deut 14 ⁶	⁴ Nevertheless these shall ye not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that part the hoof: the camel, because he ^c cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is ^e unclean unto you. ⁵ And the ^f cone, because he ^c cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you. ⁶ And the ^g hare, because she ^c cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, she is unclean unto you. ⁷ And the ^h swine, because he parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, but ^c cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you. ⁸ Of their flesh ye shall not eat, ⁱ and ^j their carcases ye shall not touch; they are unclean unto you.		c 167 ^b
c 8-7 26 Deut 14 ⁶⁻⁸	⁹ These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath ^k fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat. ¹⁰ And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all ^l that move in the waters, and of all the living creatures that are in the waters, they are an ^m abomination unto you, ¹¹ and they shall be an ⁿ abomination unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, and their carcases ye shall ^o have in abomination. ¹² Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that is an ^p abomination unto you.		d 157 ^b
d Deut 14 ⁸	¹³ And these ye shall ^q have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an ^r abomination: ^s the ^t eagle, and the ^u gier eagle, and the ^v ospray; ¹⁴ and the ^w kite, and the ^x falcon ^o after its kind; ¹⁵ every raven ^o after its kind; ¹⁶ and the ^y ostrich, and the ^z night hawk, and the ^{aa} seamew, and the ^{ab} hawk ^o after its kind; ¹⁷ and the ^{ac} little owl, and the ^{ad} cormorant, and the ^{ae} great owl; ¹⁸ and the ^{af} horned owl, and the ^{ag} pelican, and the ^{ah} vulture; ¹⁹ and the ^{ai} stork, the ^{aj} heron ^o after its kind, and the ^{ak} hoopoe, and the ^{al} bat.		e 18 ^k
e Deut 14 ⁷	²⁰ All winged ^{am} creeping things that go upon all four are an ⁿ abomination unto you. ²¹ Yet these may ye eat of all winged ^{an} creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to ^{ao} leap withal upon the earth; ²² even these of them ye may eat; the ^{ap} locust ^o after its kind, and the ^{aq} bald locust after its kind, and the ^{ar} cricket after its kind, and the ^{as} grasshopper after its kind. ²³ But all winged ^{at} creeping things, which have four feet, are an ⁿ abomination unto you.		
f Deut 14 ⁹	²⁴ And by these ye shall become unclean: whosoever toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the even: ²⁵ and whosoever beareth [aught] of the carcase of		
g 9-12 Deut 14 ⁹⁻¹¹			
h 7 ²¹			
i 13 43 20 ²⁵ Deut 7 ²⁶ Ps 22 ²⁴			
j Deut 14 ¹²⁻¹⁸			
k Deut 14 ¹²			
l 5 ⁺			
m Deut 14 ¹³ Job 28 ⁷			
n Deut 14 ¹⁵			
o Deut 14 ¹⁵			
p Deut 14 ¹⁵			
q Deut 14 ¹⁶ Ps 102 ⁸			
r Deut 14 ¹⁷			
s Deut 14 ¹⁶			
t Deut 14 ¹⁷			
u Deut 14 ¹⁸			
v Deut 14 ¹⁸			
w Deut 14 ¹⁸ Is 20 ⁴			
x 5 ⁺			
y 24-38 16 ⁶ g			

II Forbidden touch:

Clean and unclean, land animals 24-28.

creeping things on earth 29-31,
effects of contact 32-38,
carcases of beasts 39-40.

I Forbidden Food:

(2) Abomination, creeping things on earth 41-42.

Here it is clear that the section on contamination by touch II interrupts the list of edible creatures which are *shelleg* I (2). But why should the list of prohibited animals fall into two unequal divisions marked by different terminology, while the entire list in Deut 14²⁰⁻²³ is on the basis of clean and unclean? And why, in the second group concerning touch should only two classes be mentioned out of five recognized in the first? The difficulties do not end here. Some of the abomination passages seem to contain doublets. In 9 'waters' is followed, as though analytically, by 'seas' and 'rivers'; but 10 begins 'And whatsoever hath no fins and scales in the seas and in the rivers,' while 12 runs 'Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters': are these from the same hand? So 10^b exhibits parallel clauses, and 23 ^h really repeats 20. This duplication is particularly clear in 48-49, where 44^a forms a close to 43 (following on 41.), and 44^b repeats with variations the commands of 43 (of especially 'creeping thing that creepeth' and 'creeping thing that moveth'). The whole law, therefore, seems to be compiled from at least two sources, (1) concerning clean and unclean, whether in food or contact, (2) concerning 'abomination' in eating, a group already showing traces of composite character. To (1) may be assigned, roughly, 25-38, with later supplements in 24-28, these extracts being only portions of a larger original. (2) 9-23 41-44^a (with perhaps 46) are derived from a similar series of food-laws, based on the conception of 'abomination,' and showing marked affinity with Ph. note the parallel 'ye shall not make your souls abominable' 43 and 20²⁵, with the phrases

'I am Yahweh your God' 20^{2b}, 'be ye holy' 20^{2a}, and 'I am holy' 20³. This second group is not without resemblance to J, e.g. 'sanctify yourselves' 44 cp 20² Ex 19²² Num 11¹⁸ Josh 3⁵ 7¹³, 'goeth on the belly' 42 cp Gen 3¹⁴, 'bring up' 45 cp 13⁶. It is possible that these series are founded on earlier ordinances once comprised in Ph 20²⁵ and now expanded, the characteristic conclusions having been retained.

13^{2a} The list of animals in 9-23 is closely parallel to that in Deut 14²⁰⁻²³, but there is no general agreement on the precise relation of one to the other; Dillm, for example, maintaining the priority of Lev as of P in general, and Driver, Deut 105, regarding the Deuteronomian group as the earlier. See Deut 14²⁰.

30-7 M ^hbringeth up.
34 M ^hShaphan, the Hyrax Syriacus or rock-badger.—Deut 14⁷ Ps 104¹⁸ Prov 30²⁶.

8 Some critics regard this as an editorial addition harmonizing with 24., but cp Deut 14⁸.

13 M Or, great vulture.

16 M ^htahmas, of uncertain meaning.

18 M Or, swan.

22 M Four kinds of locusts or grasshoppers, which are not certainly known.

24 It is possible that 24-31 is distinct from 25-38, as it looks like an elaboration of the prohibition in 9, which would hardly have appeared there if a continuation of the same law had contained these fuller directions. The language of 20. is not entirely parallel with that of 9., and does not cover the cases of the camel, cone, or hare. An additional class, the 'creeping things,' is also mentioned with a list of names found nowhere else. The law further prescribes means of cleansing, whereas no mode is specified for removing the defilement contracted by eating forbidden food. Further, it has been argued that 47^a does not refer to uncleanness by touch. Driv-Wh observe that no reference is made to 24-40 in the subscription 45.

JE P^a

P^s

P^a

them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even. ²⁶ Every beast which parteth the hoof, and is not clovenfooted, nor cheweth the cud, is unclean unto you: every one that toucheth them shall be unclean. ²⁷ And whatsoever goeth upon its paws, among all beasts that go on all four, they are unclean unto you: whoso toucheth their carcase shall be unclean until the even. ²⁸ And he that beareth the carcase of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: they are unclean unto you.

²⁹ And these are they which are unclean unto you among the creeping things that creep upon the earth; the weasel, and the mouse, and the great lizard after its kind, and the gecko, and the land-crocodile, and the lizard, and the sand-lizard, and the chameleon. ³¹ These are they which are unclean to you among all that creep: whosoever doth touch them, when they are dead, shall be unclean until the even.

³² And upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean; whether it be any vessel of wood, or raiment, or skin, or sack, whatsoever vessel it be, wherewith any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the even; then shall it be clean. ³³ And every earthen vessel, wherinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean, and it ye shall break. ³⁴ All food [therein] which may be eaten, that on which water cometh, shall be unclean: and all drink that may be drunk in every [such] vessel shall be unclean. ³⁵ And every thing whereupon [any part] of their carcase falleth shall be unclean; whether oven, or range for pots, it shall be broken in pieces: they are unclean, and shall be unclean unto you. ³⁶ Nevertheless a fountain or a pit wherein is a gathering of water shall be clean: but that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean. ³⁷ And if [aught] of their carcase fall upon any sowing seed which is to be sown, it is clean. ³⁸ But if water be put upon the seed, and [aught] of their carcase fall thereon, it is unclean unto you.

³⁹ And if any beast, of which ye may eat, die; he that toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even. ⁴⁰ And he that eateth of the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: he also that beareth the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

⁴¹ And every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth is an abomination; it shall not be eaten. ⁴² Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, or whatsoever hath many feet, even all creeping things that creep upon the earth, then ye shall not eat; for they are an abomination. ⁴³ Ye shall not make yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby. ^{44a} For I am Yahweh your God: sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy; for I am holy.

^{44b} And ye shall not defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that moveth upon the earth. ⁴⁵ For I am Yahweh that brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy.

⁴⁶ This is the law of the beast, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that moveth in the waters, and of every creature that creepeth upon the earth: to make a difference between the unclean and the clean, and between the living thing that may be eaten and the living thing that may not be eaten.

^{12¹} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a woman conceive seed, and bear a man child, then she shall be unclean seven days; as in the days of the impurity of her sickness shall she be unclean. ³ And in the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. ⁴ And she shall continue in the blood of [her] purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled. ⁵ But if she bear a maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her impurity: and she shall continue in the blood of [her] purifying threescore and six days. ⁶ And when the days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon, or a turtle dove, for a sin offering, unto the door of the tent of meeting,

2 5†
z i Sam 64. Is
66 17†
a' 5 cp 18
horned owl

U 628

c' Gen 7 11

d' Is 61 1†

39 16 c'

41-44a 16 a, f

c' Ct 11 13
S your souls

f' 19²
44b-45 16 b, h
g' S your souls
Ezek 4 14 ct 43 b
M Cp 13 6

46 16 a, j

1-8 16 f

a Cp Gen 11 5
b 15 19.
c 5† cp 15 33
s 16 m, b

d 333

e 10

f Cp 57

f 173

g 188^a

h 157^a

i 177^a

j 43^a

k 74

l 110

m 179^a
n 202^b
o 202^a

p 49

q 26

r 53

a 185^a

b 167^a

c 139

d 41

e 43^c

f 88^a

g 91

h 107^d

i 119^b

1130 M Words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting four kinds of lizards.

86 M Or, steupan.

36b M Or, he who.

46 In 11-15 the use of this opening phrase is restricted to the colophon (cp 188b) see 127 13⁵⁶ 14³² 54 57 (cp Num 5²⁸), save in 14² where it appears in the title, as in 6⁸⁻⁷, a section in many ways

36a M Or, cistern.

44b T neither shall ye.

analogous to this.

12¹ This chapter is later than 15¹⁰ to which it apparently refers in 2^b; but it presents the same general features, and seems best considered along with it (see 15¹⁸).

2⁵ M Or, separation.

6 The only trace of adaptation to the 'Camp' form of legislation first introduced by P^s.

JE P ^a	P ^e	P ^r
q 5⁸ h 510 t 2013^a	unto the priest : ⁷ and he shall ^ooffer it before Yahweh, and ^hmake atone- ment for her ; and she shall ¹be cleansed from the 'fountain of her blood. ^kThis is the law for her that beareth, whether a 'male or a female. ⁸ ^NAnd if her means ^msuffice not for a lamb, then she shall take two turtledoves, or two young pigeons ; the one for a burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering : and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be clean.	j 43^a k 188^b l 107^a m 58
1-46 16hc a (6)† b 1456† c (12)†	¹³ ^NAnd Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ² ^{sv}When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a ^rrising, or a ^bscab, or a ^cbright spot, and it become in the skin of his flesh the plague of leprosy, then he shall be brought unto ^aAaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests : ³ and the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh : and if the hair in the plague be turned white, and the appearance of the plague be ^ddeeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the plague of ^lleprosy : and the priest shall look on him, and ^qpronounce him unclean. ⁴ And if the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white, then the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the plague seven days : ⁵ and the priest shall look on him the seventh day : and, behold, if in his eyes the plague be at a stay, and the plague be not ^jspread in the skin, then the priest shall shut him up seven days more : ⁶ and the priest shall look on him again the seventh day : and, behold, if the plague be ^odim, and the plague be not spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him clean : it is a ^hscab : and he shall ^cwash his clothes, and be clean. ⁷ But if the scab spread abroad in the skin, after that he hath shewn himself to the priest for his 'cleansing, he shall shew himself to the priest again : ⁸ and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the scab be spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean : it is leprosy.	a 185^a b 190^b
d (7) e (29) Deut 24^{8a}	⁹ 'When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest ; ¹⁰ and the priest shall look, and, behold, if there be a white rising in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be ^jquick raw flesh in the rising, ¹¹ it is an ^kold leprosy in the skin of his flesh, and the priest shall pronounce him unclean : he shall not shut him up ; for he is unclean. ¹² And if the leprosy ^lbreak out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of [him that hath] the plague from his head even to his feet, as far as appeareth to the priest ; ¹³ then the priest shall look : and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce [him] clean [that hath] the plague : it is all turned white : he is clean. ¹⁴ But whensoever raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean. ¹⁵ And the priest shall look on the raw flesh, and pronounce him unclean : the raw flesh is unclean, it is leprosy. ¹⁶ Or if the raw flesh turn again, and be changed unto white, then he shall come unto the priest, ¹⁷ and the priest shall look on him : and, behold, if the plague be turned into white, then the priest shall pronounce [him] clean [that hath] the plague : he is clean.	c 12^a
f (22)† g (6)* h 6-8†	¹⁸ And 'when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a ^mboil, ¹⁹ and it is healed,	d 167^a
i Cp 2 18 24 29 38 40 47 5 j 24 Ct Gen 45^{5a} k 2610 Deut 4^{25†}		e 173
l (6) Ex 9⁸. cp Num 17⁵ 8 Gen 40^{10a}		f 42^c
m 18-20 23 Ex q10. Deut 28²⁷ 85*		

12⁸ Supplementary, because (1) it comes after the colophon 7b, and (2) the provision for cases of poverty elsewhere (5⁷ 14²¹ cp 14⁴) appears to have been added later.

13¹ The laws dealing with leprosy 13-14 are obviously incorporated in the general Priestly Code cp 13¹. &c, but they are by no means homogeneous, and the extreme elaboration of treatment prescribed throughout, suggests that the practice in these matters was not codified early. Deut 24⁸ shows that there was a recognized procedure laid down by the priests, but the omission of any detail (cf 14⁸⁻²⁰ on clean and unclean) may perhaps indicate that it was yet unwritten. On the successive additions to the original leprosy code see the notes, and in particular 14⁶⁴ 57^a. The vocabulary naturally shows a considerable number of peculiar terms. Where these terms only occur in 13 14, the number of occurrences is marked in brackets without further detail, or additional instances elsewhere are separately enumerated ; thus ² 'plague' (6r) Gen 12⁷ Ex 11¹ Deut 17⁸ 21⁶ 24⁸ 31. The general phraseological affinities with P, apart from the ideas

of 'clean' and 'unclean,' are noted in the usual way. Phrases appearing only in these chapters, such as 'shut up seven days' 13⁴, 21 28 31 30 34, belong to the general manner of P, but need no special attention.

² The first section comprises 2-4⁶, and treats in 2-2²⁸ of 'a rising or a scab or a bright spot,' and in 29-44 of a 'scall' 'upon the head or upon the beard.' The whole stress is laid upon the detection and discrimination of leprosy. If the sufferer be a leper, then 45. regulates his conduct. If 'the plague' be not leprosy, then the priest is to 'pronounce him clean' 6 13 17 23 28 34 37, and 'he is clean' 13 17 37, or 'and he shall wash his clothes and be clean' 6 34. No hint is given that anything more is needed, and the reference to the washing of the clothes almost seems to exclude the ritual of 14 in whole or in part (see further 14¹⁸). The slight traces of the influence of P^e are indicated in 2b and 46b, where the Aaronic priesthood and the camp are unexpectedly introduced : with 2 cp 14².

JE P^sP^sP^s

and in the place of the boil there is a white rising, or a bright spot, ¹⁹reddish-white, then it shall be shewed to the priest; ²⁰ and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the appearance thereof be ¹⁹lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy, it hath broken out in the boil. ²¹ But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hairs therein, and it be not lower than the skin, but be dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days: ²² and if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague. ²³ But if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread, it is the ²³scar of the boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

²⁴ Or ²⁴when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a ²⁴burning by fire, and the ²⁴quick [flesh] of the burning become a bright spot, reddish-white, or white; ²⁵ then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin; it is leprosy, it hath broken out in the burning: and the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. ²⁶ But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be no lower than the skin, but be dim; then the priest shall shut him up seven days: ²⁷ and the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. ²⁸ And if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread in the skin, but be dim; it is the rising of the burning, and the priest shall pronounce him clean: for it is the scar of the burning.

²⁹ And ²⁹when a man or woman hath a plague upon the head or upon the ²⁹beard, ³⁰ then the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin, and there be in it ³⁰yellow thin hair, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a ³⁰scall, it is leprosy of the head or of the beard. ³¹ And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and there be no ³¹black hair in it, then the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the plague of the scall seven days: ³² and in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the scall be not spread, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the appearance of the scall be not deeper than the skin, ³³ then he shall be ³³shaven, but the scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the scall seven days more: ³⁴ and in the seventh day the priest shall look on the scall: and, behold, if the scall be not spread in the skin, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin; then the priest shall pronounce him clean: and he shall ³⁴wash his clothes, and be clean. ³⁵ But if the scall spread abroad in the skin after his ³⁵cleansing; ³⁶ then the priest shall look on him: and, behold, if the scall be spread in the skin, the priest shall not seek for the yellow hair; he is unclean. ³⁷ But if in his eyes the scall be at a stay, and black hair be grown up therein; the scall is healed, he is clean: and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

³⁸ And ³⁸when a man or a woman hath in the skin of their flesh bright spots, even white bright spots; ³⁹ then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be of a dull white; it is a ³⁹tetter, it hath broken out in the skin; he is clean.

⁴⁰ And ⁴⁰if a man's ⁴⁰hair be fallen off⁴⁰ his head, he is ⁴⁰bald; [yet] is he clean. ⁴¹ And if his hair be fallen off from the front part of his head, he is ⁴¹forehead bald; [yet] is he clean. ⁴² But if there be in the ⁴²bald head, or the ⁴²bald forehead, a reddish-white plague; it is leprosy breaking out in his bald head, or his bald forehead. ⁴³ Then the priest shall look upon him: and, behold, if the rising of the plague be reddish-white in his bald head, or in his bald forehead, as the appearance of leprosy in the skin of the flesh; ⁴⁴ he is a ⁴⁴leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall surely pronounce him unclean; his plague is in his head.

21 24 42. 49 1437+

o 21 26 1437*

p 28 Prov 1637+

q 25 26+

r 30 149 1937 215*

s 32 36+

t 30-37 1454+

u 37+

v 148. 215 Num 69 18.

w 50+

x 41*

y 2 Kings 223+

z 42. 55+

g 108*

h 103

JE P'

P⁸

P'

a' 10⁶ 21^{10†}
U 5* Mic 3⁷ al

⁴⁵ And the ¹leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be ^{a'}rent, and ²the hair of his head shall go loose, and he shall ^{b'}cover his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. ⁴⁶ All the days wherein the plague is in him he shall be unclean; he is unclean: he shall dwell ^aalone; ^{without} the camp shall his dwelling be

47-59 16i
c' 48 52 59 Dent
2211*
d' (9) ot Ex 12³⁸
Neh 13^{3†}
e' 14³⁷ Ps 68^{13†}

⁴⁷ ¹³⁴ The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it be a ^{c'}woollen garment, or a linen garment; ⁴⁸ whether it be in ²warp, or ^{d'}woof; of linen, or of woollen; whether in a skin, or in any ³thing made of skin; ⁴⁹ if the plague be ^{e'}greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, or in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is the plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest: ⁵⁰ and the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up [that which hath] the plague seven days: ⁵¹ and he shall look on the plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in the skin, whatever ^aservice skin is used for; the plague is a ^{f'}fretting leprosy; it is unclean. ⁵² And he shall burn the garment, whether the warp or the woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it is a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire. ⁵³ And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the skin, or in any thing of skin; ⁵⁴ then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more: ⁵⁵ and the priest shall look, after that the plague is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed its colour, and the plague be not spread, it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire: it is a ^ufret, whether the bareness be within or without. ⁵⁶ And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be dim after the washing thereof, then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof: ⁵⁷ and if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin, it is breaking out: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire. ⁵⁸ And the garment, either the warp, or the woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean. ⁵⁹ ¹This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, either in the warp, or the woof, or any thing of skin, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.

f' 52 14⁴⁴ Ezek
28^{24†}

1-2a 16h.d

a Cp 103

4-7 171a

b 6 49 51. Num
10^{6†}
c Ex 25⁴
d Ex 12²²
e 628
f 4⁶

¹⁴ ¹³⁴ And Yahweh ^aspoke unto Moses, saying, ² ¹³⁵ This shall be the law of the ^aleper in the day of his ^ccleansing: he shall be brought unto the priest: ³ and the priest shall go forth ^cout of the camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the ¹leper; ⁴ ⁴ then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two living clean birds, and ^bcedar wood, and ^cscarlet, and ^dhyssop^b: ⁵ and the priest shall command to kill one of the birds in an ^eearthen vessel over ^arunning water: ⁶ as for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall ^ddip them and the living bird in the blood of

i 120^b

j 55^b

k 177^b

l 188^b

a 185^a

b 188

c 42^c

d 120

e 103

13⁴⁶ M See 10⁶.

⁴⁶ Cp ⁴ where the sufferer is to be 'shut up' is probably confined to leper's quarters near the village or town. The following clause is an editorial adaptation.

⁴⁷ This section, on leprosy in a garment, seems to proceed from the same cycle of priestly *toroth* as ²⁻⁴⁶. But it has apparently been extracted separately and attached by another hand to the preceding section, for it has a colophon of its own ⁶⁰, and the reference to it in the colophon 14⁶⁰ which includes ²⁻⁴⁶ is plainly a gloss.

⁴⁸ M Or, woven or knitted stuff (and in ⁴⁹, ⁵⁰).
⁵⁰ M H whether it be bald in the head thereof, or in the forehead thereof.

¹⁴¹ This second division of the 'law of leprosy' seems neither to fit any part of the preceding context, nor to be itself homogeneous. (1) The first portion is occupied ¹⁻³² with the ritual of cleansing a leper who is 'healed' ³, but who is not 'pronounced clean' ⁷ till the ceremonies of ^{4-7a} have been performed, and further personal purifications are then needed, washing of clothes, bathing, and shaving the hair ^{8a}, before it is said that 'he shall be clean.' Yet 13 requires only the priestly verdict and the washing of clothes eg 13⁶. But (2) after seven days

a second and sacrificial ceremony is needed before it can be said ²⁰ that 'he shall be clean.' These sections are thus separate in source from 13, and disclose distinct elements within themselves.

² The opening section ^{2-8a} is complete in itself, and bears every appearance of recording ancient practice. It might be conjectured that the compiler of 13 thought the ceremonial superstitious and unnecessary, and so refrained from enjoining it. The antiquity of the ritual may be upheld on various grounds: (1) for an Arabic parallel cp Wellhausen, *Skizzen* iii 156, W Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* 402: (2) the alternate vagueness and precision of the directions is unlike the style of other enactments; the priest 'shall command to take' ⁴, but the person to whom the command is addressed is unnamed cp ⁵; 'two living clean birds,' a unique phrase; 'cedar wood' &c, only in Num 19⁶; the slaughter of one of the birds 'in an earthen vessel over living water,' two unique conditions: (3) the rite is regarded as so incomplete that it needs an elaborate supplement cp ^{8b}. The title ^{2a} belongs to the section cp and ct 11⁴⁶. The use of the phrase 'this is the law...' in a title and not in a colophon supplies another indication of the distinct origin of 14^{2-8a} (cp 11^{46N}).
⁶ M H living.—Cp ⁶⁰⁻⁶² 15¹⁸ Num 19¹⁷.

JE P^eP^eP^a

the bird that was ¹killed over the ²running water: ⁷ and he shall ³sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall let go the living bird into the ⁴open field.

⁸ And he that is to be cleansed shall ⁹wash his clothes, and shall ¹⁰shave off all his hair, and ¹¹bathe himself in water, and he shall be clean: ¹²and after that he shall come into the ¹³camp, but shall dwell ¹⁴outside his tent seven days.

¹⁵ And it shall be on the seventh day, that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his ¹⁶beard and his ¹⁷eyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave off: and he shall ¹⁸wash his clothes, and he shall ¹⁹bathe his flesh in water, and he shall be clean. ²⁰ And on the eighth day he shall take two he-lambs ²¹without blemish, and one ewe-lamb ²²of the first year without blemish, and three ²³tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, ²⁴mingled with oil, and one ²⁵log of oil. ²⁶ And the priest that cleanseth him shall ²⁷set the man that is to be cleansed, and those things, before Yahweh, at the door of the tent of meeting: ²⁸ and the priest shall take one of the he-lambs, and offer him for a guilt offering, and the log of oil, and wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh: ²⁹ and he shall ³⁰kill the he-lamb in the place ³¹where they kill the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the place of the ³²sanctuary: for as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the guilt offering: it is ³³most holy: ³⁴ and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest shall put it upon the ³⁵tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot: ³⁶ and the priest shall take of the log of oil, and ³⁷pour it into the palm of his own ³⁸left hand: ³⁹ and the priest shall ⁴⁰dip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall ⁴¹sprinkle of the oil with his finger ⁴²seven times before Yahweh: ⁴³ and of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the guilt offering: ⁴⁴ and the rest ⁴⁵of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed: and the priest shall ⁴⁶make atonement for him before Yahweh. ⁴⁷ And the priest shall ⁴⁸offer the sin offering, and make atonement for him that is to be cleansed because of his uncleanness; and afterward he shall kill the burnt offering: ⁴⁹ and the priest shall ⁵⁰offer the burnt offering and the meal offering upon the altar: and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean.

⁵¹ And if he be poor, and cannot ⁵²get so much, then he shall take one he-lamb for a guilt offering to be waved, to make atonement for him, and one ⁵³tenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering, and a log of oil: ⁵⁴ and two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, such as he is ⁵⁵able to get; and the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering. ⁵⁶ And on the eighth day he shall bring them for his ⁵⁷cleansing unto the priest, unto the door of the tent of meeting, before Yahweh. ⁵⁸ And the priest shall take the lamb of the guilt offering, and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh: ⁵⁹ and he shall kill the lamb of the guilt offering, and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and put it upon the ⁶⁰tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot: ⁶¹ and the priest shall pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand: ⁶² and the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before Yahweh: ⁶³ and the priest shall put of the oil that is in his hand upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the place of the blood of the guilt offering: ⁶⁴ and the rest ⁶⁵of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him before Yahweh. ⁶⁶ And he shall

g 53 175 Num

1916*

8U-90 16h/71b

h Cp 5 1346

i 1329

j 5*

k Ex 292

l 12 15 21 24†

m 44 13

n 17 25 28 Ex

2930

o 10 28.* ct

Gen 139 5

p 46 161M(2)

q 53 632 5

r Cp 516

21-32 16hg 71c

s Ct 13 5 cp Ex

1210 Lev 716

f 100
g 149h 173
i 174^aj 123
k 119^b
l 160^a

m 141

n 88^c
o 90^a

p 128

q 117

r 109

14^e M 5 living.—Cp 50-52 15¹³ Num 19^{17*}.
⁸ Probably an editorial clause linking 2-8^a with 9-20 in which the camp is nowhere mentioned. The 'seven days' then supply the antecedent to ⁹. But this can hardly have been the original arrangement. The recovered leper has already shaved off all his hair ^{8a}, but in ⁹ he repeats the process. Further in ⁷ he is already pronounced clean by the priest, and after the final instructions ^{8a} he is clean (the rendering of the Hithpa ptc 'he that is to be cleansed' conveys an erroneous impression that the purification is still in the future: it should rather be 'he that is cleansing or purging himself,' in reference to the whole process).

But in 9-20 an atonement sacrifice is further required. The ritual terminology, meal offering, offer, guilt offering, wave, sin offering, most holy, burnt offering, atonement, belongs to the general manual 1-7, the rite in 14. corresponding to that of Ex 29; one peculiar term, however, a 'log of oil' ¹⁰, occurs in no other law. It appears probable, therefore, that later usage developed a different ceremony of purification, and the compiler has combined the two.

²¹ The analogy of similar cases elsewhere cp 14⁵ suggests that 21-32 is a supplement, see 12²⁸. This conclusion is confirmed by the independent colophon in 32.

JE P^aP^eP^r

offer one of the turtledoves, or of the young pigeons, such as he is ^aable to get; ³¹ *Neven such as he is* ^aable to get, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, with the meal offering: and the priest shall make atonement for him that is to be cleansed before Yahweh. ³² *This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, who is not* ^aable to get [that which pertaineth] to his ^ccleansing.

³³ *And Yahweh* ^aspoke unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ³⁴ *When ye* ^bcome into the ^cland of Canaan, ^bwhich I give to you for a ^cpossession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your ^cpossession; ³⁵ then he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, There seemeth to me to be as it were a plague in the house: ³⁶ and the priest shall command that they ^aempty the house, before the priest go in to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the house: ³⁷ and he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with ^ahollow strokes, ^agreenish or ^areddish, and the appearance thereof be lower than the wall; ³⁸ then the priest shall go out of the house to the door of the house, and shut up the house seven days: ³⁹ and the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house; ⁴⁰ then the priest shall command that they ^atake out the stones in which the plague is, and cast them into an unclean place ^awithout the city: ⁴¹ and he shall cause the house to be ^ascraped within round about, and they shall pour out the mortar that they ^ascrape off ^awithout the city into an unclean place: ⁴² and they shall take other stones, and put them in the place of those stones; and he shall take other mortar, and shall ^bplaster the house.

⁴³ *And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath* ^ataken out the stones, and after he hath ^ascraped the house, and after it is plastered; ⁴⁴ then the priest shall come in and look, and, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is ^aa ^cfretting leprosy in the house: it is unclean. ⁴⁵ *And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house; and he shall carry them forth* ^aout of the city into an unclean place. ⁴⁶ *Moreover he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up shall be unclean until the even.* ⁴⁷ *And he that lieth in the house shall* ^awash his clothes; and he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes.

⁴⁸ *And if the priest shall come in, and look, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plastered; then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed.* ⁴⁹ *And he shall take to cleanse the house two birds, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop:* ⁵⁰ *and he shall kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over* ^arunning water: ⁵¹ and he shall take the cedar wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of the slain bird, and in the ^arunning water, and sprinkle the house seven times: ⁵² *and he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the* ^arunning water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and with the scarlet: ⁵³ but he shall let go the living bird ^aout of the city into the open field: so shall he make atonement for the house: and it shall be clean.

⁵⁴ *This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scall; and for the leprosy of a garment, and for a house; and for a rising, and for a scab, and for a bright spot:* ⁵⁷ *to* ^ateach when it is unclean, and when it is clean: ^athis is the law of leprosy.

¹⁵ *And Yahweh* ^aspoke unto Moses and to Aaron, saying, ² *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When* ^aany man ^ahath an issue out of his flesh, because of his ^bissue he is ^aunclean. ³ *And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue: whether his flesh* ^arun with his issue, or his flesh be ^astopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness. ⁴ *Every bed whereon he that hath the issue lieth*

¹⁵ *And Yahweh* ^aspoke unto Moses and to Aaron, saying, ² *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When* ^aany man ^ahath an issue out of his flesh, because of his ^bissue he is ^aunclean. ³ *And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue: whether his flesh* ^arun with his issue, or his flesh be ^astopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness. ⁴ *Every bed whereon he that hath the issue lieth*

33-33 16j

t 23¹⁰ 25² Num
13² 15² et 16gu Cp Gen 24³¹ 5

v 5t

z 13⁴⁹z 13¹⁹y 43 5 Pi^az Cp Ezek 46⁵²

5t

c¹ 43 5*U¹ 43 49 5*Ezek 13¹⁰.c¹ 13⁵¹

49-53 17ld

54-57 16he

d¹ 10ll

1-33 16g; bi

a (14) 22⁴ Num5²⁶

b (13)t

c 5t

d 5t Hiph^t

14³¹ This clause is absent from (V) 5, and is generally recognized as an intrusion, cp Dillm-Ryss and Driv-Wh.

³³ This section is often connected with that on the leprosy of a garment 13⁴⁷⁻⁵⁹, as it contains some common terms cp 37 44. But its independence may be inferred from the circumstances (1) that it has a new introductory formula. ³³, et 13⁴⁷, (2) that it adopts ⁴⁹, the mode of cleansing described in 14²⁻³, (3) that it has no colophon et 13³⁹. From (1) it may also be concluded that 34-53 is later than 9-33, just as the mention of atonement in 53 implies a later source than 2-34 where no atonement is needed.

⁵⁴ The elaborate regulations for the treatment of leprosy in a house conclude with a remarkable piece of ancient ritual 49-53, and are here considered as based upon long established usage. But the prolixity of detail implies later handling. The customary opening formula required fuller expansion to accommodate so obvious a provision for settled life in the legislation of the wilderness. Parallels will be found in other sections embodying early material, e.g. 10³⁵ 23¹⁰ 25². Similarly, Deut 17¹⁴ 18²⁰ 26¹, though with characteristic differences in subsequent expression. 50-52b M 5 living.

^{52a} A new feature is here introduced in 'cleansing with the living water' which in 5, is only connected with the killing of the bird. In other respects also the description of the procedure is rather vague and confused.

⁵⁴ The colophon reflects the composite elements of 13-14 like a mirror. At first it probably consisted only of 57b 'this is the law of leprosy,' which follows the regular usage, cp 188b (15),

whereas ⁵⁴ has an unusual variant, 'the law for.' The first addition would then be ⁵⁴ (its two clauses answering to 13²⁻²³ and 29-44 respectively) and ^{57a}. ⁵⁶, taken from 13² verbally and referring only to 13²⁻²⁸, looks like a gloss which should have been inserted before 'and for a scall' (13²⁹⁻⁴⁴). The clause in 55a 'and for the leprosy of a garment' must also be an addition, referring to 13⁴⁷⁻⁵⁹ which has already its own colophon. The next words 'and for a house' will be the last addition. They can hardly have belonged to the previous clause, for the matter they refer to is separated from the section on the garment by 14¹⁻³², and the idiom in 5 would require 'and for the leprosy of an house.'

⁵⁷ The whole stress is here laid on the discrimination of leprosy, and no allusion is made to the ritual of cleansing. Thus it would seem that originally ⁵⁴ 57 followed 13^{65a} and that five distinct supplements have been successively incorporated 13⁴⁷⁻⁵⁹ 14¹⁻³⁴ 14³⁵⁻²⁰ 14²¹⁻⁵² 14⁵³⁻⁵⁵, the last three being, in substance at all events, much the most recent.

¹⁵ This chapter has been regarded as supplementary, or as largely modified by an editor. The tedious repetitions of leading phrases perhaps give rise to this impression. The only distinctive traces of P^e, however, lie in the allusions to the 'door of the Tent of Meeting' 14²⁹, and these may easily have been added here as elsewhere. The sacrificial ritual 14²⁹ seems parallel with that of the sin offering in 5. In the case of normal or recurrent secretions, where it would have been unnatural, it is omitted.

JE P^tP^gP^s

shall be unclean: and every thing whereon he sitteth shall be unclean.

⁵ And whosoever toucheth his bed shall ^awash his clothes, and ^bbathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁶ And he that sitteth on any thing whereon he that hath the issue sat shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁷ And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁸ And if he that hath the issue ^cspit upon him that is clean; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁹ And what ^dsaddle soever he that hath the issue rideth upon shall be unclean. ¹⁰ And whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him shall be unclean until the even: and he that beareth those things shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ¹¹ And whomsoever he that hath the issue toucheth, without having ^erinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ¹² And the ^fearthen vessel, which he that hath the issue toucheth, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be ^grinsed in water. ¹³ And when he that hath an issue is cleansed of his issue, then he shall number to himself seven days for his ^hcleansing, and wash his clothes; and he shall bathe his flesh in ⁱrunning water, and shall be clean. ¹⁴ And on the eighth day he shall take to him ^jtwo turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and come before Yahweh *unto the door of the tent of meeting*, and give them unto the priest: ¹⁵ and the priest shall ^koffer them, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh for his issue.

¹⁶ And ^lif any man's seed of ^mcopulation go out from him, then he shall bathe all his flesh in water, and be unclean until the even. ¹⁷ And every garment, and every skin, whereon is the seed of copulation, shall be washed with water, and be unclean until the even. ¹⁸ The woman also with whom a man shall lie with seed of copulation, they shall both bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the even.

¹⁹ And ⁿif a woman have an issue, [and] her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be in her ^oimpurity seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even. ²⁰ And every thing that she lieth upon in her ^pimpurity shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean. ²¹ And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ²² And whosoever toucheth any thing that she sitteth upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ²³ And if it be on the bed, or on any thing whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even. ²⁴ And if any man lie with her, and her impurity be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days; and every bed whereon he lieth shall be unclean.

²⁵ And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days not in the time of her impurity, or if she have an issue beyond the time of her impurity; all the days of the issue of her uncleanness she shall be as in the days of her impurity: she is unclean. ²⁶ Every bed whereon she lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her impurity: and every thing whereon she sitteth shall be unclean, as the uncleanness of her impurity. ²⁷ And whosoever toucheth those things shall be unclean, and shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ²⁸ But if she be cleansed of her issue, then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean. ²⁹ And on the eighth day she shall take unto her ^qtwo turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, *to the door of the tent of meeting*. ³⁰ And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the

e 14⁵

d 173

f 628^a

g 20 ep 114 57

h 17. 32 10²⁰ 22⁴
Num 5¹³e 42^c

f 117

g 190^c

JE P^cP^cP^c

priest shall make atonement for her before Yahweh for the issue of her uncleanness.

³¹ Thus shall ye ⁿseparate the children of Israel from their uncleanness; ^bthat they die not in their uncleanness, when they ^ddefile my ^TDwelling that is in the midst of them.

³² ^TThis is the law of him that hath an issue, and of him whose seed of copulation goeth from him, so that he is unclean thereby; ³³ and of her that is ^jsick with her impurity, and of him that hath an issue, of the ¹man, and of the woman, and of him that lieth with her that is unclean.

¹⁶¹ ^{NL} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron, ^awhen they drew near before Yahweh, and died; ² ^Land Yahweh said unto Moses, Speak unto

Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the ⁴holy place within the ^bveil, ^bbefore the ^ccovering which is upon the ark; that he ^ddie not; for I will ^eappear in the cloud upon the covering.

³ ^NHerewith shall Aaron come into the ^hholy place: with a young bullock for a ^dsin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering. ⁴ ^LHe shall put on the holy linen coat, and he

shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with the linen girdle, and with the linen ^mmitre shall he be attired: they are the ^hholy garments; and he shall ^bbathe his flesh in water, and put them on. ⁵ And he shall take of the ^ccongregation of the children of Israel two ^jhe-goats for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering.

⁶ And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and make atonement for himself, and for his house. ⁷ And he shall take the two goats, and ^eset them before Yahweh at the ^ddoor of the tent of meeting. ⁸ And Aaron shall cast ^llots upon the two goats; one lot for Yahweh, and the

other lot for ^aAzazel. ⁹ And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot ^ffell for Yahweh, and ^hoffer him for a sin offering. ¹⁰ But the goat, on which the lot fell for Azazel, shall be ^eset alive before Yahweh, to make atonement ^ffor him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness. ¹¹ And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for him-

self, and shall make atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall kill the bullock of the sin offering which is for himself: ¹² ^Land he shall take a ^ccenser full of coals of fire from off the altar before Yahweh, and his ^jhands full of ^ksweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil: ¹³ and he shall put the incense upon the fire before Yahweh, that the cloud of the incense may cover the covering that is upon the ¹testimony, that he ^ddie not:

i Num 5⁸ 19¹⁸
35³⁴

j 20¹⁸ cp 12²⁸*

1-34 ^Lyyb ghb
a 10¹-
2-28 ^Lyyaz

b 6¹⁴ 9⁸ ^h

c Ex 16¹⁰

d Cp 4³

e 110c

e Ex 28⁴

f 4²³

g ^h = come up
Josh 18¹¹ 19¹⁰
h Cp Ex 29³⁰ ^h
117

12 ^Lylb

i Ex 27³

j Ex 9⁸*

k Ex 25⁶

h 52^a

i 107^a

a 88^a

b 17¹

c 47

d 52^a

e 174^a

f 45

g 141

h 111^b

i 106

j 161

15^{31a} Cp Num 6². Hiph Lev 22³ Niph* cp Ezek 14⁵ 7. But Sam reads וְהוֹדִיעָם, which seems also to lie behind (Θ *ἐλάβεῖς ποίησεν*, and *ἔδοξεβίς*, cp Ex 18²⁰). This reading on the whole supports those who find an ancient flavour in this verse.

^{31b} ^T tabernacle cp 54^b. In what sense is the Dwelling to be understood? It has been often interpreted of the fabric of the sanctuary described in Ex 25-30. But it seems rather to denote the gracious inhabitation of the land by its divine Lord cp 26¹¹ Num 5³ 35³⁴ (cp *Introd XIII 38* i 129). In that case the passage would belong to a stage when the outward structure had not yet been invested with the dignity belonging to it in P^c.

³² The colophon by its conformity to type cp 11⁶⁸ confirms the ascription of the chapter to a cycle of *toroth* anterior to P^c. But the wording seems redundant, and ^{32b} perhaps betrays irregular additions. In ³² 33^a the references are clear to 2-16 16-18 19-24. But ^{32b} includes 2-15 afresh as well as 25-30 while there seems no special reason for the allusion to 24 in the last words. The change of construction in the final clause deserves notice: it is וְשֵׁנִי parallel to וְ in 14⁵⁴, or is it attracted by וְשֵׁנִי?

¹⁶ This important chapter has been much discussed (cp Benzinger, *ZATW* 1880 65-89, Cheyne, *ZATW* 1895 153; cp Addis, *Hez* ii 330, and Driv-Wh, *Lev* 79). For its historical relations see *Introd XIII 118* i 156. The more drastic suggestions for its disintegration have failed to carry general conviction, but it is hard to believe it homogeneous. The following is offered as a probable account of its literary history. (1) The kernel is found in the directions for the cleansing of the inner sanctuary, the Tent of Meeting, and the altar cp 20, and for an atonement for the people cp 21 on the occasion (left undefined) of Aaron's entering within the veil. This is assigned to P^c,

because (a) the term 'the altar' 12 18 20 25 is used throughout as though it were the only one; (b) the censor is employed 12. so as to exclude the presence of the golden altar, only the great altar of burnt offering having fire always upon it 6³. (cp Dillm); 'before Yahweh' 12 as in 16¹³ cp 4⁸; (c) the ritual in no degree transcends Ex 29 or Lev 9, where it is parallel with them. The ritual terminology includes the usual words *burnt offering, sin offering, make atonement, present, cleanse, uncleanness, hallow, &c.*

(2) An introductory verse has been prefixed, connecting the need for atonement with the death of Aaron's sons, and by a series of systematic alterations and additions 8 8 11 14 17b &c, a special element of atonement for Aaron and his house has been introduced throughout the course of the ritual. As this is not mentioned in 16 and 20, this personal element would seem not to be original, and this impression is confirmed by the awkwardness of the allusions in 3 and 4. The words and clauses suspected as additions are, as far as possible, printed in small type. But the assimilation is very thorough, and may be very early. On the other hand, the sevenfold aspersions 14 19 usually belongs elsewhere to P^c (4⁶ 17 81¹⁸ 14⁷ 18 27 81 Num 19⁴⁴); and the increase in the personal dignity and importance of the high priest points in the same direction. (3) The ceremonial is to be repeated at the consecration of every high priest 32^a. (4) It is made an annual fast day 28^a.

³ The introduction of Aaron's sin offering and burnt offering seems somewhat premature here, before he is robed 4. Subsequently 6 is repeated in 11, so that the place of Aaron's own sacrifice in the ceremony is doubtful. The passages seem best explained as later additions to the text.

⁴ M Or, *turban*.

⁸ M Or, *dismissal*.

¹⁰ M Or, *over*.

JE P^hP^sP^s

2 4⁵ 17 811¹⁸ 14⁷
16 27 51 Num
194[†]

m Josh 22¹⁰

n Cp 27^a

o 5[†]

28 LII Co

p 61¹

q 4⁸⁻¹⁰ 19

r 41¹

s 23²⁷ 160^c

t Ex 12⁴⁹

32. LII Co

u Cp 4

¹⁴ and he shall take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the covering on the east; and ¹⁵before the covering shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger seven times. ¹⁵ Then shall he kill the goat of the sin offering, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the veil, and do with his blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the covering, and before the covering: ¹⁶ and he shall make atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions, ¹⁷even all their sins: and so shall he do for the tent of meeting, ¹⁸that ¹⁹dwellleth with them in the midst of their uncleanness. ¹⁷ And there shall be no man in the tent of meeting when he goeth in to make atonement in the holy place, until he come out, and have made atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the ¹⁸assembly of Israel. ¹⁸ And he shall go out unto the altar that is before Yahweh, and make atonement for it; and shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of the blood of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about. ¹⁹ And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and ²⁰hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel. ²⁰ And when he hath made an end of atoning for the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar, he shall present the live goat: ²¹ and Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and ²²confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, ²³even all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a man ²⁴that is in readiness into the wilderness: ²⁵and the goat shall ²⁶bear upon him all their iniquities unto a ²⁷solitary land: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness. ²⁸ ²⁹And Aaron shall come into the tent of meeting, and shall ³⁰put off the linen garments, which he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there: ³¹and he shall ³²bathe his flesh in water in a holy place, and put on his garments, and come forth, and offer his burnt offering and the burnt offering of the people, and make atonement for himself and for the people. ³³ And the ³⁴fat of the sin offering shall he ³⁵burn upon the altar. ³⁶ And he that letteth go the goat for Azazel shall ³⁷wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp. ³⁸ And the bullock of the sin offering, and the goat of the sin offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall be carried forth ³⁹without the camp: and they shall ⁴⁰burn in the fire their ⁴¹skins, and their flesh, and their dung. ⁴² And he that burneth them shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp.

²⁹ ³⁰And it shall ³¹be a ³²statute for ever unto you: in the ³³seventh month, on the ³⁴tenth day of the month, ye shall ³⁵afflict your souls, and shall do no manner of ³⁶work, the ³⁷homeborn, or the stranger that sojourneth among you: ³⁸for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before Yahweh. ³⁹ It is a sabbath of ⁴⁰solemn rest unto you, and ye shall ⁴¹afflict your souls; it is a ⁴²statute for ever.

³² ³³And the priest, who shall be ³⁴anointed and who shall be ³⁵consecrated to ³⁶be priest in his father's stead, shall make the atonement, and shall put on the linen garments, even the ³⁷holy garments: ³⁸and he shall make atonement for the holy ³⁹sanctuary, and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting and for the altar; and he shall make atonement for the priests and for all the people of the assembly.

k 64

l 21^a

m 54^a

n 86^c

o 102

p 45

q 37

r 173

s 120^a

t 38

u 27

v 62^c

w 183

x 20

y 177^a

z 34

a' 137^c

b' 23

c' 69^a

d' 129^a

e' 91

16¹⁷ Not a P^s phrase, cp Josh 8²⁵. 21 M Or, appointed.—5[†].
29 In 29-31 34 a yearly fast day is enjoined. The character of the ceremony seems here to have altered. All reference to the cleansing of the holy place, the tent of meeting, and the altar is omitted. The atonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins 34 is the great transaction to be repeated once in the year. These verses are hardly from the hand of the first author of the ritual.

32 This paragraph is clearly inserted to provide that Aaron's

successors should do as he had done. But the generality of the terms and the absence of any Aaron phrases indicate that it is not original. The terminology also has changed: 'the holy place' 16. 20 has become the 'holy sanctuary'; 'the priests' 33 take the place of 'himself and his house' 11 17^b. The regulations are here viewed as an earlier insertion than 29., and as applying to the day of consecration: but they might have been added later to provide the omitted reference to other acts of atonement, and to declare explicitly the continuous right and duty of the high-priest.

JE P^hP^sP^rv Cp 4²⁶ 51-7 L7a P^e10a L^ra 8 10 22¹⁸Ezek 14⁴ 7[†]b Ex 16³¹ 11^bc 17¹⁸ cp Num

1827 30

d Gen 9⁶e 14⁷ 53 Num

1916

f 3²

g Cp D16

h 3³ 5i 15²⁹ 20⁵ Num15³⁰ Ex 34¹⁵Deut 31¹⁶ Ezek20³⁰

8-16 L2a/

8. L7a m P^e 10a m[†]j 5 14²⁰ cp 18¹⁰k Cp Ex 20²⁴Lev 22¹⁸ 21

10-14 L6e

l Gen 9⁴ Deut12²³m 14 Num 18²⁴n 17¹²o Cp Deut 12¹⁶24 Ezek 24⁷p Cp Ex 31¹⁴ 5

34^a ⁿ And this shall ^u be an ^v everlasting statute unto you, to make atonement for the children of Israel ^b because of all their sins once in the year.

34^b ⁿ And he ^u did as Yahweh commanded Moses.

17¹ ^{nl} And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto ^b Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them; ^c This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, saying, ^{3nd} What ^a man soever there be of the ^b house of Israel^a, that ^a killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it ^u without the camp, ⁴ and hath not brought it unto the ^d door of the tent of meeting, to ^b offer it as an ^u oblation unto Yahweh before the ^u Dwelling of Yahweh: blood shall be ^u imputed unto that man; he hath ^d shed blood; and that man shall be ^u cut off from among his people: ⁵ to the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they sacrifice in the ^u open field, even that they may bring them unto Yahweh, unto the ^d door of the tent of meeting, unto ^u the priest, and sacrifice them for ^u sacrifices of peace offerings unto Yahweh. ⁶ ⁿ And ^k the priest shall ^u sprinkle the ^u blood upon the ^u altar of Yahweh at the ^d door of the tent of meeting, and ^u burn the ^u fat for a ^u sweet savour unto Yahweh. ⁷ And they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices unto the ^u he-goats, after whom they ^u go a whoring. This shall be a ^u statute for ever unto them ^u throughout their generations.

8 ^{nl} And thou shalt say unto them, ^a Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the ^u strangers that sojourn among them, that ^u offereth a ^u burnt offering or sacrifice, ⁹ and bringeth it not unto the ^d door of the tent of meeting, to sacrifice it unto Yahweh; even that man shall be ^u cut off from his ^u people.

10 ^l And ^a whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the ^u strangers that sojourn among them, that eateth any manner of blood; I will ^u set my face against that ^u soul that eateth blood, and will ^u cut him off from among his people. ¹¹ For the ^u life of the flesh is in the blood: and ^u I have given it to you upon the altar to make ^u atonement for your ^u souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the ^u life. ¹² ^m Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No ^u soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.

13 And ^a whatsoever man there be of the ^u children of Israel, or of the ^u strangers that sojourn among them, which ^u taketh in hunting any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall ^u pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust. ¹⁴ For as to the life of ^u all flesh, the blood thereof is ^u all one; with the life thereof: ^m therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: ^u whosoever eateth it shall be ^u cut off.

f^r 18^{9c}a 18^{5a}b 12¹c 18^{8b}d 21⁸

e 100

f 120^bg 111^bh 118^ai 118^bj 197^b

k 209

l 118¹

m 148

n 37

o 158

p 62^cq 14^br 145^bs 50^bt 21²u 146^av 197^aw 94^ax 25^ay 21^b

16^{34a} This clause may have stood originally between 30 and 31. ^{34b} This statement must have belonged to the earlier injunctions, where a single ceremony was imposed upon Aaron, without mention of any repetition.

17¹ At this point the so-called 'Holiness Code' 17-26 begins. It is here designated P^h. On its name and general characteristics see *Intro*d XIII 8 i 143. The variety of its contents, and its frequent repetitions, show that it has been compiled from various sources, not always in complete agreement with each other: It has been the task of R^p to harmonize as far as possible any conflicting data; thus in 17 the opening words bear the plainest marks of P^s, and must, as elsewhere, be assigned to the editor who combined P^h with P^s. The association of priesthood and laity in legislative address is exceedingly rare in P cp 22¹⁸†.

3 Like D Deut 12¹, P^h opens with a ritual law 3-2. This is itself in two parts 3-7 and 8, which have a common aim. 3-7 in its present form lays down three rules: (1) no slaughter of domestic animals may take place without sacrifice; (2) sacrifice may be offered only to Yahweh; (3) and only at the central sanctuary. 8 repeats (2) and (3). The whole has been adapted to the camp-scheme of legislation by R^p, to whom the enunciation of the third principle seems due. P^h does not elsewhere speak of the Dwelling in its technical sense, or refer to the 'entrance of the tent of meeting.' The recurrence of this phrase in both laws 6 and 8 shows it to be editorial. For comparison with other codes see *Laws* as noted in the margin. On the general implications of this enactment and its relative antiquity

compared with the fundamental conception of D see *Intro*d i 146, and cp *Driv*-Wh, Lev 85 (only available when the *Intro*d and notes had been completed): the slight difference in the view of the stages of the text turns on the use of the 'Dwelling.'

4 T tabernacle, cp 54^c. The parallel with the 'tent of meeting' seems to make it clear that this term is here used in the sense of the Levitical sanctuary, and not in its ideal meaning cp 15²¹. In that case the clause is an editorial addition founded on Ex 25¹: P^h only knows of the sanctuary 21¹³.

6 The whole of this verse may be secondary, cp the ritual in 15. On the other hand the ceremony was no doubt ancient, though its specification is hardly after the manner of P^h.

7 M Or, satire. — Is 13²¹ 34¹⁴†.

8 The peculiar opening of this verse 'and to them thou shalt say,' addressed to the laity cp 20², suggests that the following passage has lost some of its original context. In 8 there seems clearly a doublet of 2b-7: the instructions are rather more developed; the law applies to non-Israelites as well as to the house of Israel; the altar gifts include burnt offering as well as peace offering 6. In 10¹⁶ it must be doubtful whether the prohibition of eating with blood cp 19²⁶ is continuous with 3-7 or with 8. The reference to the strangers in 10¹³ points to the same source as in 8; in any case, the editorial work in 10¹⁶ is better assimilated than in 3-7, and cannot be isolated with certainty. 11ab M 5 soul.

13 Some 5 MSS and Sam read 'house.' On the other hand 5 has 'children' (sons) in 8 8¹⁰ as well as in this passage.

JE P ^h	P ^s	P ^s
15 160c q 7 ²⁴ 22 ⁸ Ex 22 ³¹ r 11 ²⁵	15 ¹⁵ And every ¹⁶ soul that eateth ¹⁷ that which dieth of itself, or that which is ¹⁸ torn of beasts, ¹⁹ whether he be ²⁰ homeborn or a stranger, he shall ²¹ wash his clothes, and ²² bathe himself in water, and be ²³ unclean ²⁴ until the even: then shall he ²⁵ be clean.	z 35 a' 34 b' 173 c' 174 d' 167 ^a e' 42 ^a f' 193 a 185 ^a b 203 ^b c 4 ^a d 94 ^a e 217 f 199
1-5 15d _g	16 But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, then he shall ¹⁷ bear his iniquity. 18 ¹⁸ And Yahweh ¹⁹ spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁰ Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, ²¹ I am Yahweh your God. ²² After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither ²³ I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye ²⁴ walk in their statutes. ²⁵ My judgements shall ye ²⁶ do, and my statutes shall ye ²⁷ keep, to walk therein: ²⁸ I am Yahweh your God. ²⁹ Ye shall therefore ³⁰ keep my statutes, and my judgements: which if a man do, he shall live ³¹ in them: ³² I am Yahweh.	g 203 ^a h 218 i 204 j 215
6-18 170i	6 ⁶ None of you shall approach to any that is near of ⁷ kin to him, to ⁸ uncover [their] nakedness: ⁹ I am Yahweh. ¹⁰ The nakedness of thy father, even the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ¹¹ The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness. ¹² The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or the daughter of thy mother, whether ¹³ born at home, or ¹⁴ born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover. ¹⁵ The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for theirs is thine own nakedness. ¹⁶ The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, ¹⁷ begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ¹⁸ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's ¹⁹ near kinswoman. ²⁰ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's ²¹ near kinswoman. ²² Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine ²³ aunt. ²⁴ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter in law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ²⁵ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness. ²⁶ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter; thou shalt not take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; they are ²⁷ near kinswomen: it is ²⁸ wickedness. ²⁹ And thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a ³⁰ rival [to her], to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time. ³¹ And thou shalt not approach unto a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she is ³² impure by her ³³ uncleanness. ³⁴ And thou shalt not ³⁵ lie carnally with thy ³⁶ neighbour's wife, to ³⁷ defile thyself with her. ³⁸ And thou shalt not give any of thy seed ³⁹ to make them pass through [the fire] to Molech, ⁴⁰ neither shalt thou ⁴¹ profane the name of thy God: ⁴² I am Yahweh. ⁴³ Thou shalt not lie with mankind, ⁴⁴ as with womankind: it is ⁴⁵ abomination. ⁴⁶ And thou shalt not ⁴⁷ lie with any ⁴⁸ beast to ⁴⁹ defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman ⁵⁰ stand before a beast, to ⁵¹ lie down thereto: it is ⁵² confusion.	k 220 l 139 m 167 ^c n 206 o 167 ^d p 210 q 192 r 205 s 167 ^e
a Cp 11 5†	21 ²¹ Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things: for in all these the nations are defiled which ²² I ²³ cast out from before you: ²⁴ and the land is defiled: therefore I do ²⁵ visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the	
b 20 ²⁰ Ex 6 ^{20†}		
c Cp 1 Sam 16		
19 171d		
20 171h d 23 2015 Num 15 ^{20†} 21b 151b 21b 15c1 22 171e e 2013 f 2015 Ex 2219		
g 2012†		
24-30 15d _h n1p h 2023 25. 12a _m i Ex 206 3234 347		

17^{16a} An appendix, which is probably from the compiler's hand. The law is more rigorous than that of Deut 14²¹. The 'stranger' who may there by the food which would pollute an Israelite, here incurs the same uncleanness, and needs the same purification cp 19³⁴ 22².

18³ The hortatory introduction in 2b-5 has several parallels in P^h, especially in the form of closing admonitions cp 24-30 19³⁷ 20²²⁻²⁸ 22³¹⁻³³ 25¹⁸ 38 and on a more extended scale 26⁵⁻⁴⁵.

5 M. Or, *by*.—Cp Ezek 20¹¹ 13 21.

7 The laws in 6-19 and a curious parallel within P^h in 20¹¹⁻²¹: on the relation between the two groups see 20³⁸. It is possible that the general introduction in 6, with its plural address, may be due to the writer of 2b-5 (Baentsch).

17 M. Or, *enormity*.

19 M. Or, *separated* for.

21 M. Or, to set them apart to Molech.—Cp 20² Ex 13¹² Deut 18¹⁰ Jer 32³⁵ Ezek 20³¹ 23³⁷ 2 Kings 16³ 17¹⁷ 21⁶. This verse so clearly interrupts the context 20²², that it can hardly be in its original place. The link of association which has led to its insertion here is probably founded on the figure of harlotry applied to the Molech cult 20⁵. The refrain 'I am Yahweh' would more naturally point to the series in 19 cp 19¹².

24 For this concluding exhortation cp 38. The whole passage implies considerable expansion, in the adaptation of earlier materials. Thus the verbs in 26 are really all in the past tense, 'and the land was defiled . . . and I visited . . . and the land vomited' . . . as though a passage of retrospect had been converted into prophecy cp 20²³. Perhaps 24 and 30 are nearest to their original form. In 29 the editor drops the conception of national punishment for individual doom cp 17¹.

JE P ^h	P ^s	P ^r
j Cp 20 ²² .	land 'vomiteth out her inhabitants. ²⁶ Ye therefore shall 'keep my 'statutes and my judgements, and shall not do any of these 'abominations; neither the 'homeborn, nor the 'stranger that sojourneth among you: ²⁷ (for all these 'abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled;) ²⁸ that the land 'vomit not you out also, when ye defile it, as it vomited out the nation that was before you. ²⁹ For whosoever shall do any of these 'abominations, even the 'souls that do them shall be 'cut off from among their people. ³⁰ Therefore shall ye 'keep my charge, that ye do 'not any of these 'abominable 'statutes, which were done before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: 'I am Yahweh your God.	t 216 u 213 v 34 w 145 ^b
k 204 2615 JE6t 2b L117 3a L118 4a Ct Ex 2012 cp 2000 2b L9be b 30 262 Ex 3118 ct Ex 208 4 L5b/ c Ex 3417 6-8 L7cd d 5 = sacrifice 2229 e Ct 715-18 f 718 Ezek 414 Is 5544 ct 1822 5 g L9ic g 2322 Deut 2419 h 2322 Gen 4714 i 2322 j Deut 2421 Pael*	¹⁹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, 'Ye shall 'be holy: for 'I Yahweh your God am holy. ³ 'Ye shall 'fear every man his mother, and his father, 'and ye shall 'keep my 'sabbaths: 'I am Yahweh your God. ⁴ 'Turn ye not unto 'idols, nor make to yourselves 'molten gods: 'I am Yahweh your God. ⁵ 'And when ye 'offer a 'sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh, ye shall 'offer it that ye may be 'accepted. ⁶ It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the 'morrow: and if aught remain until the third day, it shall be 'burnt with fire. ⁷ And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is an 'abomination; it shall not be 'accepted: ⁸ but every one that eateth it shall 'bear his iniquity, because he hath 'profaned the holy thing of Yahweh: 'and that 'soul shall be cut off from his people. ⁹ 'And 'when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou 'gather the 'gleaning of thy harvest. ¹⁰ And thou shalt not 'glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou 'gather the 'fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt 'leave them for the poor and for the stranger: 'I am Yahweh your God. ¹¹ 'Ye shall not 'steal; 'neither shall ye 'deal falsely, nor 'lie one to 'another. ¹² 'And ye shall not swear by my name 'falsely, so that thou 'profane the name of thy God: 'I am Yahweh. ¹³ 'Thou shalt not 'oppress thy neighbour, nor 'rob him: 'the 'wages of a 'hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. ¹⁴ 'Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the 'blind, but thou shalt 'fear thy God: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁵ 'Ye shall do no 'unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not 'respect the person of the poor, nor 'honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy 'neighbour. ¹⁶ 'Thou shalt not go up and down as a 'talebearer among thy 'people: neither shalt thou stand against the 'blood of thy neighbour: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁷ 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine 'heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy 'neighbour, and not 'bear sin because of him. ¹⁸ 'Thou shalt not take 'vengeance, nor 'bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt 'love thy neighbour as thyself: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁹ Ye shall 'keep my statutes. 'Thou shalt not let thy cattle 'gender with a 'diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with 'two kinds of seed: neither shall there come upon thee a garment of 'two kinds of 'stuff mingled together.	x 146 ^a y 197 ^b z 39 ^b a 185 ^a b 45 c 202 d 203 ^c e 211 f 203 ^b g 214 h 1181 i 17 ^b j 38 k 17 ^a l 193 m 210 n 50 ^a o 206 p 210 ^a q 203 ^a r 200 ^a s 208 t 201 u 199 v 205
k 204 2615 JE6t 2b L117 3a L118 4a Ct Ex 2012 cp 2000 2b L9be b 30 262 Ex 3118 ct Ex 208 4 L5b/ c Ex 3417 6-8 L7cd d 5 = sacrifice 2229 e Ct 715-18 f 718 Ezek 414 Is 5544 ct 1822 5 g L9ic g 2322 Deut 2419 h 2322 Gen 4714 i 2322 j Deut 2421 Pael*	¹⁹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, 'Ye shall 'be holy: for 'I Yahweh your God am holy. ³ 'Ye shall 'fear every man his mother, and his father, 'and ye shall 'keep my 'sabbaths: 'I am Yahweh your God. ⁴ 'Turn ye not unto 'idols, nor make to yourselves 'molten gods: 'I am Yahweh your God. ⁵ 'And when ye 'offer a 'sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh, ye shall 'offer it that ye may be 'accepted. ⁶ It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the 'morrow: and if aught remain until the third day, it shall be 'burnt with fire. ⁷ And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is an 'abomination; it shall not be 'accepted: ⁸ but every one that eateth it shall 'bear his iniquity, because he hath 'profaned the holy thing of Yahweh: 'and that 'soul shall be cut off from his people. ⁹ 'And 'when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou 'gather the 'gleaning of thy harvest. ¹⁰ And thou shalt not 'glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou 'gather the 'fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt 'leave them for the poor and for the stranger: 'I am Yahweh your God. ¹¹ 'Ye shall not 'steal; 'neither shall ye 'deal falsely, nor 'lie one to 'another. ¹² 'And ye shall not swear by my name 'falsely, so that thou 'profane the name of thy God: 'I am Yahweh. ¹³ 'Thou shalt not 'oppress thy neighbour, nor 'rob him: 'the 'wages of a 'hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. ¹⁴ 'Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the 'blind, but thou shalt 'fear thy God: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁵ 'Ye shall do no 'unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not 'respect the person of the poor, nor 'honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy 'neighbour. ¹⁶ 'Thou shalt not go up and down as a 'talebearer among thy 'people: neither shalt thou stand against the 'blood of thy neighbour: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁷ 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine 'heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy 'neighbour, and not 'bear sin because of him. ¹⁸ 'Thou shalt not take 'vengeance, nor 'bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt 'love thy neighbour as thyself: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁹ Ye shall 'keep my statutes. 'Thou shalt not let thy cattle 'gender with a 'diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with 'two kinds of seed: neither shall there come upon thee a garment of 'two kinds of 'stuff mingled together.	t 216 u 213 v 34 w 145 ^b x 146 ^a y 197 ^b z 39 ^b a 185 ^a b 45 c 202 d 203 ^c e 211 f 203 ^b g 214 h 1181 i 17 ^b j 38 k 17 ^a l 193 m 210 n 50 ^a o 206 p 210 ^a q 203 ^a r 200 ^a s 208 t 201 u 199 v 205

18³⁰ So 5 as in 3. T customs. Cp 20²³.

19² The collection of laws in 19 is introduced and closed by brief exhortations showing affinities with 18³⁻⁵ and 24³⁰. But the contents are not confined to a single topic, and their variety clearly points to diversity of source. Thus (1) some precepts are repeated ^{3b} and ^{30a}, ^{14b} and ^{32b}, ^{15a} and ^{35a}; (2) the peculiar term 'neighbour' 11 15 17 alternates curiously with the common עַר 13 16 18; (3) the ritual passage 6-8 does not seem to belong by subject to the rest of the religious moral and social legislation of the context; its incongruity with 7¹⁵⁻¹⁸ makes it indeed improbable that it is an editorial insertion of the type of 21, but it may rather be taken as belonging to a group of cultus laws of which traces remain in 21-23 retouched by a later hand; (4) the alternate predominance of the singular 'thou' 13-19 and the plural 'ye' 2-12 and 23-37 seems partly due to

difference of origin. The materials may be to some extent of ancient date, as they have analogies with regulations in several codes where the same subjects have been treated; thus (1) with the Ten Words 3 11; (2) with the Book of Judgements (Ex 21-23) 15 38; further points of contact exist (3) with J 4 9 20 28, and (4) with D 9 10 13 15 19 28 28 31 33 35: while the phraseology often resembles that of Jer and Ezek (besides P^h words) 7 13 15, 18 20 35. The signs of arrangement into groups are discussed by Briggs, *Higher Critic* 245 ff, and more fully by Paton, *Orig Form of Lev* 17-19; analogy has been found in 3-8 to the laws of the first table of the Decalogue; and in 9-20 to those of the second.

4 M 5 things of naught. See Jer 14¹⁴.—Cp Is 28 18 30 1010, 191 5 317 Ezek 30¹³ al.

8 The formula seems an editorial addition cp 50^a: ct 17^a 9, 22^a, where the phraseology is different.

JE P^a

P^b

P^c

20 ¹And ²whosoever lieth ³carnally with a woman, that is a ⁴bondmaid,
⁵betrothed to an husband, and not at all ⁶redeemed, nor ⁷freedom given
⁸her; ⁹they shall be punished; they shall not be put to death, because she
 was not ¹⁰free. ²¹And he shall bring his ³guilt offering unto Yahweh, unto the door of the
 tent of meeting, even a ram for a guilt offering. ²²And the priest shall make atonement for him with
 the ram of the guilt offering before Yahweh for his sin which he hath sinned: and he shall be
 forgiven ²³for his sin which he hath sinned. ²³And ²⁴when ye shall come into the
 land, and shall have planted all manner of ²⁵trees for food, then ye shall
 count the fruit thereof as their ²⁶uncircumcision: three years shall they
 be as uncircumcised unto you; it shall not be eaten. ²⁴But in the fourth
 year all the fruit thereof shall be ²⁷holy, for ²⁸giving praise unto Yahweh.
²⁵And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield
 unto you the ²⁹increase thereof: I am Yahweh your God. ²⁶Ye shall
 not ³⁰eat any thing ³¹with the blood: ³²neither shall ye ³³use enchantments,
 nor ³⁴practise augury. ²⁷Ye shall not ³⁵round the corners of your heads,
 neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. ²⁸Ye shall not make any
³⁶cuttings in your flesh for the ³⁷dead, nor print any ³⁸marks upon you:
 I am Yahweh. ²⁹Thou shalt not thy daughter, to make her a harlot; lest
 the ³⁹land fall to ⁴⁰whoredom, and the land become full of ⁴¹wickedness.
³⁰Ye shall ⁴²keep my ⁴³sabbaths, ⁴⁴and reverence my sanctuary: I am
 Yahweh. ³¹Turn ye not unto them that have ⁴⁵familiar spirits, nor unto the
⁴⁶wizards; seek them not out, to be ⁴⁷defiled by them: I am
 Yahweh your God. ³²Thou shalt ⁴⁸rise up before the hoary head, and
⁴⁹honour the face of the old man, and thou shalt ⁵⁰fear thy God: I am
 Yahweh. ³³And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall
 not do him ⁵¹wrong. ³⁴The ⁵²stranger that sojourneth with you shall be
 unto you as the ⁵³homeborn among you, and thou shalt ⁵⁴love him as
 thyself; ⁵⁵for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am Yahweh your
 God. ³⁵Ye shall do no ⁵⁶unrighteousness in judgement, in ⁵⁷meteyard,
 in ⁵⁸weight, or in ⁵⁹measure. ³⁶Just ⁶⁰balances, just ⁶¹weights, a just
⁶²ephah, and a just ⁶³hin, shall ye have: I am Yahweh your God, ⁶⁴which
 brought you out of the land of Egypt. ³⁷And ye shall ⁶⁵observe all my
 statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: I am Yahweh.

20 ¹And ²whosoever lieth ³carnally with a woman, that is a ⁴bondmaid,
⁵betrothed to an husband, and not at all ⁶redeemed, nor ⁷freedom given
 her; ⁸they shall be punished; they shall not be put to death, because she
 was not ⁹free. ²¹And he shall bring his ³guilt offering unto Yahweh, unto the door of the
 tent of meeting, even a ram for a guilt offering. ²²And the priest shall make atonement for him with
 the ram of the guilt offering before Yahweh for his sin which he hath sinned: and he shall be
 forgiven ²³for his sin which he hath sinned. ²³And ²⁴when ye shall come into the
 land, and shall have planted all manner of ²⁵trees for food, then ye shall
 count the fruit thereof as their ²⁶uncircumcision: three years shall they
 be as uncircumcised unto you; it shall not be eaten. ²⁴But in the fourth
 year all the fruit thereof shall be ²⁷holy, for ²⁸giving praise unto Yahweh.
²⁵And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield
 unto you the ²⁹increase thereof: I am Yahweh your God. ²⁶Ye shall
 not ³⁰eat any thing ³¹with the blood: ³²neither shall ye ³³use enchantments,
 nor ³⁴practise augury. ²⁷Ye shall not ³⁵round the corners of your heads,
 neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. ²⁸Ye shall not make any
³⁶cuttings in your flesh for the ³⁷dead, nor print any ³⁸marks upon you:
 I am Yahweh. ²⁹Thou shalt not thy daughter, to make her a harlot; lest
 the ³⁹land fall to ⁴⁰whoredom, and the land become full of ⁴¹wickedness.
³⁰Ye shall ⁴²keep my ⁴³sabbaths, ⁴⁴and reverence my sanctuary: I am
 Yahweh. ³¹Turn ye not unto them that have ⁴⁵familiar spirits, nor unto the
⁴⁶wizards; seek them not out, to be ⁴⁷defiled by them: I am
 Yahweh your God. ³²Thou shalt ⁴⁸rise up before the hoary head, and
⁴⁹honour the face of the old man, and thou shalt ⁵⁰fear thy God: I am
 Yahweh. ³³And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall
 not do him ⁵¹wrong. ³⁴The ⁵²stranger that sojourneth with you shall be
 unto you as the ⁵³homeborn among you, and thou shalt ⁵⁴love him as
 thyself; ⁵⁵for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am Yahweh your
 God. ³⁵Ye shall do no ⁵⁶unrighteousness in judgement, in ⁵⁷meteyard,
 in ⁵⁸weight, or in ⁵⁹measure. ³⁶Just ⁶⁰balances, just ⁶¹weights, a just
⁶²ephah, and a just ⁶³hin, shall ye have: I am Yahweh your God, ⁶⁴which
 brought you out of the land of Egypt. ³⁷And ye shall ⁶⁵observe all my
 statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: I am Yahweh.

20 ¹And Yahweh ²spake unto Moses, saying, ³Moreover, thou shalt say to the children
 of Israel, ⁴Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, ⁵or of the ⁶strangers
 that sojourn in Israel, that ⁷giveth of his seed unto Molech; he shall
 surely be put to death: the ⁸people of the land shall ⁹stone him with
 stones. ³I also will ¹⁰set my face against that man, and will ¹¹cut him off
 from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to
¹²defile my ¹³sanctuary, and to ¹⁴profane my holy name. ⁴And if the ¹⁵people
 of the land do any ways ¹⁶hide their eyes from that man, when he giveth of his seed
 unto Molech, and put him ¹⁷not to death: ⁵then I will ¹⁸set my face against that
 man, and against his ¹⁹family, and will ²⁰cut him off, and all that ²¹go a whoring
 after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people. ⁶And
 the ²²soul that ²³turneth unto them that have ²⁴familiar spirits, and unto the

w 190^a

x 191^a

y 166

z 90^a

a' 198

b' 210

c' 167^a

d' 145^b

e' 34

a 185^a

b 218

c 145^b

d 92

e 154

f 212

g 197^a

h 167^a

i 91

j 210^b

k 65

l 146^a

m 211^a

²¹ The incongruity of ²¹ with the context is obvious. The language is that of 4-6⁷ cp 4²⁰ 6⁷; but the source of the insertion cannot be determined.

²⁶ Cp 17¹⁴. In the text $\mathfrak{H}$ reads literally 'on the blood' as in Ezek 32²⁵; cp Ezek 18⁶ 22⁹ as corrected by W R Smith, *Rel of Sem* 324; Smend, *AT Rel Gesch* 313; Bertholet hesitates; Toy, *Ezek* (in Haupt's *SBOT*), concurs. ²⁹ **M** Or, *enormity*.—Cp 220.

²⁰24 A fresh collection of precepts for the laity is here opened. The contents are less varied than those of 19, as they deal only with different forms of spiritual and sexual unchastity ²⁻⁷ and ⁸⁻²¹. The order of the opening words 'And to the children of Israel thou shalt say' recalls 17⁷ or the subsequent formulae with 17¹³. The prohibition of the Molech rites ²⁰⁻⁵ seems like an expansion of 13^{21a} (which appears out of place in its present context); while ⁶ finds a supplement in ²⁷ which has been left out of the collection and added afterwards at the close. The fundamental conception of ²⁷, however, is not quite

identical with that of ⁶. *RV*²⁷ disguises the fact that the 'familiar spirit' is inside the man or woman: *Driv-Wh* render 'in whom is a ghost or a familiar spirit': and ⁶ (cp 19⁸¹) 'if there be any one that regards ghosts or familiar spirits.' The first section closes at ⁷.

^{2b} Dillmann suggests that the phrase here and in ⁴ is due to R cp 4^{27*} (Num 14⁹ differently) Ezek 7²⁷ 12¹⁹ 33² 30¹⁸ 45²² 46⁸ 9.

4 There appears to be a contradiction between 2 and 3, inasmuch as 2 prescribes death by stoning, while 3 implies some form of divine judgement. Is this due to careless expression on the part of a single writer (Wellh) or to diversity of source (Dillm)? It is difficult to decide (a third alternative being that 3 and 4. are independent supplements to 2, here editorially amalgamated), but in 4. it is probably correct to find traces of editorial emphasis and expansion; the doom announced in 3 on the single sinner extending in 5 to his family and all who share his guilt. The style of 4 much resembles that of the editorial work in 17.

JE P ^h	P ^s	P ^a
7. Lnl ^r h (3) Sam omit, cp 86 ⁶	Wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people. 7 ^{1h} Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy: for I am Yahweh your God.	n 202 o 203 ^b p 199 q 203 ^d r 195
9 L1b ^e i Ex 21 ¹⁷ cp Ezek 22 ⁷ 5	8 ^a And ye shall keep my statutes, and do them: I am Yahweh which sanctify you. 9 ^{2f} For every one that curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death: he hath cursed his father or his mother; his blood shall be upon him. 10 ² And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death. 11 ² And the man that lieth with his father's wife hath uncovered his father's nakedness: both of them shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them. 12 And if a man lie with his daughter in law, both of them shall surely be put to death: they have wrought confusion; their blood shall be upon them. 13 And if a man lie with mankind, as with womankind, both of them have committed abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them. 14 And if a man take a wife and her mother, it is wickedness: they shall be burnt with fire, both he and they; that there be no wickedness among you. 15 And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put to death: and ye shall slay the beast. 16 And if a woman approach unto any beast, and lie down thereto, thou shalt slay the woman, and the beast: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them. 17 And if a man shall take his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness; it is a shameful thing; and they shall be cut off in the sight of the children of their people: he hath uncovered his sister's nakedness; he shall bear his iniquity. 18 And if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness, and shall uncover her nakedness; he hath made naked her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood: and both of them shall be cut off from among their people. 19 And thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister, nor of thy father's sister: for he hath made naked his near kin: they shall bear their iniquity. 20 And if a man shall lie with his uncle's wife, he hath uncovered his uncle's nakedness: they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless. 21 And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is impurity: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.	s 215 t 38 u 197 ^b v 193 w 204 x 139 y 216 z 217 a' 53
14 L1b ^k o 181 ⁷ p Cp 21 ⁹ Gen 32 ²⁴ 15. L1l ⁷ q 182 ³ Ex 22 ¹⁹ r 2210 s 182 ³	22 ² Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: that the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, vomit you not out. 23 And ye shall not walk in the statutes of the nation, which I cast out before you: for they did all these things, and therefore I abhorred them. 24 But I have said unto you, Ye shall possess their land, and I will give it unto you to possess it, a land flowing with milk and honey: I am Yahweh your God, which have separated you from the peoples.	
17 L1e ^l t 18 ⁹ u Prov 14 ³⁴	25 ² Ye shall therefore separate between the clean beast and the unclean, and between the unclean fowl and the clean: and ye shall not make your souls abominable by beast, or by fowl, or by any thing where-with the ground teemeth, which I have separated from you as unclean.	
18 L1L ^h v Cp 15 ³⁸ w 18 ^a 5 ^a x 12 ⁷ y 21-21 L1e ^m y 181 ³ z 181 ²		
a' 181 ⁴ b' Gen 15 ² Jer 22 ³⁰ c' 1816 22-28 Lnl ^h d' 5 ^a and ye shall 8 cp 19 ²⁶ 23 L5d ⁱ e' 182 ⁸ (3) Sam nations cp 182 ⁴ f' Cp Ex 12 ² g' 25 ⁴⁶ cp Gen 15 ⁷ 188 (ct 112 ⁷) Ezek 35 ¹⁰ h' Gen 2815 Num 112 3211 5 cp p69 i' 1534 25. L6a/b j' Cp 11 ⁴⁷ k' 114 ³		

20⁶ The introduction to a fresh section cp. 22¹⁸. In 9 it is natural to see a parallel to E's 'judgement' Ex 21¹⁷: 10 opens a series of laws summed up in the most general form in the seventh of the Ten Words. The relation of 10-21 to 18⁹⁻¹⁹ has been variously estimated: are they from the same hand (Driver) or have they been drafted separately, and, in the latter case, if they are derived from a common original, which is the earlier? The table of prohibited intercourses in 18 contains no penalties, but the order seems better adjusted and the cases are more numerous than in 20, which provides no parallels to 18⁷ 10 17b 18. This is so far an indication of later origin. Further, the series in 18⁹ is introduced by a general principle (unless this be the work of the author of 20-21) which is then specifically applied in all possible directions in uniform style. But in 20¹⁰ there are some delicate suggestions of combined sources, or of occa-

sional addition, eg the duplicate clauses in 10^{ab}, the unexpected 'you' and 'thou' in 14b 15b-16 19, and especially the varying formula in 19^a which corresponds to the regular form 18⁷. These signs perhaps imply an earlier draft modified by later editorial activity, 20¹⁹ owing its retention to the fact that it specified the punishments which were omitted in 18.

10 Apparently an accidental repetition, Abbott, Driv-Wh, Addis: probably the result of amalgamation of texts, Dillm.

14 M Or, enormity.—Cp 181⁷. 16 So 5 as in 16. T kill.

23 So 5 as in 22. T customs. Cp 1830. 24 So 5 T inherit.

25a The connexion here can hardly be original, as it seems to be founded on the word 'separate'. 5 runs simply 'and ye shall.' The thought of 25 is cognate with that of 114²⁻³, and this passage may have once introduced a list similar to that in 11.

25b M 5 creepeth.—49^a.

JE P^hP^ePⁱ

²⁶ And ye shall ^bbe holy unto me; for ^vI Yahweh am holy, and have ^vseparated you from the peoples, that ye should be mine.

²⁷ ^{nl} A man also or a ^vwoman that hath a ^vfamiliar spirit, or that is a ^vwizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall ^bstone them with stones: their ^bblood shall be upon them.

²¹ ^L And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^s Speak unto the priests the ^s sons of Aaron, and say unto them, ^a There shall none ^bdefile himself for the ^d dead among his ^d people; ² except for his ^k kin, that is near unto him, for his mother, and for his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother; ³ and for his sister a virgin, that is near unto him, which hath had no husband, for her may he ^bdefile himself. ⁴ He shall not ^bdefile himself, ^v [being]

a chief man among his ^v people, to ^v profane himself. ⁵ ^v They shall not make ^b baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the ^c corner of their beard, nor ^a make any ^c cuttings in their flesh. ⁶ They shall ^bbe holy unto their God, and not ^v profane the name of their God: for ^v the ^v offerings of Yahweh made by fire, the ^b bread of their God, they do ^a offer: therefore they shall ^bbe holy. ⁷ ^v They shall not take a woman that is a harlot, or ^v profane; neither shall they take a woman ^v put away from her husband: for he is holy ^v unto his God. ⁸ ^v Thou shalt sanctify him therefore; for he offereth the ^b bread of thy God: he shall ^bbe holy unto thee: for ^v I Yahweh, which sanctify you, am holy. ⁹ ^v And the daughter of any priest, if she ^v profane herself by playing the harlot, she ^v profaneth her father: she shall be ^b burnt with fire.

¹⁰ ^L And he that is the ^b high priest among his brethren, ^v upon whose head the ^a anointing oil is ^v poured, and ^a that is ^v consecrated to put on the garments, shall not let the hair of his head ^v go loose, nor rend his clothes; ¹¹ ^v neither shall he go in to any ^d dead body, nor ^bdefile himself for his father, or for his mother; ¹² ^v neither shall he go out of the ^s sanctuary, nor ^v profane the sanctuary of his God; for the ^c crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: ^v I am Yahweh. ¹³ ^v And he shall take a wife in her ^v virginity. ¹⁴ A widow, or one ^v divorced, or a ^v profane woman, an harlot, these shall he not take: but a virgin of his own ^v people shall he take to wife. ¹⁵ And he shall not ^v profane his seed among his ^v people: for ^v I am Yahweh which sanctify him.

¹⁶ And Yahweh ^s spake unto Moses, saying, ^s Speak unto Aaron, saying, ¹⁷ ^L Whosoever he be of ^v thy seed throughout their ^v generations that hath a ^b blemish, let him not approach to offer the ^b bread of his God. ¹⁸ For whatsoever man

b^v 203^ea 130^eb 167^a

c 198

d 208

e 204

f 210¹g 202^ah 210^ai 118^a

j 196

k 118¹l 203¹

m 38

n 128

o 69^a

p 91

q 110^cr 203^as 185^at 76^b

u 194

27 L5jg
l Cp Ex 22¹⁸

21 L11a m
1-9 L11a
1-4 L6b c
a Ezek 44²⁵

5 L5kc
b Cp Deut 14¹
Ezek 44²⁰
c 1927
d Zech 12⁸†
e Cp 1928†

7 L10a
f 14 2213 Num
309 Ezek
44²⁴
g Num 68 cp
Deut 76 14² 21
2619
h L1m d

10-15 L1b d a
10 L11c i
h Num 35²⁶ 28
Jesh 206^a cp
2 Kings 12¹⁰
224 8 234
i Cp Ex 297
j 105
11 L6b c
13 L1n
k Deut 22¹⁴ -
Judg 13⁵⁷
Ezek 23⁸ 4†

17-23 L11f c

20²⁷ Cp 2a^v. This fragment has apparently been detached from its original connexion and attached loosely to the close of a section containing cognate material.

21¹ The general legislation in 18-20 is followed in 21-22 by a group of laws concerning the maintenance of priestly holiness, and the nature of the sacred gifts. This short code presents many of the phenomena already noticed. Thus (1) the hand of the later editor acquainted with the requirements and institutions of P^e is often traced in allusions such as those in 21¹⁰ 12 22^a. And (2) diversity of original materials may be partially inferred from frequent alternations in form, in the use of the second and third persons, the singular and the plural, &c. The hortatory element characteristic of P^h is less prominent, and the brief close 22³¹⁻³³ sounds rather like an imitation of earlier phraseology in 18-20 which has lost the ring of direct address to the nation characteristic of such passages as 18²⁴... 20²²... The ritual regulations appear to belong to a less developed stage than P^e cp *Introd* i 149, and occasional points of contact occur with the laws of J and E. Peculiarities of phrase may be noticed in the expressions 'bread of God' and 'I am Yahweh which hallow you' 21⁹ 16 23 22⁹ 16 32 (also 20⁸ Ex 31¹³). The little corpus has doubtless undergone successive revisions: the more obvious additions are indicated in small type. The frequency of these may partly result from the similarity of subject to the bulk of P^e. The superscription in 21¹ implies that the laws are addressed to the priests, but cp 8.

⁴ M Or, as a husband. G has, on a sudden.

⁶ The term 'fire offerings of Yahweh' occurs sixty times in P cp Deut 18¹ Josh 13¹⁴ etc. But they are mentioned in P^h only in passages otherwise proved to have received editorial additions, and they are not necessary to the context. Cp 21 22²² 27 23.

⁷ M Or, polluted.—Cp Ezek 21²⁵ G, cp Ges-Brown, *Heb Lex*.

⁸ This verse interrupts the transition from the character of the priest's wife to the conduct of his daughter. It is not clear who is addressed as 'thou'; the pronoun can really only designate Israel, but cp 1. The first half of the verse is perhaps to be regarded as introduced by the compiler from an older source to reinforce the sanctity of the priesthood. In 8^b G Sam read 'which sanctify them.'

^{10a} The references to the unction and vestments are sometimes supposed to be derived from Ex 29, and to have been added by R^p cp 23. But the 'great priest' in the Solomonic temple no doubt had his special robe, and may quite possibly have been anointed, the ceremonies enjoined in Ex 29 being only a late literary reproduction of an earlier use.

^{10b} M G whose hand is filled.—P⁶⁹.

¹² M Or, consecration.

¹⁷ It must be doubtful whether P^h regarded the priests as the posterity of Aaron cp *Introd* XIII 8a i 144: and the formulae here and in 21 22⁴ (ct 3) may be derived from R^p. If the passage stood thus originally it can hardly be older than Ezekiel. Driv-Wh (like Horst, *Lev xvii-xxvi* [1881] 22) suggest that the primary phrase was 'seed of the priests.'

JE P ^b	P ^a	P ^a
l 5⁺ m 22²³⁺ n 22²² Deut 28²⁷⁺ o 22²²⁺ p Cp 17 22⁴ Num 16⁴⁰	he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous,¹⁰ or a man that is brokenfooted, or brokenhanded,²⁰ or crookbacked, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or is scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken; ²¹ no man ^{of the seed of Aaron the priest, that hath a blemish, shall come nigh to offer the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: he hath a blemish; he shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God. ²² He shall eat the bread of his God, both of the most holy, and of the holy. ²³ Only he shall not go in unto the veil, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries: for I am Yahweh which sanctify them. ²⁴ And Moses spake unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.}	v 12^a w 85^d x 17ⁱ
2 Lufi a Cp 15³¹ Hos o 10 Ezek 14⁷ b 16 Num 5⁹ 18³²⁺ 3-7 Lufi 6k c Cp 21¹⁷	²² And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, that they separate themselves from the holy things of the children of Israel, which they shall have unto me, and that they profane not my holy name: I am Yahweh. ³ Say unto them, Whosoever he be of all your seed throughout your generations, that approacheth unto the holy things, which the children of Israel shall have unto Yahweh, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from before me: I am Yahweh.	y 12^f a 185^a b 12^f c 86^d d 20^b e 203^a f 76^b g 88^a h 167^c i 50^a
4 Z6h/g/bj d Cp 21¹⁷ e 11 13 Ex 12⁴³ 5 f 11 13 15¹⁶	⁴ What man soever of the seed of Aaron is a leper, or hath an issue; he shall not eat of the holy things, until he be clean. And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean by the dead, or a man whose seed goeth from him; or whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean, or a man of whom he may take uncleanness, whatsoever uncleanness he hath; or the soul which toucheth any such shall be unclean until the even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he bathe his flesh in water. ⁷ And when the sun is down, he shall be clean; and afterward he shall eat of the holy things, because it is his bread.	j 218 k 42^a l 198 m 157^b
8-16 Lufi 8 L6G h 1715 Ezek 44³¹ i Ezek 41⁴	⁸ That which dieth of itself, or is torn of beasts, he shall not eat to defile himself therewith: I am Yahweh. ⁹ They shall therefore keep my charge, lest they bear sin for it, and die therein, if they profane it. I am Yahweh which sanctify them. ¹⁰ There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing: a sojourner of the priest's, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. ¹¹ But if a priest buy any soul, the purchase of his money, he shall eat of it; and such as are born in his house, they shall eat of his bread. ¹² And if a priest's daughter be married unto a stranger, she shall not eat of the heave offering of the holy things. ¹³ But if a priest's daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child, and is returned unto her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's bread: but there shall no stranger eat thereof. ¹⁴ And if a man eat of the holy thing unwittingly, then he shall put the fifth part thereof unto it, and shall give unto the priest the holy thing. ¹⁵ And they shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, which they offer unto Yahweh; ¹⁶ and so cause them to bear the iniquity that bringeth guilt, when they eat their holy things: for I am Yahweh which sanctify them.	n 146^a o 174^a p 39^b q 193 r 210^d s 203^d t 153^a u 144 v 78
10 L2ed 11 L2d j Gen 17¹²	¹⁷ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁸ Speak unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto	w 118^e
l 4² m 5¹⁶		x 190^c
n Cp 4³		y 81^b

21¹⁸ M Or, *slit*.
 22 This distinction is not recognized in 22, and is therefore regarded by many critics as an insertion.
 23 These words seem to involve the structure of Ex 25-27, cp 26³¹⁻¹, and are therefore regarded here as an editorial addition, cp Lev 17^{4N}. The terms 'dwelling' and 'tent of meeting' are not employed in 21-22, where the place of cultus is called the 'sanctuary' 21¹², and can even be designated in the plural 21²³ (with reference to the altar and other sacred objects or places, Dillm, *Driv-Wh*), though (5) reads 'sanctuary of his God' as in 12.
 24 So (5). T so. The passage is peculiar, for this formula is usually elsewhere introductory. In 24⁴⁴ the word 'spake' (so (5)) is followed by an object, the set fests.
 25 This clause stands in (5) after 'my holy name,' and the awkward order points to an interpolation. As the law does not really begin till 3, and the words 'say unto them' look back to 1-24, there is some reason for regarding the whole of 2 as part

of the introductory formulae: but it does not seem after the manner of the editor who combined P^b with P^a thus to reproduce the phrases of the shorter code.
 26 With 4-7 cp 11-18 both for style and contents. Opinion is divided as to whether the passage is continuous with 3, or is to be regarded as early P^a on a basis of P^b.
 45 M Or, *any one*.
 14 Kuonen finds in this verse, as in 1-7 and 17-26, indications of imitation or revision after P^a.
 17 This title, like that in 17¹, may perhaps point to an amalgamation of laws in the following section designed on the one hand for the priesthood eg 26, and on the other for the laity. The materials of the section 17-26 have sometimes been assigned to a later stage of P than P^b, and some of the characteristic phrases of P^b do not occur. But various reasons both of style and substance plead on the whole against this view. The passage seems itself composite, 18¹⁸⁻²⁰ has a complete

JE P ^h	P ^e	P ^s
18-25 L2a, p ₁ 61d 8gc 18-20 L7bi o L7 ³	all the children of Israel, and say unto them, ^{Lo} Whosoever he be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel, that offereth his 'oblation, whether it be any of their vows, or any of their freewill offerings, which they offer unto Yahweh for a burnt offering; ¹⁹ that ye may be 'accepted, [ye shall offer] a male ^b 'without blemish, ^c of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats. ²⁰ But whatsoever hath a ^d 'blemish, that shall ye not offer: for it shall not be 'acceptable for you.	z 118b a' 17b b' 123 c' 25 d' 194
21-25 L7p ^f	²¹ ^L And 'whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh to 'accomplish a vow, or for a freewill offering, ^e of the herd or of the flock, it shall be ^b 'perfect to be 'accepted; there shall be no ^d 'blemish therein. ²² ^P Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having ^a 'a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto Yahweh, <i>nor make an offering by fire of them upon the altar unto Yahweh.</i> ²³ Either a bullock or a lamb that hath anything 'superfluous or 'lacking in his parts, that mayest thou offer for a free-will offering; but for a vow it shall not be 'accepted. ²⁴ That which hath its stones 'bruised, or crushed, or 'broken, or cut, ye shall not offer unto Yahweh; neither shall ye 'do [thus] in your land. ²⁵ Neither from the hand of a 'foreigner shall ye offer the 'bread of your God of any of these; because their 'corruption is in them, there is a ^d 'blemish in them: they shall not be 'accepted for you.	e' 154 f' 196
26-28 L61c u 5 ep 177 v Ex 25 ³⁰ w Num 15 ²⁹ 3219	²⁶ ^L And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁷ ^W When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be 'seven days under the dam; and from the eighth day and 'thenceforth it shall be ^b 'accepted for the oblation of an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ²⁸ And whether it be cow or ewe, ye shall not 'kill it and her young both in one day. ²⁹ ^L And when ye 'sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto Yahweh, ye shall sacrifice it that ye may be 'accepted. ³⁰ On the 'same day it shall be eaten; ye shall leave none of it until the morning: 'I am Yahweh. ³¹ ^L Therefore shall ye ^h 'keep my commandments, and do them: 'I am Yahweh. ³² ^L And ye shall not 'profane my holy name; but I will be 'hallowed among the children of Israel: 'I am Yahweh which hallow you, ³³ that 'brought you out of the land of Egypt, to 'be your God: 'I am Yahweh.	g' 100 h' 199 i' 86b j' 26 a 185 ^a
29 L7c p ₁ te x 19 ⁵ et 71 ⁵ y 71 ⁵ et 10 ⁵ 31-33 L11d 32 L5c/ z 19 ³⁶	²³ ^L And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁴ Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,	
1-44 L9a: 70c		

parallel in ²¹, marked, however, by curious differences of phraseology. Thus each is concerned to secure victims for sacrifice free from any defect. But instead of a general principle covering all cases, the precept is distributed over two groups, (1) burnt offering, (2) peace offerings, yet each of these comprises the same subdivisions, viz vows and freewill offerings. The terminology of the two regulations shows marked differences within the parallelism; cp the opening formulae ^{18b} ... וְשֵׂאֵשׁ קָרִיב וְשֵׂאֵשׁ קָרִיב ²¹ וְשֵׂאֵשׁ קָרִיב ²¹ 'that ye may be accepted' ²⁰ 'acceptable for you' and ²¹ 'to be accepted'; ²⁰ 'herd, sheep, and goats' and ²¹ 'herd or flock'; ²⁰ 'whatsoever hath a blemish ye shall not offer' and ²¹ 'there shall be no blemish therein.' It may be further noted that the changes in number and person in ^{18b-20} are unusually frequent, being due, apparently, to successive redactions. The affinities of ^{18b-20} are with 17; those of ²¹⁻²⁴ with ^{21¹⁷⁻²⁰}. Neither passage seems adequate to the later ritual standard. (1) makes no reference to other classes of burnt offering such as the sin and guilt offerings, or the daily and seasonal sacrifices; while (2) ignores the thanksgiving cp ²⁹ which in ^{71¹} constitutes a third division of the peace offerings.

²² ^M Or, make a special vow.—^{712a}.

²³ ^M Or, sores.

²⁴ ^M Or, sacrifice them.—⁷¹⁷.

The law in ²⁹, has sometimes been refused to ^{P^h} as being a supplement to ^{19^a}, to make it accord with ^{71⁵⁻¹⁸}. But the phraseology agrees with the rest of ^{P^h} and the verb 'to sacrifice' ²⁶ ^{19^b} is not common elsewhere in the laws of ^{P^e} or ^{P^s} (only Lev ^{9^a}), while it is characteristic of JED and ^{P^h} ^{17⁵} 7. The proximity of ²⁹, to ²⁷ which is obviously related to E's demand Ex ^{22³⁰}, led Wellh to compare the regulation for the consumption of the thanksgiving sacrifice with another rule in E Ex ^{23¹⁸}. Baentsch, *Heil Ges* 102, suggests that the triple

division in Num ^{15³} corresponds to that in Lev 7, so that the technical 'thanksgivings' are equated with the sacrifices at the set feasts, and thus Wellh's identification is justified. In this view ²⁹, is founded on an early ritual, and the classification of ^{71¹¹⁻¹⁸} represents the amalgamation of ordinances represented at a prior stage by ^{21^{18b-24}} ²⁹, ^{10⁵⁻⁸}.

²³ The compiler of the *Hex* here takes up again the main document ^{P^e}, with a calendar of sacred seasons. This calendar, strictly speaking, begins at ⁴; the form of ^{2b} is awkwardly framed in view of the subsequent announcement; in ³³ the sabbaths are not included among the 'set feasts'; and it is probable that ^{2b-3} is a redactional addition, by which the sabbath with its 'holy convocation' was incorporated among the series of the yearly festivals cp ³⁸. But this series is set forth in terms that are obviously not homogeneous. The paragraphs introducing the successive regulations begin with a common formula ¹ ⁹ ²³ ³⁶ ³³, to which an addition is made in four out of the five cases (cp ²⁶) instructing Moses to convey the divine command to the people. But the contents of the calendar are not set forth with the same uniformity. It has been largely interpolated from ^{P^h}, the passages inserted having in their turn undergone more or less modification and addition to suit their new setting. The Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread ⁵⁻⁸, and the Feast of Trumpets or New Year's Day ²³⁻²⁵, belong wholly to ^{P^e}, to which are further referred ²¹ closing the ordinances for Pentecost, and ³³⁻³⁸ regulating the Feast of Booths. These are assigned to fixed days; 'holy convocations' are appointed, and 'servile work' prohibited, while an 'offering made by fire' is usually prescribed. Similar characteristics are found in ²⁶⁻³² (with the formula 'do no manner of work' ²⁸ cp ³); but cp ^{27N}. The extracts from ^{P^h} are identified by various marks: (1) they do not fit the title in ⁴ (cp ^{2b}) nor the

JE P^aP^aP^a

3 L9b/

^{2b} The "set feasts of Yahweh, which ye shall proclaim to be 'holy convocations, even these are my set feasts. ³ ² Six days shall 'work be done: but on the seventh day is a sabbath of 'solemn rest, an 'holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of 'work: it is a sabbath unto Yahweh in all your 'dwellings.

b 89^ac 177^ad 137^c

5 L9d/

6-8 L9e/g

⁴ These are the set feasts of Yahweh, even 'holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed season. ⁵ ² In the 'first month, on the fourteenth day of the month "at 'even, is Yahweh's passover. ⁶ ² And on the 'fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto Yahweh: seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread. ⁷ In the first day ye shall have an 'holy convocation: ye shall 'do no 'servile work. ⁸ But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh seven days: in the seventh day is an 'holy convocation; ye shall do no 'servile work.

e 55^af 188^a

g 183

h 32

i 140^c

9-43 L9a/i

10-14 L9e/f 80g

⁹ ² And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁰ ² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,

^{10b} ² When ye be "come into the land "which "I give unto you, and shall 'reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the 'firstfruits of your harvest unto 'the priest: ¹¹ and he shall "wave the sheaf before Yahweh, to be "accepted for you: on the 'morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. ¹² ² And in the day when ye wave the sheaf, ye shall 'offer a he-lamb "without blemish "of the first year for a burnt offering unto Yahweh. ¹³ And the "meal offering thereof shall be two "tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with oil, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh for a sweet savour: and the drink offering thereof shall be of wine, the "fourth part of an hin. ¹⁴ And ye shall eat neither bread, nor 'parched corn, nor 'fresh ears, until this 'selfsame day, until ye have brought the oblation of your God: it is a "statute for ever 'throughout your generations in all your 'dwellings.

j 191

k 94^a

l 209

m 175

n 17^b

o 123

p 119^bq 160^a

r 138

s 62^ct 76^b

17 L7e/d

k 2¹l 21⁴

¹⁵ ² And ye shall count unto you from the 'morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; "seven sabbaths shall there be "complete: ¹⁶ even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meal offering unto Yahweh. ¹⁷ ² Ye shall bring out of your 'habitations two wave loaves of two "tenth parts [of an ephah]: they shall be of 'fine flour, they shall be baked with leaven, for 'firstfruits unto Yahweh. ¹⁸ And ye shall present with the bread "seven lambs "without blemish "of the first year, and one young bullock, and two rams: they shall be a burnt offering unto Yahweh, with their meal offering, and their drink offerings, even an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ¹⁹ And ye shall offer one he-goat for a sin offering, and two he-lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace offerings. ²⁰ And the 'priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits for a wave offering before Yahweh, "with the two lambs: they shall be holy to Yahweh for the priest.

21 L9f/

²¹ ² And ye shall make proclamation on the 'selfsame day; there shall be an 'holy convocation unto you: ye shall 'do no servile work: it is a "statute for ever in all your 'dwellings 'throughout your generations.

²² ² And "when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy

colophon ³⁷, which only refer to 'holy convocations': (2) they do not (in their original form) fix precise dates; (3) they contain phrases characteristic of P^a, which they resemble in general style, P^a being only approached in clauses which may well have been expanded later. Cp Num 28 and Table of Laws.

²³ ² M Or, appointed seasons.—"ur".

⁶ M "between the two evenings.

⁷ M "work of labour.—Cp 8 21 25 35, P^a 10^c.

⁹ The compiler here introduces an account of an agricultural ceremony to which there is no exact parallel elsewhere. The firstfruits in Deut 26² are not connected with any special day: in Deut 16⁷ the seven weeks at the close of which the second festival is to be kept, are reckoned vaguely from the first day of cutting the corn: in the text the firstfruits are to be presented on the curious 'morrow after the sabbath, which is also taken as the starting-point for the calculation of Pentecost.

¹³ The ritual language of ¹³ corresponds so closely to that of the later P as to suggest that these verses have been expanded by the compiler. In ¹² he seems only to have added 'without blemish,' cp ¹⁹.

¹⁵ This clause, with P^a's favourite word רמס, seems to interrupt the reckoning which is only completed in ¹⁶. Possibly the original text was simpler, and has been enriched with extra detail to give greater apparent precision.

¹⁸ In ¹⁸, some later scribe seems to have supplemented the inadequate requirements of P^a with an incorrect quotation from Num 28²⁷⁻²⁹, the numbers of bullocks and rams being interchanged. P^a does not elsewhere prescribe definite animal sacrifices: nor even does P^a enumerate them in this calendar, for in 8 25 27 36 nothing more specific is named than 'a fire offering.' The interpolation therefore must be later than the union of the two documents. But why did the annotator content himself with this single addition? When the animals of the sacrificial list are withdrawn, two he-lambs are left as probably original.

²⁰ Added after the expansion of ¹⁸, rendered the application of 'wave them' uncertain.

²² An insertion from 19^b, suggested perhaps by the phraseology of ¹⁰, but obviously out of place.

JE P^hP^eP^a23-25 L^{9g}^an 25⁹ 5 Num
105. 29¹26-32 L^{9h}^eo 162⁹p 163⁰q 163¹r 25² 258⁴ 533-36 L⁹ⁱ^f39-43 L^{9j}^g

a Cp 34

t Ex 23¹⁸ Deut161⁵u Ex 23¹⁴ Deut161⁵ Ex 12¹⁴v Ezek 61³ 20²⁸Neh 81⁵⁴w Deut 161⁴z Neh 81⁴ 171-4 L^{10a}^aa 6⁹ Num 5²28² 34² 35²ct Deut 24⁴

field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them for the poor, and for the stranger: I am Yahweh your God.

²³ ^LAnd Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁴ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the "seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall be a "solemn rest unto you, a "memorial of "blowing of trumpets, an "holy convocation. ²⁵ Ye shall do no "servile work: and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.

²⁶ ^LAnd Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁷ "Howbeit on the "tenth day of this "seventh month is the day of ²atonement: it shall be an "holy convocation unto you, and ye "shall "afflict your souls; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ²⁸ And ye shall do no manner of "work in that "same day: for it is a day of atonement, to "make atonement for you before Yahweh your God. ²⁹ For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be "afflicted in that "same day, he shall be "cut off from his people. ³⁰ And whatsoever soul it be that doeth any manner of "work in that "same day, that soul will I destroy from among his people. ³¹ Ye shall do no manner of "work: it is a "statute for ever "throughout your generations in all your "dwellings. ³² It shall be unto you a sabbath of "solemn rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the "ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye "keep your sabbath.

³³ ^LAnd Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ³⁴ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, On the "fifteenth day of this seventh month is the feast of "booths for seven days unto Yahweh. ³⁵ On the first day shall be an "holy convocation: ye shall do no "servile work. ³⁶ Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: on the eighth day shall be an "holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: it is a "solemn assembly; ye shall do no "servile work.

³⁷ "These are the set feasts of Yahweh, which ye shall proclaim to be "holy convocations, to offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, a burnt offering, and a meal offering, a sacrifice, and drink offerings, each on its own day: ³⁸ "beside the sabbaths of Yahweh, and beside your gifts, and beside all your vows, and beside all your freewill offerings, which ye give unto Yahweh.

³⁹ ^N"Howbeit on the "fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have "gathered in the fruits of the land, ye shall "keep the feast of Yahweh seven days: "on the first day shall be a solemn rest, and on the eighth day shall be a solemn rest. ⁴⁰ And ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of "thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall "rejoice before Yahweh your God seven days. ⁴¹ And ye shall keep it a feast unto Yahweh seven days in the year: it is a "statute for ever "in your generations: ye shall keep it in the "seventh month. ⁴² Ye shall "dwell in booths seven days; all that are "homeborn in Israel shall dwell in booths: ⁴³ that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in "booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: "I am Yahweh your God.

⁴⁴ And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the set feasts of Yahweh.

²⁴ ^LAnd Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ² "Command the children

²³²⁷ In accordance with the view adopted in 16 in which the day of atonement as a recurrent sacred season is regarded as a later development, this section is ascribed to P^a; and it may be noticed that the formula in ²⁰ is briefer than those in ²³ ^{24a} and ³³ ^{34a}, while the opening "howbeit" resembles that in ³⁹ cp Ex 12¹⁵ ('even') 31¹³ Num 1⁴⁹ (cp Driv-Wh).

³⁴ So M Or. T tabernacles. Cp Deut 16¹³.
³⁶ M Or, closing festival.—Num 29³⁵ Deut 16⁸. Driv-Wh regard the use of the word in 2 Kings 10²⁰ Am 5²¹ Jer 9² as decisive against this meaning.

^{38a} The date in ^{38a} seems added by the harmonist in introducing the regulations for Booths from P^h, which are founded on a shifting date according to the progress of the vintage and ingathering. Cp E and D, Table of Laws vol. i.

^{39b} This clause seems designed to provide the seven days' feast of P^h cp 40^b 41. (Deut 16¹³⁻¹⁹) with the holy convocation on the eighth day according to P^a ³⁶. Cp Introd i 131.

⁴³ The historical reminiscence agrees ill with the purely agricultural nature of the festival just ordained, and there is no trace of this clause in Neh 8. It may possibly be suggested by the identical name Succoth Ex 12³⁷ 13²⁰ Num 33⁵.

²⁴ M See Ex 27²⁰.—Cp also Num 81⁴. The passage in Ex appeared to be out of place, and this may be the more original (notice 'Aaron' alone ⁵ for 'Aaron and his sons' Ex 27²¹). But the context here is not very suitable, and the repetition in ⁴ after the close in ³ has rather the air of a later addition to make the directions quite plain.

JE P^hP^ePⁱb Ex 25³¹5-9 L7hb
c Ex 29²d 7 Neh 10³³ 5Chron (6)
e Ex 25²⁸ 30

f L7i

7 Cp 3 Ex 27²⁰30³⁴ 8

L9bm

9 L11j

g 61⁶

10-23 L5cj

h Ct 16

i Cp 16⁶j Num 15³⁴ op
Neh 8⁸

15b-16 L5cj

k 5 =revile Ex
22²⁸

l Cp 11 5†

16b L2a3

m Cp 22⁸

17 L2hj

n 18 cp 21 Ex

21¹²o Cp Num 10¹¹21¹² 18 L3di

19 L40c 21e

p Cp Ex 21³¹q 21¹⁹ 5r Ex 21²⁴

21a L3de

s Cp 18 5

=smileth

21b L2hj

t Cp 17 5

=smileth

22 L4hd

u Ex 12⁴⁹

of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, ⁴to cause a lamp to burn ⁵continually. ³ Without the veil of the testimony, in the tent of meeting, shall Aaron order it from evening to morning before Yahweh ⁶continually: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations. ⁴ He shall order the lamps upon the ⁷pure ⁸candlestick before Yahweh ⁹continually.

⁵ ^{NL} And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve ¹⁰cakes thereof: two ¹¹tenth parts [of an ephah] shall be in one cake. ⁶ And thou shalt set them in ¹²two ¹³rows, six on a row, upon the pure ¹⁴table before Yahweh. ⁷ ¹⁵And thou shalt put ¹⁶pure ¹⁷frankincense upon each ¹⁸row, that it may be to the bread for a ¹⁹memorial, even an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ⁸ ²⁰Every sabbath day he shall set it in order before Yahweh ²¹continually; it is ²²on the behalf of the children of Israel, an ²³everlasting covenant. ⁹ ²⁴And it shall be for Aaron and his ²⁵sons; and they shall ²⁶eat it in a ²⁷holy place: for it is ²⁸most holy unto him of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire by a ²⁹perpetual statute.

¹⁰ ^{NL} And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel: and the son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp; ¹¹ and the son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed ¹²the ¹³name, and ¹⁴curst: and they brought him unto Moses. And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the ¹⁵tribe of Dan. ¹² And they put him in ward, that it might be ¹⁶declared unto them at the ¹⁷mouth of Yahweh.

¹³ And Yahweh ¹⁴spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁵ Bring forth him that hath ¹⁶curst ¹⁷without the camp; and let all that heard him ¹⁸lay their hands upon his head, and let all the ¹⁹congregation ²⁰stone him. ^{15a} And thou shalt ²¹speak unto the children of Israel, saying,

^{15b} ^{NL} Whosoever ¹⁶curseth his God shall ¹⁷bear his sin. ¹⁶ And he that ¹⁸blasphemeth the name¹ of Yahweh, he shall surely be put to death; ¹⁹ all the ²⁰congregation shall certainly ²¹stone him: ²² as well the stranger, as the ²³homeborn, when he blasphemeth the name [of Yahweh], shall be put to death. ¹⁷ ²⁴And ²⁵he that ²⁶smiteth any ²⁷man mortally shall surely be put to death, ¹⁸ ²⁸and he that ²⁹smiteth a beast mortally shall make it good: life for life. ¹⁹ ³⁰And ³¹if a man cause a ³²blemish in his ³³neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be ³⁴done to him; ²⁰ ³⁵breach for breach, ³⁶eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a ³⁷blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him. ²¹ ³⁸And ³⁹he that ⁴⁰killesh a beast shall make it good: ⁴¹ and he that ⁴²killesh a man shall be put to death. ²² ^{NL} Ye shall have ⁴³one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for the ⁴⁴homeborn: for ⁴⁵ I am Yahweh your God.

²³ And Moses spake to the children of Israel, and they brought forth him

24² M Or, to set up a lamp continually.

⁵ Another disconnected fragment, concerning the 'shewbread.' The lack of clear sequence has led many critics to give this and the preceding section to P^h; but the phraseology is that of P^e. Conjecture is at fault concerning the reasons for incorporating these regulations here, immediately after the calendar of the feasts. If it be surmised that they are appended to the greater festivals as part of the daily service, then it is natural to inquire why the morning and evening offerings should be omitted cp Ex 25³⁰. The analogy of the compound structure of 23 points in the direction of the hypothesis that P^h contained some similar ordinances, here replaced by the fuller form in P^e.

⁸ M Or, two piles, six in a pile.

⁷ M Or, pile.—For the incense-rite cp 21¹⁶.

⁸ M Or, from.

⁹ This direction, recalling similar ordinances apparently older than P^e, confirms the suggestion ²⁸ that earlier material has been recast. The known antiquity of the offering of shewbread, eg 1 Sam 21⁴ ⁶, renders this still more probable. The frankincense is probably an added element.

¹⁰ The narrative here introduced illustrates the law against blasphemy. But the group of laws in 15b-22 contains several

other enactments 17-21 on injuries to man and beast which are wholly unrelated to the particular offence previously described. The passage is evidently composite; and 15b-22 is in the style of P^h. The story is probably a *midrash* framed to bring out what seemed the salient point. Ct 11a and 16b 5.

¹¹ Geiger, *Urschr* 274, Dillm-Ryss, Driv-Wh, think 'the Name' a very late substitute for 'Yahweh.'

¹⁵ The series of laws in 15b-22 seems chiefly due to P^h (cp 'whosoever' 15, 'bear his sin' 16, 'blemish' 18, 'neighbour' 19, and the closing formula 22b). But it is hardly itself homogeneous: ²¹ reproduces 17, in simpler style, 17, showing affinities with other passages in P. Moreover 16 has certainly received an addition in the clause ¹⁶ concerning the 'congregation,' a term which P^h does not employ cp 22b. The parallels of the original nucleus are, as elsewhere in P^h, with the 'Judgements' of E.

²² The stranger and the native Israelite are repeatedly associated in P^h for legislative purposes cp 13⁴; but the emphatic assertions that they are subject to a common law seem to belong to a later stage of P cp Ex 12⁴⁹ Num 9¹⁴ 15¹⁶, 29. As these are nowhere else accompanied by the formula 'I am Yahweh' &c, the editorial addition may be regarded as closing with 'for.'

JE P^hP^gP^s

that had cursed ^mout of the camp, and ^pstoned him with stones. And the children of Israel ^adid as Yahweh commanded Moses.

25¹ ^{NL} And Yahweh ^espake unto Moses in mount ^bSinai, saying, 2^a Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,

2^b ^cWhen ye come into the land ^awhich ^dI give you, then shall the land ^bkeep a sabbath unto Yahweh. ³ Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt ^cprune thy vineyard, and ^dgather in the fruits thereof; ⁴ but in the seventh year shall be a ^esabbath of solemn rest for the land, a sabbath unto Yahweh: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. ⁵ That which ^egroweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy ^fundressed vine thou shalt not ^ggather: it shall be a year of ^hsolemn rest for the land. ⁶ ¹And the sabbath of the land shall be for ⁱfood for you; for ^jthee, and for thy servant and for thy ^kmaid, and for thy hired servant and for thy ^lstranger that sojourn with thee; ⁷ and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the ^mincrease thereof be for food.

⁸ ^{NL} And thou shalt ⁿnumber seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and there shall be unto thee the days of seven sabbaths of years, even forty and nine years. ⁹ Then shalt thou send abroad the ^oloud trumpet on the ^ptenth day of the ^qseventh month; in the day of ^ratonement shall ye send abroad the trumpet throughout all your land.

¹⁰ And ye shall ^shallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim ^tliberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a ^ujubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his ^vpossession, and ye shall return every man unto his ^wfamily. ¹¹ A ^xjubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not ^ysow, neither reap that which ^zgrowth of itself in it, nor gather [the grapes] in it of the ^{aa}undressed vines. ¹² For it is a ^{ab}jubile; it shall be ^{ac}holy unto you: ye shall eat the ^{ad}increase thereof out of the field.

¹³ In this year of jubile ye shall return every man unto his ^{ae}possession. ¹⁴ ^N And if thou sell ^{af}ought unto thy ^{ag}neighbour, or buy of thy ^{ah}neighbour's hand, ye shall not ^{ai}wrong ^{aj}one another.

¹⁵ According to the number of years after the ^{ak}jubile thou shalt buy of thy ^{al}neighbour, [and] according unto the number of years of the ^{am}crops he shall sell unto thee. ¹⁶ ^N According to the multitude of the years thou shalt increase the ^{an}price thereof, and ^{ao}according to the ^{ap}fewness of the years thou

1-7 19^{9c}a 23¹⁰b 23³²c 5^{Qal†}d 20 23³⁹e 11 5^{*}

f Cp Num 62 5

g 11 Deut 24²¹h 2^{20c}i Cp Ex 20¹⁰j Ct 19²⁰ cp 19⁹⁹j 12 19²⁵8-18 19^{9kac}k 23¹⁵ 5=countl 23²⁴m 23²⁷n 16³⁰o Ezek 46¹⁷ cpp Jer 34⁸ 18 6¹q Ex 30²⁴†

p Cp 4b

q 5 25 27-29 33 10

Ezek 7¹⁸ Neh23²⁰ ct Deut188[†]r 17 19³³x 189^ba 185^a

b 7

c 191

d 94

e 137^c

f 110

g 144

h 183

i 86^c

j 98

k 127^bl 65^am 90^a

n 206

o 184

p 19^b

q 36

r 105

25¹ Three separate themes are embraced in 25 and their interweaving renders analysis difficult: (1) the sabbath year 25¹⁻⁷ 19-22; (2) the principle of redemption applied (a) to the land 25 and (b) to the persons of the Israelites 35-40a 47; (3) the application of the jubile alike to the sale and tenure of land, and the ownership of Israelite slaves. The regulations for the sabbath year are seen at once to belong to P^h, but the allotment of the remaining passages is by no means easy. Apart from the general probability that the series of laws has been again and again revised, the legislation respecting both land and slavery presents so many resemblances on the one hand to P^h and on the other to P^g or P^s as to show that materials from both sources here lie side by side. The chief problem concerns the jubile. The analysis adopted regards the jubile in its present form as a sign of distinct and later authorship. The introduction of it 8-13 interrupts the account of the sabbatical year, and the institution is nowhere mentioned in writings earlier than P^g. But at the same time the context in which it first appears presents many affinities with P^h cp 28, so as to render it possible that the idea of a period of seven sabbaths of years was an early development out of the original sabbath year, which was then adapted and expanded by the later religious jurists into the jubile system. The whole complex of laws would then have passed through three main stages: (1) the sabbath year of P^h; (2) the seven sabbaths of years of P^h; (3) the jubile of P^s with its applications to the previous regulations of P^h concerning sale and purchase of land and slaves; the product, represented by P^hs, has received some additions 32-35 of a still later kind.

⁸ The number of doublets in 8-13 suggests that the passage is not altogether homogeneous, and this is confirmed by other

indications, for while some phrases clearly presuppose P^g, others are plainly modelled on the basis of P^h. Thus 8^a more formally repeats 8^a; 9^b doubles 9^a; 18 recalls 10^b. But 8^a starts from 23¹⁵; 11^b and 12^b are not unrelated to 4^b 5 7; and a presumption is thus established that P^h once contained a secondary or imitative institution carrying the sabbath year a step further. It may be conjectured that this was the hallowing of the fiftieth year, with a proclamation of liberty 10^a. This term was applied by Jeremiah to the manumission of slaves 34⁸.., and by Ezekiel to the reversion of land to its original owner 46¹⁷; in the text it includes both. If the further conjecture be adopted that the tenth of the seventh month was the old new year's day, the distinction between 9^a and 9^b is somewhat heightened. The original law would then be discovered in 8^a 9^a 10 (except 'it shall be a jubile unto you') 11^b 12^b, the rest being jubile additions, together with the identification of the date with the day of atonement in P^g. Cp the section in Bantseh's *Heil-Ges*, the notes of Addis and Driv-Wh (the latter treating the jubile for the land as original in P^h but ascribing to a later hand the extension to persons), together with the archaeological treatises of Benzing and Nowack, and Harford-Battersby in *Hastings' DB* art 'Sabbatical and Jubile years.'

¹⁴ The marks of complex authorship in this verse are clear, but the base seems to be P^h. The opening words 'if ye sell 5... to thy neighbour' show a neglected incongruity arising from careless editorial handling; the words 'neighbour' and 'wrong' point to P^h, but 'one another' to P^g or P^s ct 17. Perhaps the final clause serves to introduce 15., in which the style of later P is apparent cp 50. The whole passage 8-18 interrupts the connexion of 25-7 and 1-22.

JE P^hP^eP^a

shalt 'diminish the price of it; for the number of the 'crops doth he sell unto thee.

¹⁷ And ye shall not 'wrong one 'another; but thou shalt 'fear thy God: for 'I am Yahweh your God. ¹⁸ Wherefore ye shall 'do my statutes, and keep my judgements and do them; and ye shall dwell 'in the land 'in safety.

¹⁹ And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall 'eat your fill, and dwell therein 'in safety. ²⁰ And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? 'behold, we shall not sow, nor 'gather in our 'increase: ²¹ then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall 'bring forth fruit for the three years. ²² And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat of the fruits, the 'old store; until the ninth year, until her 'fruits come in, ye shall eat the old store.

²³ And the land shall not be sold in 'perpetuity; for the land is 'mine: for ye are strangers and 'sojourners with me.

²⁴ And in all the land of your 'possession ye shall grant a 'redemption for the land.

²⁵ If thy 'brother be 'waxen poor, and sell some of his 'possession, then shall his 'kinsman that is 'next unto him come, and shall 'redeem 'that which his brother hath sold.

²⁶ And 'if a man have no one to 'redeem it, and he be 'waxen rich and find 'sufficient to redeem it; ²⁷ then let him 'count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the 'overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; and he shall 'return unto his possession. ²⁸ But if he 'be not 'able to get it back for himself, then 'that which he hath sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of 'jubile: and in the jubile it shall 'go out, and he shall 'return unto his possession.

²⁹ And 'if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may 'redeem it within a whole year after it is 'sold; for a full year shall he have the right of 'redemption. ³⁰ And if it be not 'redeemed within the space of a 'full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be 'made sure in 'perpetuity to him that bought it, 'throughout his generations: it shall not 'go out in the jubile. ³¹ But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be reckoned with the fields of the country: they may be 'redeemed, and they shall 'go out in the jubile.

³² Nevertheless the 'cities of the Levites, the houses of the cities of their 'possession, may the Levites 'redeem 'at any time. ³³ And 'if 'one of the Levites 'redeem, then the house that was sold, and the city of his 'possession, shall 'go out in the jubile: for the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the children of Israel. ³⁴ But the field of the 'suburbs of their cities may not be sold; for it is their 'perpetual possession.

³⁵ And if thy 'brother be 'waxen poor, and his hand 'fail with thee; then thou shalt 'uphold him; 'as] a stranger and a 'sojourner shall he live with thee. ³⁶ Take thou no 'usury of him or 'increase; but 'fear thy God: that thy brother may live with thee. ³⁷ Thou shalt not give him thy money upon 'usury, nor give him thy victuals for 'increase. ³⁸ I am Yahweh

s 265

Deut 33¹²Ezek 28²⁰ &c

(9)

19-22 Lg¹t 265 Ex 16³u Cp Ex 4¹ Sv Cp S 268⁴ Gen33¹¹w 2610^x

23 Lgh

x 30 S⁺y Cp 4²z 24-28 Lgk¹ 3ghEzek 11¹⁶Ruth 4⁶⁻⁷a' 19¹⁷ cp 36, 39

47 ct 26 S

U 21², Ex 12⁴Num 27¹¹

c' S = reckon 50

52 27¹⁸-28^x ct 8

d' Cp 10

e' 12⁸ S

f' 50, 41 cp Ex

21²29-34 Lgk¹ dg' Gen 23¹⁷32 34 Lrk¹ dh' Num 35¹⁻⁸35-38 Lgk¹ 2a¹4' Cp Deut 32³⁵ a5' Ex 22²³ Deut23²⁰k' Ezek 18¹³ 1722¹² Prov 28⁸ tl' S⁺ 1 Sam 28³

s 200

t 203^b

u 199

v 126

w 132^bx 132^ay 190^c

z 109

a' 58

b' 134

c' 123

d' 76^be' 62^tf' 62^t

²⁵¹⁸ S upon 26³³ Num 13¹⁸ cp Jer 23⁸ Ezek 28²⁶ 37²⁵.

²³ This verse is assigned to the jubile legislation, partly phraseologically cp ³⁰, partly by analogy with the case of the Israelite slave ⁴¹. For 'stranger and sojourner' cp Gen 23⁴ Num 35¹⁶. The theological ideas involved in the declaration that the land is Yahweh's and could not therefore be permanently alienated, is somewhat different from that expressed in the gift of the land to Abraham and his descendants 'for an everlasting possession' Gen 17⁸ 48¹ cp Lev 14³⁴ Deut 32⁴⁹: it probably, therefore, belongs to an advanced stage of priestly law. 'Sojourner' is properly 'dweller' or 'settler' and has nothing to do with the 'sojourning' of Israel in Egypt 19³⁴ (= 'strangers' and so often). The 'stranger' (S) 'sojourner' here is Yahweh's 'guest,' as in Ps 15¹ 61⁴ S.

²⁴ Ascribed to P^h, as stating the principle governing the case introduced in ²³; but it may be the legal generalization of P^a. The plural number occurs more frequently in P^a than P^h

cp 3-7 25 85-37 39 40a 43 47.

²³ The appearance of the legal formula 'and if a man' here and in ²⁹ contrasted with ²⁵ 36 points again to the later jubile law. But as in 8-13 the provision may have a basis in P^h.

²⁹ The distinction here introduced affecting city property has the air of a legal refinement resting on no earlier material.

³² The latest addition of all: the Levites have not yet been mentioned, still less has anything been said about their endowment with separate cities cp Num 35¹⁻⁸.

^{33a} M Or, a man redeem from the Levites.

^{33b} M Or, after S, redeem not.

³⁴ M Or, pasture lands.—156.

^{35a} M Or, relieve.

^{35b} The form of the phrase is peculiar 'a stranger and sojourner and he shall live...'; (S) Y render 'shall uphold him as a stranger and a sojourner,' and (S) adds 'and thy brother shall live with thee' as in ^{36b}. Dillm suggested that the words 'stranger and sojourner' are a gloss, with which Driv-Wh concur.

JE P^hP^sP^sm' 19³⁶
n' 20²⁴ Ex 6839-55 L^{2d} mo
o' Cp Ex 21²40b-42 L⁹ ke

j' 55 2645

g' 5¹ ep 59 48

r' 46 53 2617 Gen

s' Ex 113 Ezek

t' Deut 614 13⁷Ezek 57 11¹²36³⁶u' Num 32¹⁸ 33⁵⁴34¹³ Ezek 47¹³1s 14²⁴r' 20²⁴ Num 33⁵³27¹¹ 36⁸ et 8847-55 L⁹ k/f47. L^{2a} uw' 5¹

z' Cp 15 5

3' Cp 42

1a L^{5b} ta Deut 16²²b Ex 20⁴1b L⁵⁸ kc Num 33⁵²Ezek 81²2a L^{9b} gd 19⁸ 502b L^{10a} pe Ezek 34²⁶ epJer 5²⁴f 20²⁰ Deut 11¹⁷ ep322² Ezek34²⁷ Zech 81²g Ex 9^{25b} cpDeut 20¹⁹h 5¹i 5¹ Judg 8² alj 25¹⁹k 25¹⁸l Deut 28²⁶ 1s17² Jer 7³Ezek 34²⁶ 39²⁶

al

m Ezek 34²⁵n Ezek 14¹⁷o Cp Deut 32³⁰Joel 23¹⁰ 1s30¹⁷p 5¹

your God, ^{m'} which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to ^{w'} give you the ^{e'} land of Canaan, to ^{h'} be your God.

³⁹ ^L And if thy ^{a'} brother be ^{w'} waxen poor with thee, and ^{o'} sell himself unto thee; thou shalt not make him to serve as a bondservant: ^{40a} as an hired servant, and as a ^s sojourner, he shall be with thee.

^{40b} ^L He shall serve with thee unto the year of jubile: ⁴¹ then shall he ^{f'} go out from thee, ^{h'} he and his children with him, and shall ^{d'} return unto his own family, and unto the possessions of his fathers shall he return. ⁴² For they are my servants, which I ^{v'} brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold ^{q'} as bondmen.

⁴³ Thou shalt not ^{r'} rule over him with ^{e'} rigour; but shalt ^{s'} fear thy God.

⁴⁴ And as for thy bondmen, and thy ^{b'} bondmaids, which thou shalt have; of the nations that are ^{r'} round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. ⁴⁵ Moreover of the children of the ^s strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their ^{f'} families that are with you, which they have ^{v'} begotten in your land: and they shall ^{k'} be your possession. ⁴⁶ And ye shall ^{w'} make them an inheritance for your children after you, to ^{v'} hold for a ^{v'} possession; of them shall ye take your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not ^{r'} rule, ^o one over another, with ^{e'} rigour.

⁴⁷ ^L And if a stranger or ^s sojourner with thee be ^{w'} waxen rich, and thy ^{a'} brother be ^{w'} waxen poor beside him, and sell himself unto the stranger [or] ^s sojourner with thee, or to the ^{w'} stock of the stranger's ^{f'} family:

⁴⁸ after that he is sold he may be ^{r'} redeemed; one of his brethren may ^{r'} redeem him: ⁴⁹ or his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or any that is nigh of ^{m'} kin unto him of his family may redeem him; or if he be ^{w'} waxen rich, he may redeem himself. ⁵⁰ And he shall ^{o'} reckon with him that bought him from the year that he sold himself to him unto the year of jubile: and the price of his ^{q'} sale shall be ^{w'} according unto the number of years; according to the time of an hired servant shall he be with him.

⁵¹ If there be yet many years, ^{v'} according unto them he shall give back the ^{z'} price of his redemption ^{z'} out of the money ^{q'} that he was bought for. ⁵² And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubile, then he shall ^{o'} reckon with him; ^{v'} according unto his years shall he give back the ^{z'} price of his redemption.

⁵³ as a servant hired year by year shall he be with him: he shall not ^{r'} rule with ^{e'} rigour over him in thy sight.

⁵⁴ And if he be not redeemed ^{v'} by these [means], then he shall ^{f'} go out in the year of jubile, ^{h'} he, and his children with him. ^{55a} ^{w'} For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt:

^{55b} ^I am Yahweh your God.

²⁶¹ ^L Ye shall make you no ⁱ idols, neither shall ye ^{r'} rear you up a ^b graven image, ^{l'} or a pillar, neither shall ye place any ^{f'} figured stone in your land, to bow down ^{u'} unto it: for ^I am Yahweh your God. ² ^L Ye shall ^{k'} keep ^b my sabbaths, ^{l'} and ^{r'} reverence my sanctuary: ^I am Yahweh.

³ ^L If ye ^o walk in my statutes, and ^{k'} keep my commandments, and do ^{r'} them; ⁴ then I will give your ^{f'} rains in their season and the land shall ^{v'} yield her increase, and the ^{o'} trees of the field shall yield their fruit. ⁵ And your ^{h'} threshing shall reach unto the ^{v'} vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time: and ye shall eat your bread to the ^{v'} full, and ^{k'} dwell in your land safely. ⁶ And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and ^{l'} none shall make you afraid: and I will ^{w'} cause evil beasts to cease out of the land, neither shall the ^{w'} sword go through your land. ⁷ And ye shall ^o chase your enemies, and they shall ^{v'} fall before you ^{v'} by the

g' 4^a
h' 26^a

i' 176

j' 30
k' 27l' 127^b

m' 204

n' 19^aa 203^b
b 211
c 200^b
d 203^ae 217
f 19925⁵⁴ M Or, in these years.261^a M See 19⁴.³ A concluding exhortation cp Ex 23²⁰; Deut 28.1b M Or, an obelisk.—Ex 23²⁴ 34¹³.On the question of date and authorship cp *Introd* i 150.

1c M Or, thereon.

JE P^aP^ePⁱ

7 Cp Deut 32³⁰
 7 Ezek 36⁶
 12²²
 13¹¹
 15 30 43. Jer
 14¹⁹ Ezek 16⁵
 46⁷
 7 Deut 23¹⁴ cp
 2 Sam 7⁸
 7 Ezek 34²⁴ 36²⁸
 7 28 27
 2 Ex 67 Ezek
 11²⁰
 7 19³⁶
 2 Ezek 34²⁷ cp
 30¹⁸
 a¹ 5⁷
 b¹ Cp 8 Deut 28¹⁵
 c¹ Ezek 20²⁴ (cp
 5⁸ 20¹⁸ 16)
 d¹ Kings 17¹⁵
 e¹ 28⁹
 f¹ 44 Gen 17¹⁴
 g¹ Ezek 16⁵⁹ 17¹⁵
 18 44⁷ Jer 11¹⁰
 a¹
 h¹ Cp Jer 14⁶
 i¹ Jer 15⁸ Is 65²³
 j¹ 78¹⁵
 k¹ Deut 28²²
 l¹ Sam 28³ Job
 31¹⁶
 m¹ 5⁷
 n¹ Is 49⁴ 65²³ Job
 39¹⁶ 5⁷
 o¹ Ezek 14⁸ 15⁷
 p¹ Num 14⁴² cp
 Deut 28²⁶
 q¹ Gen 21⁴⁰
 r¹ 25⁴³
 s¹ Prov 28¹
 t¹ 28 Deut 4³⁶
 u¹ Jer 10²⁴ al
 v¹ Ezek (3)
 w¹ Cp Jer 12³
 x¹ Ezek 21²¹ 30⁶
 18 33²⁸
 y¹ Deut 28²³
 z¹ 5⁷
 aa¹ 28. 37. 5⁷
 ab¹ Cp Ezek 5¹⁶
 ac¹ Cp Ex 23²⁹
 ad¹ Deut 32²⁴ Ezek
 5¹⁷ 14¹⁵ 21 34²⁸
 ae¹ 5⁷ = bereave
 Ezek 14¹⁵
 af¹ Ezek 14¹³
 ag¹ 5⁷ = cut off (14)
 ah¹ Ezek 29¹⁶
 ai¹ Ezek 64 32¹⁵
 33²⁸
 aj¹ Cp 18 5⁷ Jer
 6³ 32¹⁶
 ak¹ Ezek 5⁷ 63
 18 14¹⁷ 29⁸
 33²⁴
 al¹ Cp Ezek 24⁸
 25¹² 15
 am¹ Jer 45 814
 an¹ Am 4¹⁰ Jer
 24¹⁰ Ezek 14¹⁹
 25²⁹
 ao¹ Ezek 41⁶ 5¹⁶
 14¹⁸ Ps 105¹⁶
 ap¹ Ezek 41⁶
 aq¹ Deut 28³³
 ar¹ Jer 19⁹ Ezek
 5¹⁰
 as¹ 10a⁷
 at¹ 50 15g⁹

sword. ⁸ And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall chase ⁹ten thousand: and your enemies shall ¹⁰fall before you^a by the sword. ⁹ And I will ¹¹have ¹²respect unto you, and make you ¹³fruitful, and ¹⁴multiply you; and will ¹⁵establish my covenant with you. ¹⁰ And ye shall eat ¹¹old store ¹²long kept, and ye shall bring forth the old ¹³because of the new. ¹¹ And I will set my ¹²dwellings among you: and my soul shall not ¹³abhor you. ¹² And I will ¹⁴walk among you, and will ¹⁵be ¹⁶your God, and ye shall be my ¹⁷people. ¹³ ¹⁴I am Yahweh your God, which ¹⁵brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the ¹⁶bars of your yoke, and made you go ¹⁷upright.

¹⁴ But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not ¹⁵do all these commandments; ¹⁶and if ye shall ¹⁷reject my statutes^a, and if your soul ¹⁸abhor my judgements, so that ye will ¹⁹not do all my commandments, but ²⁰break my ²¹covenant; ¹⁶ ¹⁷I also will ¹⁸do this unto you; I will appoint ¹⁹terror over you, even ²⁰consumption and ²¹fever, that shall ²²consume the eyes, and make the soul to ²³pine away: and ye shall sow your seed in ²⁴vain, for your enemies shall eat it. ¹⁷ And I will ¹⁸set my face against you, and ye shall be ¹⁹smitten before your enemies: they that ²⁰hate you shall ²¹rule over you; and ye shall flee ²²when none pursueth you. ¹⁸ And if ye will not yet for these things hearken unto me, then I will ¹⁹chastise you seven times ²⁰more for your sins. ¹⁹ And I will break the ²⁰pride of your power; and I will make your ²¹heaven as iron, and your earth as ²²brass: ²⁰ and your strength shall be spent in ²¹vain: for your land shall not ²²yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit. ²¹ And if ye walk ²²contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me; I will ²³bring seven times ²⁴more plagues upon you according to your sins. ²² And I will ²³send the beast of the field among you, which shall ²⁴rob you of your children, and ²⁵destroy your cattle, and ²⁶make you ²⁷few in number; and your ways shall become ²⁸desolate. ²³ And if by these things ye will not be ²⁴reformed ²⁵unto me, but will walk ²⁶contrary unto me; ²⁴ then will ²⁵I also walk ²⁶contrary unto you; and I will smite you, even ²⁷I, seven times for your sins. ²⁵ And I will ²⁶bring a sword^a upon you, that shall ²⁷execute the vengeance of the covenant; and ye shall be ²⁸gathered together within your cities: and I will send the ²⁹pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy. ²⁶ When I ²⁷break your staff of bread^a, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver your ²⁸bread again by weight^a: and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.

²⁷ And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk ²⁸contrary unto me; ²⁸ then I will walk ²⁹contrary unto you in fury; and ³⁰I also will ³¹chastise you seven times for your sins. ²⁹ And ye shall ³²eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat. ³⁰ ³¹ And I will ³²destroy your high places, and ³³cut down your ³⁴sun-images, and cast your ³⁵carcasses upon the carcasses of your ³⁶idols; and my soul shall ³⁷abhor you. ³¹ And I will ³²make your cities a waste, and will bring your ³³sanctuaries unto ³⁴desolation, and I will not ³⁵smell the savour of your ³⁶sweet odours. ³² And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be ³⁷astonished at it. ³³ And you will I ³⁴scatter among the nations, and I will ³⁵draw out the sword after you: and your land shall be a ³⁶desolation, and your cities shall be a waste. ³⁴ ³⁵ Then shall the land ³⁶enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it ³⁷lieth

g h i 214 73 60a

j 26a

k l 46a 94a

m 105

n gr o 158

17 Num 33⁵² 5⁷ = demolish cp 23⁴ n¹ 5⁷ Is 17⁸ 27⁹ Ezek 64⁸ o¹ Deut 29¹⁷ Ezek 64⁴ (39) p¹ Ezek 51⁴ 25¹³ 30¹² 35⁴ Jer 25¹⁸ al
 q¹ Ezek 14⁸ 20²⁶ 30¹² 14 5⁷ r¹ Gen 8²¹ Am 5²¹ s¹ Ezek 26¹⁶ 32¹⁰ t¹ Ezek 12¹⁵ 20²³ 22¹⁵ 29¹² 30²³ 36 n¹ Ezek 5² 12 12¹⁴
 v¹ Ezek 39¹² 32¹⁵ 33²⁸ 35⁸ 7 cp Is 17⁷ Jer 42¹ al 84. Lg¹ w¹ Cp 41 43 Is 40² 2 Chron 36²¹ 5⁷ z¹ Cp 35 48 2 Chron 36²¹ 5⁷

JE	P ^h	P ^s	P ⁱ
	desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths. ³⁵ As long as it ^w lieth desolate it shall have rest; even the rest which it had not in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt ^w upon it. ³⁶ And as for them that are left of you, I will send a ^w faintness into their heart in the ^a lands of their enemies ^a : and the sound of a ^b driven leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, ^c as one fleeth from the sword; and they shall fall ^q when none pursueth. ³⁷ And they shall stumble ^o one upon another, as it were before the sword, ^q when none pursueth: and ye shall have no ^d power to stand before your enemies. ³⁸ And ye shall perish among the nations, and the land of your enemies shall ^e eat you up. ³⁹ And they that are left of you shall ^f pine away in their iniquity in your ^a enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them. ⁴⁰ And they shall ^q confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, in their ^t trespass which they ^t trespassed against me, and also that because they have walked ^w contrary unto me, ⁴¹ I also walked ^w contrary unto them, and brought them into the land of their enemies: if then their ^u uncircumcised heart be ^h humbled, and they then ^u accept of the punishment of their iniquity; ⁴² then will I ^t remember my covenant with Jacob; and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I ^t remember; and I will ^t remember the land. ⁴³ The land also shall be left of them, ^u and shall ^u enjoy her sabbaths, while she ^w lieth desolate without them; and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: ^u because, even because ^u they ^j rejected my judgements, and their soul ^u abhorred my statutes. ⁴⁴ And ^h yet for all that ^h , when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not ^t reject them, neither will I ^u abhor them, to ^w destroy them utterly, and to ^u break my covenant with them: for ^t I am Yahweh their God: ⁴⁵ but I will for their sakes ^t remember the covenant of their ^u ancestors, whom I ^o brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the ^s sight of the nations, that I might ^u be their God: ^t I am Yahweh.	p 184	
³ 25 ¹⁸ ^h ² ^h ³ ^h 39 cp 34 Ezek 30 ²⁷ cp 1 Kings 846 48 Jer 31 ¹⁰ ¹ Job 13 ²⁶ ² ^h ³ ^h	¹ Num 13 ³² Ezek 36 ¹³ ¹ Ezek 47 ¹ 24 ²³ 33 ¹⁰ Is 34 ⁴ Zech 14 ¹²	⁹ 45 ^r 164 ^a	
³ Cp 166 Ezek 44 ⁷ 9 cp Deut 10 ¹⁶ 30 ⁶ Jer 4 ⁴ ⁹ 26 ¹ Ct Deut 9 ³		^s 135	
43 19 ³			
¹ Ezek 13 ¹⁰ 35 ¹ ¹ Ezek 5 ⁸ 20 ¹³ 16 ¹ ^h ¹ Hos 4 ⁶ al ¹ Ex 32 ¹² Ezek 20 ¹³ ¹ Deut 19 ¹⁴ Is 6 ¹⁴ ¹ 25 ⁴² ¹ Ezek 20 ⁹ 14 ²²			
1-13 18 ¹⁷		t 183 ^a u 7 v 180 ^c a 185 ^a b 190 ^c c 172 d 146 ^c e 61 f 107 g 119 ^a h 88 ^c i 107 ^d	
a 15 ¹⁰		j 165 ^b	
	²⁷ ^u And Yahweh ^u spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, ^u When a man shall ^u accomplish a ^u vow, ^u the ^u persons shall be for Yahweh by ^u thy ^u estimation. ³ And ^u thy estimation shall be of the ^u male from twenty years ^u old even unto sixty years old, even ^u thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the ^u sanctuary. ⁴ And if it be a ^u female, then ^u thy estimation shall be thirty shekels. ⁵ And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old, then ^u thy estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels. ⁶ And if it be from a month old even unto five years old, then ^u thy estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female ^u thy estimation shall be three shekels of silver. ⁷ And if it be from sixty years old and ^u upward; if it be a male, then ^u thy estimation shall be fifteen shekels, and for the female ten shekels. ⁸ But if		

²⁶⁴⁶ The close of the Holiness-legislation, probably due to the compiler of P^h, though possibly from a later hand. But the form is not that of the colophons of collections apparently subsequent to P^s e.g. ⁷³⁷, ²⁷³⁴ Num 36¹⁸.

²⁷ The law for the discharge of vows ²⁻²⁵ with supplemental limitations ²⁶⁻²⁹ and the appendix on tithes ³⁰⁻³³ plainly belong to the general collection of P, as the familiar terminology shows. It is here assigned to P^s, as it recognizes the institution of the jubile ¹⁷ cp ²⁵¹⁰, and in the regulations about tithe it appears to include live stock as well as the agricultural produce specified in Num 18²⁷. But it would further seem that the whole series of cases has undergone a very curious revision. The introductory formula describes the law as addressed to the children of Israel. The recurring phrase 'thy estimation' implies, however, a more specific restriction. It is commonly supposed that the pronoun designates Moses: but (1) it can

hardly be imagined that Moses would use this form in communicating instructions to the people, and (2) the person addressed is identified with 'the priest' ³²³, where ⁵ reads 'according to thy estimation the priest (or O priest) so shall it be.' Yet in ²³ 'thy' has again a different meaning, and the matter is complicated by the unusual appearance of the definite article as well as the pronominal suffix, ^uוְיָחִי. These facts, compared with ⁵ which throughout omits the pronoun, suggest that the original reading was 'the estimation,' and that the insertion of the pronoun is of later date to harmonize with ⁵¹⁵ (addressed to Moses alone), the scribe having failed in ²³ to remove the last trace of the impersonal form.

^{2a} M Or, make a special vow.

^{2b} M Or, according to thy estimation of persons unto Yahweh, then thy estimation &c.

JE P ^h	P ^s	P ^s
b Ct 25 ²⁵	he be ^b poorer than <i>thy</i> estimation; then he shall be ^k set before the priest, and the priest shall ^l value him; ^m according to the ⁿ ability of him that vowed shall the priest value him.	k 141 l 61 m 20 ^a n 109
c 1 ²	⁹ And if it be a beast, whereof men ^c offer an oblation unto Yahweh, all that any man giveth of such unto Yahweh shall be ^o holy. ¹⁰ He shall not alter it, nor ^d change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy. ¹¹ ^z And if it be any unclean beast, of which they do not offer an oblation unto Yahweh, then he shall ^k set the beast before the priest: ¹² and the priest shall ^l value it, whether it be good or bad: as <i>thou</i> the priest valuest it, so shall it be. ¹³ But if he will indeed ^p redeem it, then he shall ^q add the ^r fifth part thereof unto <i>thy</i> estimation.	o 90 ^a p 132 ^a q 68 ^a
d 33 5 [*]	¹⁴ ^z And ^b when a man shall ^r sanctify his house to be holy unto Yahweh, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it ^v stand. ¹⁵ And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of <i>thy</i> estimation unto it, and it shall be his.	r 86 ¹
11 16a _j	¹⁶ And if a man shall sanctify unto Yahweh part of the field of his ^p possession, then <i>thy</i> estimation shall be ^r according to the sowing thereof: the sowing of a homer of barley [shall be valued] at fifty shekels of silver. ¹⁷ ^z If he sanctify his field from the year of ^v jubile, ^m according to <i>thy</i> estimation it shall stand. ¹⁸ But if he sanctify his field after the jubile, then the priest shall ⁿ reckon unto him the money ^m according to the years that remain unto the year of jubile, and an abatement shall be made from <i>thy</i> estimation. ¹⁹ And if he that sanctified the field will indeed redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of <i>thy</i> estimation unto it, and it shall ^v be assured to him. ²⁰ And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more: ²¹ but the field, when it ^v goeth out in the jubile, shall be holy unto Yahweh, as a field ^v devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's. ²² And if he sanctify unto Yahweh a field which he hath ⁿ bought, which is not of the field of his possession; ²³ then the priest shall reckon unto him the ^l worth of <i>thy</i> estimation unto the year of jubile: and he shall give <i>thine</i> estimation in that day, as a holy thing unto Yahweh. ²⁴ In the year of jubile the field shall ^r return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of the land belongeth. ²⁵ And all <i>thy</i> estimations shall be according to the shekel of the ⁿ sanctuary: twenty <i>gerahs</i> shall be the shekel.	s 127 ^b t 19 ^b
17-24 19k _g g 25 ¹⁰	²⁶ ^z Only the firstling among beasts, which is ^m made a firstling to Yahweh, no man shall sanctify it; whether it be ox or sheep, it is Yahweh's. ²⁷ And if it be of an unclean beast, then he shall ⁿ ransom it according to <i>thine</i> estimation, and shall add unto it the fifth part thereof: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to <i>thy</i> estimation.	u 36
h 25 ²⁷	²⁸ ^z Notwithstanding, no devoted thing, that a man shall ^v devote unto Yahweh of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is ^v most holy unto Yahweh. ²⁹ None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.	v 90 ^b
i 25 ²⁷	³⁰ ^z And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is Yahweh's: it is holy unto Yahweh. ³¹ And if a man will redeem aught of his tithe, he shall add unto it the fifth part thereof.	
j Cp Num 18 ¹⁴	³² And all the tithe of the herd or the flock, whatsoever ^c passeth under the rod ^o , the tenth shall be holy unto Yahweh. ³³ He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he ^c change it: and if he change it at all, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed.	
k Ex 124 [†]	³⁴ ^z These are the commandments, which Yahweh commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount ⁿ Sinai.	w 188 ^a x 7
l Cp 25 ¹⁰ 12 27.		
26. 18b _h m Pu cp Deut 21 ¹⁶ Jer 43 ¹ Ezek 47 ^{13†} n 5 = redeem Ex 13 ¹³ 34 ²⁰		
26. 18h _c		
30-33 18d _c		
o Ezek 20 ³⁷		

NUMBERS

JE P^hP^sP^s

1-15 L40c

a Cp Ex 40¹⁷b Cp 190¹c 16² 26³

d Cp 44 et 10b
e Ezr 8²⁰ 1 Chron
12³¹ 16⁴¹
2 Chron 28¹⁵
31^{10†}
f 5†

1¹ ¹⁸And Yahweh "spake unto Moses in the wilderness of "Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the "first day of the second month, in the "second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, ² ^{2a}Take ye the sum of all the "congregation of the children of Israel, by their "families, by their "fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, "every male, by their 'polls; ³ from twenty years "old and "upward, all that are "able to go forth to war in Israel, thou and Aaron shall "number them by their "hosts. ⁴ And with you there shall be a man of "every "tribe; every one "head of his fathers' house. ⁵ And "these are the names of the men that shall stand with you: of Reuben; Elizur the son of Shedeur. ⁶ Of Simeon; Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. ⁷ Of Judah; Nahshon the son of Amminadab. ⁸ Of Issachar; Nethanel the son of Zuar. ⁹ Of Zebulun; Eliab the son of Helon. ¹⁰ Of the children of Joseph: of Ephraim; Elishama the son of Ammihud; of Manasseh; Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. ¹¹ Of Benjamin; Abidan the son of Gideon. ¹² Of Dan; Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. ¹³ Of Asher; Pagiel the son of Ochran. ¹⁴ Of Gad; Eliasaph the son of "Deuel. ¹⁵ Of Naphtali; Ahira the son of Enan. ¹⁶ "These are they that were 'called of the congregation, the 'princes of the "tribes of their fathers; they were the 'heads of the "thousands of Israel.

¹⁷ And "Moses and Aaron took these men which are 'expressed by name: ¹⁸ and they 'assembled all the congregation together on the first day of the second month, and they 'declared their pedigrees' after their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, by their polls, ^{19a} "as Yahweh commanded Moses. ^{19b} "And he numbered them in the wilderness of Sinai.

²⁰ "And the children of Reuben, Israel's firstborn, their "generations, by

a 185^a

b 7

c 183

d 84^ce 45^af 65^b

g 18

h 107^b

i 83

j 119^ak 169^b

l 16

m 115

n 92

o 165

p 84

q 188^a

r 131

s 84^bt 45^bu 77^b

The Book of Numbers starts from the situation described at the close of Ex, and assumed throughout Lev. This is maintained as far as Num 10¹⁰. In 10¹¹ the narrative of the March to Canaan is resumed and the story is carried forward till Israel is victoriously encamped beside the Jordan. The later narrative will be found to be combined from the same sources as Ex, JE and P. A cursory examination of the materials comprised in the earlier section 1¹-10¹⁰ shows that they are not all of the same class, though it will be seen that they belong to the general collection of P. The section opens with a census of the tribes, and a description of their organization in the camp 1-2. In 3-4 the appointment of the Levites (hitherto unnamed in the priestly legislation save in Lev 25³²) is recorded, and their functions in connexion with the portable sanctuary are carefully detailed. The laws of 5-6, though adapted to the camp-scheme of legislation, are really independent of it: on the other hand, the offerings at the dedication of the altar 7, and the account of the consecration of the Levites 8, belong to P's special conception of the sanctuary and the holy tribe called to its service. But these alternating groups of narrative and law will be found to belong to different layers of P, while they are only loosely combined in their present order. For example 7¹ is attached to Ex 40, and ought chronologically to precede 1¹: while 9¹ starts from a date anterior to 1¹, though 9¹¹ carries the passover-celebration of the ritually unclean beyond it. These indications point in the direction of later compilation, for which P^s (whose careful numerical adjustments in other places are thus defied) has served as the general groundwork, into which additions might be from time to time inserted. Cp Intro XIII 10.

1¹ The census in 1, and the order of the tribes around the Dwelling so elaborately presented in 2, are obviously in intimate relation. But it may be doubted whether this relation implies unity of authorship. The tribes are enumerated three times, but the series all vary. (1) In 1⁶⁻¹⁵ the order is nearly identical with that of Ex 1²⁻⁴: Levi is omitted, and the number

twelve is completed by the insertion of 'the children of Joseph,' Ephraim and Manasseh, before Benjamin. (2) In 1²⁰⁻⁴² Gad occupies Levi's vacant place. (3) In 2 Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun take the lead. These diversities are most easily explained by the supposition that 1²⁰⁻⁴⁷ and 2 are independent expansions of P^s cp 1^{20b} and 2¹⁸. (For another explanation see the forthcoming vol on Numbers by G Buchanan Gray in ICC.)

It is further probable that 1¹⁻¹⁹ has itself undergone amplification. The divine address to Moses 1 begins with the plural 2 'take ye,' and 3 shows that Aaron is now included. But the formula 'take the sum' of 84^c occurs elsewhere only in passages assigned independently to P^s. The original command probably opened 'Number . . . ' cp 1^{20b} 3¹⁵. The simpler style of the census of Levi may be accepted as the type of P^s, and the supplemental clauses in 2 may be plausibly ascribed to a later revision. As in other passages in which Aaron has been subsequently set beside Moses (e.g. 14³⁴ 3⁴¹), his appearance in 3^b is probably due to the same desire to associate the head of the ecclesiastical polity with the leader of the nation. But that the original narrative of P^s regarded the census as the act of Moses may be inferred from 1^{20b} cp 3¹⁵, 40⁴² and ct 3³⁹ 4⁴⁶. The exact determination of the amount of additions in 1¹⁻¹⁹ is matter of much difficulty; but secondary elements may also be traced in 1^{17-19a}, where the phrases 'expressed by name' 'declared their pedigrees' are unique in P, and the concluding 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' (cp 1^{19b}) recurs continually in P^s.

14 M In 2¹⁴ Revel. 16 M Or, families. 19a The formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' completes the statement of 1⁸, so G and Dillm. For its use by P^s cp Ex 39 Lev 8 Num 2³⁸ 3⁵¹ 4⁴⁹ &c

19b T so. S has the simple particle 1, commonly rendered 'and,' not the advb 3 as in 5^{4b}. This clause follows 16.

20 P^s no doubt narrated the result of Moses' numbering: but the diffuseness and repetitions in 20-44 make it probable that this lengthy recital of the separate tribal totals has been elaborated from a simpler original. This is confirmed (1) by

JE | P^bP^sP^r

their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²¹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Reuben, were forty and six thousand and five hundred.

v 115^b

²² Of the children of Simeon, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, those that were numbered thereof, according to the number of the names, by the polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²³ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Simeon, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

²⁴ Of the children of Gad, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²⁵ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Gad, were forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.

²⁶ Of the children of Judah, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²⁷ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Judah, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.

²⁸ Of the children of Issachar, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²⁹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Issachar, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.

³⁰ Of the children of Zebulun, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³¹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Zebulun, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.

³² Of the children of Joseph, [namely], of the children of Ephraim, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³³ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Ephraim, were forty thousand and five hundred.

³⁴ Of the children of Manasseh, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³⁵ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Manasseh, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

³⁶ Of the children of Benjamin, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³⁷ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Benjamin, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

³⁸ Of the children of Dan, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³⁹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Dan, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

⁴⁰ Of the children of Asher, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ⁴¹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Asher, were forty and one thousand and five hundred.

the variation of order in the list already noticed ¹⁸; (2) by the association of Aaron with Moses ⁴⁴ contrasted with ^{19b}; (3) by the accumulation of clauses ²⁰ ²² (it may be observed that

'by their polls' occurs only here and ² ¹⁸, being afterwards dropped), contrasted with ^{31b}, ²² &c. An additional argument is found in the double close in ⁴⁰, cp ^{45b}.

JE P^hP^eP^y

⁴² Of the children of Naphtali, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ⁴³ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Naphtali, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

⁴⁴ "These are they that were numbered, which ^aMoses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men: they were each one for his fathers' house. ⁴⁵ "So all they that were numbered of the children of Israel by their fathers' houses, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; ⁴⁶ even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.

⁴⁷ But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers ^awere not numbered among them.

⁴⁸ ⁴⁸ And Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ⁴⁹ Only the tribe of Levi thou shalt not number, neither shalt thou ^atake the sum of them among the children of Israel: ⁵⁰ but appoint thou the Levites over the ^aDwelling of the testimony, and over all the furniture thereof, and over all that belongeth to it: they shall bear the Dwelling, and all the furniture thereof; and they shall ^aminister unto it, and shall ^aencamp round about the Dwelling. ⁵¹ And when the Dwelling ^asetteth forward, the Levites shall ^atake it down: and when the Dwelling is to be pitched, the Levites shall ^aset it up: and the ^a'stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

⁵² And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own ^a'standard, according to their ^a'hosts. ⁵³ But the Levites shall pitch round about the ^a'Dwelling of the testimony, that there be no ^a'wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel: and the Levites shall keep the ^a'charge of the Dwelling of the testimony.

⁵⁴ "Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so did they.

²¹ ²¹ And Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ² The children of Israel shall pitch every man by his own ^a'standard, with the ensigns of their 'fathers' houses: over against the tent of meeting shall they pitch round about. ³ And those that pitch on the ^a'east side toward the sunrising shall be they of the standard of the camp of Judah, ^a'according to their hosts: and the 'prince of the children of Judah shall be ^a'Nahshon the son of Amminadab. ⁴ ^aAnd his host, and those that were ^a'numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred. ⁵ And those that pitch next unto him shall be the ^a'tribe of Issachar: and the prince of the children of Issachar shall be Nethanel the son of Zuar: ⁶ and

g 283 2682

48-53 LiriA

h Ct Ex 24¹³ 33¹¹

i 22 5=pitch

j 10¹⁷ 5 Gen 12⁹k 4⁶ 10¹⁷

1-54 L4r:

a 17 7¹²

¹⁴⁵ In ⁴⁵, there are traces of two conclusions which have been imperfectly amalgamated, and which our version cannot properly display. Each verse begins with the same formula ^a'and all they that were numbered (⁴⁵ of the children of Israel) were...'. The repeated ויחי shows that in ⁴⁶ a fresh start is made. ⁴⁶ is complete in itself, and (with ⁵⁴) may have summed up the account in P^e cp 10¹. The somewhat ampler phrasing of ⁴⁵ suggests its attachment to ³⁰⁻⁴⁴; its union with ⁴⁶ stripped it of its numerical predicate, and left the first ויחי void of contents, so that the translators ignored it.

⁴⁸ So 5 cp 19^b 45. T for. The familiar formula 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying...' obviously introduces a new paragraph, designed to explain the little supplemental note of ⁴⁷ on the omission of Levi from the census. Logically the prohibition to number Levi should have preceded the reckoning of the tribes. But the prohibition immediately gives way ⁵⁰ to a summary of the Levitical functions at the removal and erection of the Dwelling; and the whole passage is at once connected ⁵¹ with the order of the tribes in camp exhibited in 2. There is no apparent reason in the duties specified in ⁵⁰ for the exemption in ⁴⁹, and it is possible that ⁴⁹ has been transposed from its original context (could it have originally followed 2.7); for ויחי ⁵⁰ at the opening of a speech cp Gen 17⁹ Ex 30²³ 31¹³. The correspondence between ⁵⁰⁻⁵³ and 2 implies that they proceed from the same hand, or, that ⁵⁰⁻⁵³,

which contains the rare phrase 'Dwelling of the Testimony' (belonging elsewhere to P^e), is at least not earlier than 2.

²¹ As P^e doubtless stated the result of the census, so a description of the arrangements of the camp may be attributed to him with practical security. But it seems to have been replaced by the organization presented in 2, which enumerates the tribes in a fresh series compared with 1. The present delineation is evidently composite cp ⁴⁰. The centre of the whole on the march as in the camp is the sanctuary ¹⁷; and the entire passage is in close relation with 10¹²⁻²⁸. ^{53a} reproduces ⁴⁷ with the addition of the secondary formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses': while ³⁴ shows the hand of the expander, beside the simpler closes of ¹⁶⁴ Gen ⁶²² Ex ⁷⁶ 12²⁸ ⁶⁰. It may be conjectured, accordingly, that 2 is founded on materials derived from P^e; the princes' names agree with ¹⁶, and the numbers with ¹²⁰, but the data have been thrown into fresh combinations.

⁴ The directions for the order of the tribes in camp and on the march are curiously interrupted in 4 6 8 9a 11 13 15 16a 19 21 23 24a 26 28 30 31a by statements embodying the results of the census, and inserted as so many parentheses. The writer has really forgotten that he is professedly reporting a divine instruction to Moses, and the combined presentation is probably the result of later aggregation of materials. In the second census 26, the numbers all occur in their natural places.

JE | P^hP^eP^s

his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred: ⁷ [and] the tribe of Zebulun: and the prince of the children of Zebulun shall be Eliab the son of Helon: ⁸ and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred. ⁹ All that were numbered of the camp of Judah were an hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, according to their hosts. They shall ^bset forth first.

¹⁰ On the 'south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur. ¹¹ And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were forty and six thousand and five hundred. ¹² And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Simeon: and the prince of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai: ¹³ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred: ¹⁴ and the tribe of Gad: and the prince of the children of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of ^aReuel: ¹⁵ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty. ¹⁶ All that were numbered of the camp of Reuben were an hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth second.

¹⁷ ^LThen the tent of meeting shall ^bset forward, with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the camps: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place ^bby their standards.

¹⁸ On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud. ¹⁹ And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty thousand and five hundred. ²⁰ And next unto him shall be the tribe of Manasseh: and the prince of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur: ²¹ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred: ²² and the tribe of Benjamin: and the prince of the children of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of Gideon: ²³ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred. ²⁴ All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were an hundred thousand and eight thousand and an hundred, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth third.

²⁵ On the north side shall be the standard of the camp of Dan according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. ²⁶ And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred. ²⁷ And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the prince of the children of Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran: ²⁸ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and one thousand and five hundred: ²⁹ and the tribe of Naphtali: and the prince of the children of Naphtali shall be Ahira the son of Enan: ³⁰ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred. ³¹ All that were numbered of the camp of Dan were an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall set forth hindmost by their standards.

³² ^KThese are they that were numbered of the children of Israel ^bby their fathers' houses: 'all that were numbered of the camps according to their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty. ³³ But the ^a'Levites' were not numbered among the children of Israel; ^aas Yahweh commanded Moses, ³⁴ ^a'Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, ^cso they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward, every one ^bby their families, according to their fathers' houses.

JE P^bP^sP^ra Gen 5¹ Ex 6²⁸3 11f^rb Lev 10²
c Lev 10¹

5-10 111a, 7ii

d 18²e 816 19 186[†]f 15¹12. 111j
g Gen 61⁷h Ex 13²i Ex 12¹² 13²j Ex 12¹²
ot 817 5
k Cp 41 45
l 14. 14Dal 12²m Ex 34⁸⁴n Ex 61⁷o Ex 61⁸p Ex 61⁹

3¹ Now ^athese are the generations of Aaron and Moses ^ain the day that Yahweh spake with Moses in mount ^bSinai. ² And ^athese are the names of the ^asons of Aaron; Nadab the firstborn, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. ³ ^aThese are the names of the sons of Aaron, ^athe ^apriests which were ^aanointed, whom he ^cconsecrated to ^aminister in the priest's office. ⁴ And Nadab and Abihu ^bdied before Yahweh, when they ^boffered ^cstrange fire before Yahweh, in the wilderness of ^bSinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar ^aministered in the priest's office ^ain the presence of Aaron their father.

⁵ ^{NI} And Yahweh ^dspake unto Moses, saying, ⁶ ^bBring the ^ktribe of Levi ⁿnear, and ^aset them before ^mAaron the priest, that they may ^aminister unto him. ⁷ And they shall ^akeep his charge, and the charge of the whole ^acongregation before the tent of meeting, to ^ado the service of the ^aDwelling. ⁸ ^aAnd they shall keep all the furniture of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the ^aDwelling. ⁹ And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons: they are ^awholly ^agiven unto him ^aon the behalf of the children of Israel. ¹⁰ And thou shalt ^aappoint ^aAaron and his sons, and they shall keep their ^apriesthood: and the ^astranger that cometh nigh shall be ^aput to death.

¹¹ And Yahweh ^dspake unto Moses, saying, ¹² ¹⁰ And ^aI, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that ^bopeneth the womb among the children of Israel; and the Levites shall be mine: ¹³ for all the firstborn are mine; ^aon the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I ^ahallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel ^aboth ^aman and beast: ^amine they shall be; ^aI am Yahweh.

¹⁴ ^aAnd Yahweh ^dspake unto Moses in the wilderness of ^bSinai, saying, ¹⁵ ^aNumber the children of Levi ^aby their fathers' houses, by their families: every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them. ¹⁶ And Moses numbered them ^aaccording to the word of Yahweh, as he ^awas commanded. ¹⁷ And ^athese were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari. ¹⁸ And ^athese are the names of the sons of Gershon ^aby their families; ^aLibni and Shimei. ¹⁹ And the sons of Kohath by their families; ^aAmram, and Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. ²⁰ And the sons of Merari by their families; ^aMahli and Mushi. ^aThese are the families of the Levites ^aaccording to their fathers' houses.

²¹ Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimeites: these are the families of the Gershonites. ²² Those that ^awere numbered of them ^aaccording to the number of all the males, from a month

a 188^a

b 7

c 12

d 130

e 23

f 69^ag 129^ah 118^a

i 64

j 185^a

k 105

l 141

m 12^an 39^bo 45^ap 140^bq 54^br 12^cs 129^bt 153^bu 94^bv 86^dw 108^cx 179^ay 115^az 19^ca' 65^bb' 18^dc' 115^b

3¹ The *tol'dhoth* form has been so long abandoned by P^s that its reappearance here excites surprise. It is probably secondary for the following reasons: (1) it is not quite in the style of P^s, Moses is included in the title but has no progeny, the section being concerned only with the derivation of the priesthood from Aaron; (2) the material is not new; Aaron's sons are enumerated in Ex 6²⁸, and the death of Nadab and Abihu is related in Lev 10¹; (3) the inclusion of Aaron's sons in the unctioⁿ ³ was not part of the original scheme of P^s cp Ex 28¹⁸; (4) the passage is evidently placed here as an introduction to the assignment of the Levites to 'Aaron and his sons' in clear subordination to the priesthood.

⁵ The narrative of the separate institution of the Levitical order, and the definition of their duties in the charge of the Dwelling 3⁵⁻⁴ clearly contains different elements. Thus the functions of the several clans, elaborately described in 4, have been already allotted in Ex 28^{31, 36}; while 3²¹⁻²⁹ displays phenomena cognate with those of 4 but in inverse order. Instead of weaving the results of the census into directions for the order of the tribes in camp, the passage is based on the enumeration of the Levitical clans but is interrupted by successive instructions concerning their place on encampment and the parts of the sanctuary under their care 23-28 29-32 33-38, which seem to be fragments of a view of the grouping of the Levites round the Dwelling now replaced by the ampler statement of 4. In

the complex structure of 3⁵⁻⁵¹ two layers seem distinguishable.

(1) 5-20 appears to be the work of P^s to whom also may be assigned the numerical framework of 21-39. The intervening passages may possibly belong to the same hand, though now out of place, but the references to the 'cords' 28 37 which are nowhere named in Ex 25-29 while they are specified in the secondary reproduction 35¹⁸ 39⁴⁰, and to the 'altars' 31, point to a later source. (2) 40-43 and 46-51 appear to be the working out of the principles enunciated in 12, 45. 41 is plainly an enlarged edition of 46; the introductory formula in 40 does not correspond with 5 11 44; the supplemental instruction in 40b recalls the later use of נֶסֶךְ in 12; in 42 the phrase 'as Yahweh commanded him' seems secondary. On the other hand, there is a relative simplicity in 40-43 which is not inharmonious with P^s. But in 46-51 the marks of later origin are clearer: 'the shekel of the sanctuary' 47 50 occurs only in P^s cp Ex 30¹²; 'redemption money' 49 is found nowhere else. On the whole, the present form of 40-51 seems best assigned to P^a, the link being found in P^s 45.

⁶ On the relation of 6-10 to 181-7 see 181N.

⁸ This verse, concluding with the phrase of 7b may possibly be a later expansion cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1897) p 57.

^{9a} M ^a given, given.

¹⁰ M Or, number.

^{9b} M Or, from.

JE P^bP^eP^r

23-26 29-32 37-38

Iiii^oq Ex 26¹⁴r Ex 26³⁶s Ex 27⁹t Ex 27¹⁶

u 37 46 32 Ex

35¹⁸ 39⁴⁰v Ex 25¹⁰w Ex 25²³x Ex 25³¹y Ex 27¹ 30¹z 36 4¹⁶ ct 1629*a' Ex 26¹⁵b' Ex 26²⁶c' Ex 26³⁷ 27¹⁰d' Ex 26¹⁹e' Ex 27¹⁰f' Ex 27¹⁹40 44^q

g' Cp 12 §

41 46-48 Iiii^o q

h' Cp 12 §

45 Iiii^o k

i' Cp 41

old and upward, even those that were numbered of them were seven thousand and five hundred.

²³ ¹The families of the Gershonites ²shall pitch behind the Dwelling westward. ²⁴ And the ³prince of the fathers' house of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael. ²⁵ And the ⁴charge of the sons of Gershon in the tent of meeting shall be the Dwelling, and the Tent, the ⁵covering thereof, and the ⁶screen for the ⁷door of the tent of meeting, ²⁶ and the ⁸hangings of the court, and the ⁹screen for the door of the court, which is by the Dwelling, and by the altar round about, and the ¹⁰cords of it for all the service thereof.

²⁷ And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, and the family of the Izharites, and the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these are the families of the Kohathites. ²⁸ According to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, there were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the ²⁹sanctuary.

²⁹ The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the Dwelling ³⁰ southward. ³⁰ And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel. ³¹ And their charge shall be the ³²ark, and the ³³table, and the ³⁴andlestick, and the ³⁵altars, and the vessels of the ³⁶sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the screen, and all the service thereof. ³² And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be prince of the princes of the Levites, [and have] the ³⁷oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.

³³ Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites: these are the families of Merari. ³⁴ And those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were six thousand and two hundred.

³⁵ And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail: they shall pitch on the side of the Dwelling northward.

³⁶ And ³⁷the ³⁸appointed charge of the sons of Merari shall be the ³⁹boards of the Dwelling, and the ⁴⁰bars thereof, and the ⁴¹pillars thereof, and the ⁴²sockets thereof, and all the instruments thereof, and all the service thereof;

³⁷ and the ³⁸pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their ³⁹pins, and their ⁴⁰cords. ³⁸ And those that pitch before the Dwelling ⁴¹eastward, before the tent of meeting toward the sunrise, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the ⁴²sanctuary ⁴³for the charge of the children of Israel; and the ⁴⁴stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

³⁹ All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses ⁴⁰and Aaron numbered ⁴¹at the commandment of Yahweh, by their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand.

⁴⁰ ¹And Yahweh said unto Moses, ²Number all the firstborn males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and ³take the number of their names. ⁴¹ ¹And thou shalt ²take the Levites for me (³I am Yahweh) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel. ⁴² And Moses numbered, as Yahweh commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel. ⁴³ And all the firstborn males according to the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them, were twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen.

⁴⁴ And Yahweh ¹spake unto Moses, saying, ⁴⁵ ¹Take the Levites ²instead

³² Kautzsch and Addis, 'used to encamp,' and so in ²⁴, and ²⁹. . . ³⁵. . . On the significance of the imperfect in this sense cp Driver, *Tenues* § 30, and Ges-Kautzsch, *Hebr Gram* § 107. In ²⁴, there is no verb at all, nor in the corresponding passages of the following sections ²⁹⁻³² ³⁵⁻³⁷; but the final verb in ³⁸ 'shall be put to death' cannot be treated as descriptive of past usage, and seems to guarantee the general view taken above.

³⁶ M § the office of the charge.

³⁸ The word 'numbered' in the Hebr text is singular, and the points over 'and Aaron' signify *ad delendum*. Sam § and some § MSS omit it cp ¹⁶, but its presence in § implies its early entry into the text. It is one of the marks of the secondary character of 4 that Aaron is there associated with Moses from the beginning cp ¹⁸.

³⁸ M Or, even.

JE P^hP^sP^s

of all the firstborn among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle: and the Levites shall be mine; ¹I am Yahweh.

⁴⁰ And for ²the redemption of the two hundred and threescore and thirteen of the firstborn of the children of Israel, which are ^kover and above [the number of] the Levites, ⁴⁷ thou shalt take five shekels apiece by the ^l'poll'; after the shekel of the ^s'sanctuary shalt thou take them (the shekel is twenty gerahs): ⁴⁸ and thou shalt give the money wherewith the ^k'odd number of them is redeemed unto Aaron and to his sons. ⁴⁹ And Moses took the ^j'redemption-money from them that were ^k'over and above them that were redeemed by the Levites: ⁵⁰ from the firstborn of the children of Israel took he the money; a thousand three hundred and threescore and five [shekels], after the shekel of the sanctuary: ⁵¹ and Moses gave ²the redemption-money unto Aaron and to his sons, ²'according to the word of Yahweh, ⁴'as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁴¹ ¹² And Yahweh ²'spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ² ^b'Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi, ^a'by their families, by their fathers' houses, ³ ^b'from thirty years old and upward even until fifty years old, all that ^c'enter upon the ²'service, to ^d'do the work in the tent of meeting. ⁴ ¹² This is the ²'service of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting, [about] the ²'most holy things: ⁵ when the camp ^c'setteth forward, Aaron shall go in, and his sons, and they shall ^c'take down the ²'veil of the screen, and cover the ²'ark of the testimony with it: ⁶ and shall put thereon a ^c'covering of ^j'sealskin, and shall spread ¹'over it a cloth ^a'all of blue, and shall put in the ^h'staves thereof. ⁷ And upon the ²'table of shewbread' they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the ^j'dishes, and the spoons, and the bowls, and the cups to ^h'pour out withal: and the ²'continual bread shall be thereon: ⁸ and they shall spread upon them a cloth of ²'scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof. ⁹ And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the ²'candlestick of the ²'light, and its lamps, and its tongs, and its snuff-dishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they ²'minister unto it: ¹⁰ and they shall put it and all the vessels thereof within a covering of sealskin, and shall put it upon ²'the frame. ¹¹ And upon the ²'golden altar they shall spread a cloth of blue, and cover it with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof: ¹² and they shall take all the vessels of ²'ministry, wherewith they minister in the ²'sanctuary, and put them in a cloth of blue, and cover them with a covering of sealskin, and shall put them on the frame. ¹³ And they shall ²'take away the ashes from the altar, and spread a ²'purple cloth thereon: ¹⁴ and they shall put upon it all the vessels thereof, wherewith they minister about it, the ²'firepans, the fleshhooks, and the shovels, and the basons, all the vessels of the altar; and they shall spread upon it a ^c'covering of sealskin, and put in the staves thereof. ¹⁵ And when ²'Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the ²'sanctuary, and all the furniture of the sanctuary, as the camp is to ^c'set forward; after that, the sons

k' 134

l' 83

a 185^ab 84^cc 92^bd 177^ae 188^bf 88¹

g 171

h 161^bi 169^a

j 124

k 104

l 88¹m 12¹

j Cp 51 5†

k' 119^a1-3 L4p^c

α 12

b 18

4-15 L1h1r 12

c 15 151

d 151

e 14 5† ct 8 Ex

261⁴f Ex 25¹g Ex 28¹h Ex 25¹⁴i Cp Ex 25²³ 30j Ex 25²⁹k Ct Ex 25²⁹ 5l Ex 25⁴m Ex 35¹⁴

n 150

o Ex 30¹p 2 Chron 24^{14†}q Ex 27⁸r Ex 25⁴s Ex 27⁸

³⁴ ³⁶ M Or, those that are to be redeemed, the &c.—Cp 48 49 51 181⁶ ep Is 35¹⁰ 51¹¹†

⁵¹ M Or, the money of them that were redeemed.

⁴¹ The second Levitical census of all males from thirty years of age to fifty is entrusted at the outset to Moses and Aaron ¹, and the princes of Israel are associated with them in carrying it out. Compared with the simpler account of the more extensive operations of numbering the whole tribe and all the firstborn males of Israel executed by Moses alone in 23¹⁵. 40-42, this betrays the work of the later amplifier, who has combined with it more elaborate directions for the ²'service' required from the three clans 4-15 24-28 31-33, though nothing is said about their place in the camp, and they are named in a fresh order. Whether this supersedes an earlier and briefer narrative by P^s must be doubtful: some trace may be thought to show itself in 23²⁹ 'thou shalt number,' and in the address to Moses alone ²¹. But the new superscription in ²¹ has only been required through

the intrusion of ¹⁶ which has nothing to do with the arrangements for the removal of the Dwelling, and 17-20 which seems an afterthought; ²² opens exactly like ², and the plural is resumed in ⁵². The mention of the ²'golden altar' ¹¹ (cp incense ¹⁵) at once implies a secondary origin, and this is confirmed by numerous small divergences from the phraseology of other parts of P. Thus ² ²² 'take the sum' ct ¹² infin for imper; ⁵ 'veil of the screen,' ⁶ 'covering,' ⁷ 'table of the Presence' (5 omits 'bread' ct Ex 35¹³ 39³⁰), ⁷ 'cups of pouring,' ⁷ 'continual bread,' ¹² 'vessels of ministry,' ¹⁵ 'burdens,' ¹⁹ 'approach' followed by accus without a prep—occur nowhere else in P: cp ⁹ 'candlestick of the light' only in Ex 35¹⁶. In 4-15 the writer implicitly corrects the vagueness of ³¹ which insufficiently protected the sacred objects from the gaze of any but priests; while ²⁶, is enlarged from ³²⁶, cp ³¹, and ³⁶.

³ M 5 war/fare, or, host (and so in 36 39 43).—Cp P 92.

⁴ M Or, work.—Cp 140.

¹⁰ M Or, a bar.—Cp 13²⁸.

JE P^hP^eP^st 19 24 27 31. 47
ct 11¹ 17^a

16 Lnh

w 33²v Ex 27²⁰w Ex 30²⁵

17-20 Lmr

x Cp r Sam 9²¹Judg 20¹² ct

149 S

y Cp r Sam 9¹⁸z Cp r Sam 9¹⁸30²¹ S† ct 819Ex 28⁴³ al

a' S†

21-23 L4p^d

U Cp 2. v

24-28 Lmr 12

c' 325

ct' Ex 26¹c' Ex 26¹⁴f' Ex 27¹⁶

g' Cp 32 ct 19 S

h' 33 S=by Ex

30²¹ Num 7⁸

cp P180

29 L4p^e

i' Ct 2 22 cp 21

S ye shall

31-33 Lmr 12

j' 33⁶34-49 L4p^f

k' 16

l' 144

of Kohath shall come to bear it: but they shall not touch the "sanctuary, lest they die. "These things are the 'burden of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting.

16 ¹² And the "charge of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be the "oil for the ^klight, and the "sweet incense, and the "continual meal offering, and the "anointing oil, the "charge of all the "Dwelling, and of all that therein is, "the sanctuary, "and the furniture thereof.

17 ¹² And Yahweh "spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, 18 ¹² Cut ye not off the "tribe of the families of the Kohathites from among the Levites: 19 but "thus do unto them, that they may live, and not "die, when they approach "unto the 'most holy things: Aaron and his sons shall go in, and appoint them "every one to his 'service and to his 'burden: 20 but they shall not go in to see the "sanctuary even ^a for a moment, lest they die.

21 ¹² And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, 22 ¹² Take the sum of the sons of Gershon also, by their fathers' houses, by their families; 23 from thirty years old and upward until fifty years old shalt thou number them; all that "enter in to "wait upon the service, to "do the work in the tent of meeting.

24 ¹² This is the 'service of the families of the Gershonites, in serving and in bearing burdens: 25 ¹² they shall bear the ^acurtains of the Dwelling, and the tent of meeting, its ^ecovering, and the ^ecovering of sealskin that is 'above upon it, and the screen for the door of the tent of meeting; 26 and the hangings of the court, and the screen for the door of the 'gate of the court, which is by the Dwelling and by the altar round about, and their cords, and all the instruments of their service, and whatsoever shall be done with them, therein shall they serve. 27 At the "commandment of Aaron and his sons shall be all the service of the sons of the Gershonites, in all their burden, and in all their service: and ye shall "appoint unto them in 'charge all their burden. 28 ¹² This is the service of the families of the sons of the Gershonites in the tent of meeting: and their 'charge shall be ^hunder the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

29 ¹² As for the sons of Merari, ^ethou shalt "number them ^bby their families, by their fathers' houses; 30 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old shalt thou number them, every one that "entereth upon the service, to do the work of the tent of meeting. 31 ¹² And "this is the charge of their burden, according to all their service in the tent of meeting; the 'boards of the Dwelling, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and the sockets thereof; 32 and the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords, with all their instruments, and with all their service: and by name ye shall ^gappoint the instruments of the charge of their burden. 33 ¹² This is the service of the families of the sons of Merari, according to all their service, in the tent of meeting, ^hunder the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

34 ¹² And Moses and Aaron and the ^kprinces of the congregation numbered the sons of the Kohathites by their families, and by their fathers' houses, 35 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that "entered upon the service, for work in the tent of meeting: 36 and those that were numbered of them by their families were two thousand seven hundred and fifty. 37 ¹² These are they that were numbered of the families of the Kohathites, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered "according to the commandment of Yahweh ^hby the hand of Moses.

38 And those that were numbered of the sons of Gershon, by their families, and by their fathers' houses, 39 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work

n 188^ao 95¹p 54¹

q 35

r 50^cs 52^at 88¹u 190^dv 140^aw 140^bx 19^cy 39^az 115^a

41²⁰ M Or, holy things.—P⁸⁸a.

16 The instruction concerning Eleazar's charge seems to be supplemental, as it deals with a permanent priestly duty, and not with the occasional service of transport. In 17-20 the rule laid down in 16 is restated with a heightened emphasis (cp

'touch' 15 and 'see even for a moment' 20); the passage may therefore be regarded as a secondary addition.

23 M. S war the warfare.—Cp 92^a, only in P^s.

32 M Or, number.

JE P^aP^gP^a

in the tent of meeting, ⁴⁰ even those that were numbered of them, by their families, by their fathers' houses, were two thousand and six hundred and thirty. ⁴¹ These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Gershon, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered ^aaccording to the commandment of Yahweh.

⁴² And those that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, by their families, by their fathers' houses, ⁴³ from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work in the tent of meeting, ⁴⁴ even those that were numbered of them by their families, were three thousand and two hundred. ⁴⁵ These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, whom Moses and Aaron numbered ^aaccording to the commandment of Yahweh ^hby the hand of Moses.

⁴⁶ All those that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron and the princes of Israel numbered, by their families, and by their fathers' houses, ⁴⁷ from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered in to do the work of service, and the work of bearing burdens in the tent of meeting, ⁴⁸ even those that were numbered of them, were eight thousand and five hundred and fourscore. ⁴⁹ ^aAccording to the commandment of Yahweh they were numbered ^hby the hand of Moses, every one according to his service, and ^aaccording to his burden: thus were they numbered of him, ^{m'}as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁵¹ ^hAnd Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ² ^aCommand the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every ^bleper, and every one that hath an ^bissue, and whosoever is ^cunclean by the ^cdead: ³ ^dboth male and female shall ye put out, ^ewithout the camp shall ye put them; that they ^fdefile not their camp, ^fin the midst whereof ^fI ^fdwell. ⁴ And the children of Israel did so, and put them out without the camp: ^aas Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, so did the children of Israel.

⁵ ^hAnd Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ⁶ ^aSpeak unto the children of Israel, ^hWhen a ^aman or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a ^atrespass against Yahweh, and that ^ksoul be ¹guilty; ⁷ then they shall ^mconfess their sin which they have done: and he shall make restitution for his guilt ⁹in full, and ^aadd unto it the ⁿfifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect of whom he hath been guilty. ⁸ But if the man have no ^kkinsman to whom restitution may be made for the guilt, the restitution for guilt which is made unto Yahweh shall be the priest's; besides the ^{ram} of the atonement, whereby atonement shall be made for him. ⁹ ¹And every ^hheave offering of all the ^hholy things of the children of Israel, which they ^hpresent unto the priest, shall be his. ¹⁰ And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.

¹¹ ^hAnd Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ¹² ^aSpeak unto the children of Israel, and say unto

a 185^a

b 103

c 167^bd 120^ae 94^af 54^ag 185^ah 190^ci 108^aj 164^{ab}k 146^al 81^a

m 44

n 68

o 132^bp 118^aq 118^am' ^hwhich

Sam G S as

19 283

1-4 L6k/d

a Lev 24²b Lev 15²c Lev 19²⁸

d Cp 107

e Ct 19¹³f Lev 15³¹

5-8 L7g: 3d/e:

g Lev 6⁵h Lev 6⁶

i L11j

j Lev 22²k Lev 22²l Lev 22²m Lev 22²n Lev 22²o Lev 22²p Lev 22²q Lev 22²r Lev 22²s Lev 22²t Lev 22²u Lev 22²v Lev 22²w Lev 22²x Lev 22²y Lev 22²z Lev 22²aa Lev 22²ab Lev 22²ac Lev 22²ad Lev 22²ae Lev 22²af Lev 22²ag Lev 22²ah Lev 22²ai Lev 22²aj Lev 22²ak Lev 22²al Lev 22²am Lev 22²

⁴⁹ M Or, according to his burden and his duty, as &c.—Cp Dillm in loc, who compares Ex 38²¹.

⁵¹ This paragraph seems to presuppose the provisions contained in Lev 13-15, though it may conceivably embody in a prior form (cp the parallels with P^b) the principle there worked out. The phrase 'in the midst of which I dwell' ⁸ recalls Lev 15³¹ 26¹¹, and suggests that if this be not a passage inserted from an earlier source, at least the editor has caught the spirit of his older models when he added this supplement to connect their provisions with the camp of Num 1-3.

⁵ The contents of 5-10 fall into two divisions. 5b-8 is an obvious supplement to Lev 5¹⁴⁻⁶⁷, and provides for the case where the injured person is absent or dead, and there is no kinsman to receive the compensation, which is therefore assigned to the priest. In 9, a general principle is enunciated concerning the priestly right to the sacred gifts cp Lev 7¹⁻¹⁰ 31-38 and *Leviticus* 111j. The rare phrase 'holy things of the children of Israel' points to a possible derivation from P^b.

¹¹ The section which contains the remarkable procedure ordained in case of marital jealousy is supposed by many to be

based upon earlier materials. This view rests rather on a sense of archaic flavour in the rite than on any distinctive marks of style. The phraseology is throughout that of P, and only faint echoes of P^b are to be heard in ¹² and ²⁰. As a whole the law must be placed with other early sections of P^a, which seem to be intrinsically older both in form and matter than P^g. But the further question arises whether the present text is not a combination of two distinct though kindred ordinances. The common phenomena of amalgamation seem clearly present: two inconsistent situations are run together: they are discriminated first by diversities of conception, and these in turn disclose distinctive varieties of diction. The evidence for this view will be best appreciated after a comparison of the two sources (distinguished as A and B) conjecturally rearranged in parallel columns, with analytical notes and references. The separation proposed by Stade (*ZATW* 1895 166-78) has been followed in the main, but the division set forth here endeavours to avoid some difficulties to which his distribution was exposed. It will be seen by the frequency of the harmonist's phrases that the fusion has been fairly complete.

JE P^tP^sP^rj 19. 29 Prov 4¹⁵725[†]k 19. Gen 34² 5l Lev 15¹⁶ 5m Lev 4¹³ 5²⁻⁴n Gen 34⁵

o 5 masc et 30

fem

p Lev 5¹¹

them, If 'any man's wife ^jgo aside, and commit a 'trespass against him, ¹³ and a man lie ^kwith her 'carnally, and it be ^mhid from the eyes of her husband, and be kept close, and she be ⁿdefiled, and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken in the act; ¹⁴ and the spirit of jealousy 'come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be not defiled: ¹⁵ then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and shall bring her 'oblation for her, the 'tenth part of an ^pephah of barley meal: he

r 190^ds 118^b
t 160^b

But it is hard to resist the evidence for compilation. The law as it stands really contains two views of the incriminated woman: in one scheme it is proposed to ascertain whether she is innocent or guilty: in the other her guilt needs no demonstration, but only draws down on her the priestly doom. Thus the conclusion of B ²⁷ makes it clear that there is a real alternative, 'defiled' or 'clean': and the title, easily reconstructed out of the present colophon ²⁹, is equally plain. In A, on the other hand, both conclusion ³¹ and introduction ¹² ^{13ac} imply only guilt, and the water is not a method of ordeal but a mere instrument of the curse ²¹ ²³. The distinction readily discerned between A's 'offering of memorial' and B's 'jealousy offering' supports the contention, which is further sustained by the copious parallels and contrasts exhibited below. In ¹³ the different genders of the verbs 'hid' (masc) and 'kept close' (fem), indistinguishable in our translation, seem best explained as the result of this amalgamation. In the same verse it is probable that some hint has fallen out by which in A the discovery of the wife's pregnancy was a sure sign of guilt. Otherwise the two sources are nearly entire.

In the following arrangement the phrases in small italics are assigned to the harmonist.

A

(Defiled and cursed, a condemnation.)

¹¹ And Yahweh speak unto Moses, saying, ¹² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him, ^{13a} and a man lie with her carnally, and it be hid from the eyes of her husband, ^{13b} and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken in the act . . . ¹⁵ then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and shall bring her oblation for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is a meal offering of jealousy, a meal offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance. ¹⁸ And the priest shall set the woman before Yahweh, and let the hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of memorial in her hands; which is the meal offering of jealousy: and the priest shall have in his hand the water of bitterness that causeth the curse: ²¹ then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when Yahweh doth make thy thigh to fall away, and thy belly to swell. ²³ And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out into the water of bitterness: ²⁴ and he shall make the

B

(Defiled or clean, a test.)

²⁹ This is the law of jealousy, When a wife, being under her husband, goeth aside, and is defiled, ^{13b} and it be kept close and she be defiled, ^{30a} or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife, ^{30b} and she be not defiled; ^{30b} then shall he set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. ³⁶ And the priest shall bring her near, and set her before Yahweh: ¹⁷ and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the floor of the Dwelling the priest shall take, and put it into the water; ¹⁹ and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say unto the woman, If no man have lien with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness, being under thy husband, be thou free from this water of bitterness that causeth the curse: ²⁰ but if thou hast gone aside, being under thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lien with thee besides thine husband: ²² then this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to fall away: and the woman shall say, Amen, Amen. ²⁵ And the priest shall take the meal offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the meal offering before Yah-

A

woman drink the water of bitterness that causeth the curse; and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, ^{27b} And the woman shall be a curse among her people. . . . ^{28b} and [he] shall bring it unto the altar: ²⁸ and the priest shall take an handful of the meal offering, as the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar. ³¹ And the man shall be free from iniquity, and that woman shall bear her iniquity.

B

weh, ^{28b} and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. ²⁷ And when he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, and have committed a trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall fall away. ²⁸ And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean; then she shall be free, and shall conceive seed.

R

¹⁴ And the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife.

The subjoined table of parallels exhibits the correspondences and contrasts in the order of their occurrence in A: the most striking will be found in *f g i j l*, the last-named requiring the woman to drink the water twice according to the present text.

A

a 'If any man's wife . . . ¹² (אִשָּׁה אִישׁ).

b 'Go aside, and commit a trespass' ¹².

c 'Lie with her carnally' ¹³.

d 'Hid . . . no witness . . . ^{13ac}.

e 'The man shall bring his wife unto the priest' ¹⁵.

f 'Meal offering of memorial' ¹⁵ ¹⁸ ²⁶ cp 'bringing iniquity to remembrance' ¹⁶.

g 'The priest shall set the woman before Yahweh' ¹⁸.

h The offering put 'on' the woman's 'palms' ¹⁹.

i 'The water of bitterness' ¹⁸ ²³ ¹⁹ taken and prepared ¹⁸ ²³.

j 'The priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a curse' ^{21b} cp ^{27b}, no alternative being given cp ¹² ³¹ where the woman's guilt is assumed.

k 'Give thy thigh falling away and thy belly swelling' ²¹.

l 'And he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness' ²⁴.

m The offering brought to the altar ^{28b}, and the memorial burnt ^{28a}.

¹⁴ seems due to R, and is accordingly eliminated; the cumbersome *5* seems to indicate the work of the compiler who has turned the original introduction of B into a colophon, two little groups of words being retained in the commencement, viz ^{13b} and ^{14b}. 'Spirit' is here taken as masc, whereas in ³⁰ it is fem.

B

a 'When a wife . . . ²⁹.

b 'Being under her husband, goeth aside' ²⁹ ¹⁸.

c 'Lien with thee' ¹⁹. (¹³ ¹⁹ all different in *5*).

d 'It be kept close' ^{13b}.

e 'He shall set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest . . . ³⁰.

f 'Meal offering of jealousy' ²⁵ ¹⁵ ¹⁸ cp 'law of jealousy' ²⁹, 'spirit of jealousy' ³⁰ ^{14ab}.

g 'The priest shall bring her near, and set her before Yahweh' ¹⁶.

h The offering taken from her 'hand' ²⁵.

i 'The water that causeth the curse' ¹⁹ ²³ ²⁷ ¹⁸ ²⁴ prepared ¹⁷, ¹⁸ ²³.

j 'The priest shall cause her to swear, and say unto the woman' ¹⁹ cp ²¹, an alternative being expressly proposed cp ²⁷, and ²⁹, as reconstructed.

k 'Belly (to) swell and thigh (to) fall away' ²² ²⁷.

l 'And afterward shall make the woman drink the water' ^{28b} cp ^{27a} omitted by *5* (*5*).

m The offering waved before Yahweh ^{28a}.

JE P ^e	P ^e	P ^e
q Lev 21 5 ¹¹ r Cp 18 20 ⁺ s Cp Lev 14 ²¹	shall "pour no "oil upon it, nor put "frankincense thereon ; for it is a "meal offering of jealousy", a meal offering of "memorial, "bringing iniquity to remembrance. ¹⁶ And the priest shall "bring her near, and "set her before Yahweh : ¹⁷ and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel ; and of the dust that is on the "floor of the "Dwelling the priest shall take, and put it into the water : ¹⁸ and the priest shall "set the woman before Yahweh, and let the "hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of "memorial in her hands, which is the "meal offering of jealousy : and the priest shall have in his hand the "water of bitterness" that "causeth the curse : ¹⁹ and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say unto the woman, If no man have lien "with thee, and if thou hast not "gone aside to "uncleanness ; "being under thy husband, be thou "free from this "water of bitterness that "causeth the curse : ²⁰ but if thou hast "gone aside, "being under thy husband, and if thou be "defiled, and some man have "lien with thee "besides thine husband : ²¹ then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of "cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a "curse and an oath among thy people, when Yahweh doth make thy thigh to fall away, and thy belly to "swell ; ²² and this water that "causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to "swell, and thy thigh to fall away : and the woman shall say, Amen, Amen. ²³ And the priest shall "write these curses in a book, and he shall "blot them out into the "water of bitterness : ²⁴ and he shall make the woman drink the "water of bitterness that "causeth the curse : and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her [and become] bitter. ²⁵ And the priest shall take the "meal offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall "wave the meal offering before Yahweh, and "bring it unto the altar : ²⁶ and the priest shall "take an handful of the meal offering, as the "memorial thereof, and "burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. ²⁷ And when he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, and have "committed a trespass against her husband, that the water that "causeth the curse shall enter into her [and become] bitter, and her belly shall "swell, and her thigh shall fall away : and the woman shall be a curse among her people. ²⁸ And if the woman be not defiled, but "be clean ; then she shall be "free, and shall "conceive seed. ²⁹ "This is the law of jealousy, when a wife, "being under her husband, "goeth aside, and is defiled ; ³⁰ or when the spirit of jealousy "cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife ; then shall he "set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. ³¹ And the man shall be "free from iniquity, and that woman shall "bear her iniquity.	u 128 v 72 w 113 x 141
t Ps 1 Kings 61 ⁵ . 30 7 ⁷ Am 9 ³ † u Lev 10 ⁶		y 54 ^b
v 19 23.† w 19 22 24 5 Pi Gen 5 ²⁹ †		
x 28 31 cp Gen 24 ⁸		z 167 ^c
y Lev 18 ²⁰ z Josh 22 ¹⁹ *		
a' adj† 22 27 vb (1 Is 25)†		
b' Ex 17 ¹⁴ c' Ct Gen 6 ⁷		
d' Lev 2 ²		a' 175
		b' 112 c' 37
e' †		d' 42 ^b e' 188 ^b
f' Ct 14		f' 28 ^a a 185 ^a b 190 ^c c 108 ^a d 172
1-21 Iru 8f: a 5 ⁶ b 5. 12 Lev 15 ³¹ c Lev 10 ⁹ d † e † f Cp Gen 30 ⁸⁷ g † h 87 ^a	⁶¹ ¹² And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, "When "either "man or woman shall make a "special vow, the vow of "a Nazirite, to "separate himself unto Yahweh : ³ he shall "separate himself from wine and "strong drink ; he shall drink no "vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any "liquor of grapes, nor eat "fresh grapes or dried. ⁴ All the days of his "separation shall he eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, from the "kernels even to the "husk. ⁵ All the days of his vow of separation there shall no "razor come upon his	

⁵¹⁷ **3** *Tent of meeting.* As this term is not elsewhere used in the original text of the priestly teaching (cp Ex 25^{1N}) its appearance here is hardly original.

19 20 **M** Or, with another *instead of thy husband*. See Ezek
23⁵ Rom 7². 21^{ab} **M** Or, *adjuuration*.

²⁹ **M** Or, goeth aside with another instead of her husband.

61 The Law of the Nazirite betrays no special dependence upon P^e except in the thrice repeated allusion to the 'door of the tent of meeting' ¹⁰ 13 18, which may not be original (or may belong to the older view of the sanctuary cp 25¹⁸), the 'basket of unleavened bread' & 15 (only in Ex 29 Lev 8). The ritual terminology ¹⁰, 'offer', with the various kinds of sacrifices, and the appropriate offerings, conforms closely to the type of

Lev 1-7. Of the three parts into which the law falls 2b-8 9-12
 19-21 the first may well be earlier still. The phraseology shows
 some peculiarities arising from the subject, but in other
 respects it approximates closely to the usage of Ph^h; thus, with
 the idea of 'separation' to Yahweh, cp 'holy to Yahweh'⁸ Lev
 21⁷ & (for 'separation unto God'⁷ cp Judg 13⁶ 7, 'God' cp Lev
 21¹³⁸); further, 'be holy'⁸, 'dead body'⁶ cp Lev 21¹¹, 'make himself
 unclean'⁸ & 7 cp Lev 21⁹. For the Nazirite elsewhere, cp Judg
 13⁵ 7 1517 Am 2¹¹. Lam 4⁷; the term is also used in other applica-
 tions Gen 46²⁶ 11 Deut 33¹⁶ Lev 25⁵ 114.

2a M That is, *one separated or consecrated*.

2b **M** Or, *consecrate.*

4 **M** Or, consecration. Or, Naziriteship.

JE	P ^a	P ^b	P ^c
i 13 Lev 8 ³³	head: until the days be ⁱ fulfilled, in the which he ^b separateth himself unto Yahweh, he shall ^b be holy, he shall let the ^d locks of the hair of his head grow long. ⁶ ² All the days that he ^b separateth himself unto Yahweh he shall not come near to a ^d dead body. ⁷ He shall not ^k make himself ^e unclean for his father, or for his mother, for his brother, or for his sister, when they die: because his separation unto God is upon his head. ⁸ All the days of his separation he is ⁱ holy unto Yahweh.		e 87 ^a
j Ezek 44 ^{20†}		⁹ And if any man die very ^m suddenly beside him, and he ^d defile the head of his separation; then he shall ⁿ shave his head in the day of his ^b cleansing, on the ^c seventh day shall he shave it. ¹⁰ And on the eighth day he shall bring ^p two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, to the priest, to the ^d door of the tent of meeting: ¹¹ and the priest shall ^o offer one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, and make atonement for him, for that he sinned by reason of the ^d dead, and shall ^h hallow his head that same day. ¹² And he shall ^b separate unto Yahweh the days of his separation, and shall bring a ^h he-lamb of the first year ^f for a guilt offering: but the former days shall be void, because his separation was defiled.	f 198 g 167 ^b
k Lev 21 ²		¹³ And ^k this is the law of the Nazirite, when the days of his separation are ⁱ fulfilled: he shall be brought unto the ^d door of the tent of meeting: ¹⁴ and he shall offer his oblation unto Yahweh, one ^h he-lamb of the first year ⁱ without blemish for a burnt offering, and one ^e ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, and one ram without blemish for peace offerings, ¹⁵ and a ^b basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and their meal offering, and their drink offerings. ¹⁶ And the priest shall present them before Yahweh, and shall ^m offer his sin offering, and his burnt offering: ¹⁷ and he shall offer the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh, with the ^b basket of unleavened bread: the priest shall offer also the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof. ¹⁸ And the Nazirite shall ⁿ shave the head of his separation at the ^d door of the tent of meeting, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it on the fire which is under the sacrifice of peace offerings. ¹⁹ ² And the priest shall take the ^s sodden shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake out of the ^b basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them upon the hands of the Nazirite, after he hath shaven [the head] of his separation: ²⁰ and the priest shall ^w wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh; this is ^h holy for the priest, together with the ^w wave breast and heave ^u thigh: and after that the Nazirite may drink wine. ²¹ ^k This is the law of the Nazirite who voweth, [and of] his oblation unto Yahweh for his separation, ^b beside that which he is ^a able to get: ^a according to his vow which he voweth, so he must do after the law of his separation.	h 42 ^c i 111 ^b j 86 ^c
l Lev 21 ⁷		²² ^{NL} And Yahweh ^s spake unto Moses, saying, ²³ Speak unto ^a Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall ^b bless the children of Israel; ^y ye shall say unto them,	k 188 ^b
m 35 ^{22*}		²⁴ Yahweh bless thee, and ⁿ keep thee:	l 123
n 18 Lev 13 ³³		²⁵ Yahweh ^a make his face to shine ^a upon thee, and be ^b gracious unto thee:	m 117
o Lev 14 ⁹		²⁶ Yahweh ^c lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.	n 175 o 90 ¹
p Lev 5 ⁷		²⁷ So shall they put my name upon the children of Israel; and ⁱ I will bless them.	p 31 ¹ q 109 r 19
q Lev 5 ⁸ 10		⁷¹ ^{NL} And it came to pass on the ^a day that Moses had made an end of	s 121 ¹ t 94 ^a
r Lev 12 ⁶			
s Lev 14 ¹²			
t Lev 4 ³²			
u 17 19 Ex 29 ²			
v Ex 12 ⁹			
w Lev 7 ³⁰⁻³⁴			
x Lev 9 ²² Deut 10 ⁸ 21 ⁵			
y 5†			
z Gen 28 ²⁰			
a' Ps 31 ¹⁶ 67 ¹			
b' Ex 33 ¹⁹ 34 ⁸			
c' Ps 4 ⁶			
d' Ex 40 ¹⁷			

⁶²⁰ M Or, shoulder.

²² In the absence of any contrary indication, this paragraph is most naturally assigned to P^a, but the actual formula of benediction ²⁴⁻²⁶ is presumably much older. The distinctive linguistic affinities are, as is natural, rather with the devotional literature of the Psalter than with the legal or narrative styles of the Pentateuch.

⁷¹ It is generally agreed that 1-88 belongs in its entirety to

the latest stratum of P^a. The date in 1¹⁰ attaches the ^ddedication of the altar' to Ex 40² 17 so that chronologically it should precede Num 1 (cp Num ^aad init). Yet the distribution of the gifts ⁵⁻⁸ implies the functions of the Levitical clans as arranged in 4, while the order of the tribes is that of the camp described in 2, so that the arrangements laid down in 1-4 are throughout presupposed. Moreover the circumlocution is carried to the utmost possible extent. Apart from one or two additional

JE P^{ht}P^eP^sb Ex 40⁸c 2 Chron 7⁶ §
d Is 66^{20†}e 2²⁸ 33f 4¹⁵
g Ex 40¹⁰h 4⁷ Ex 25²⁹
i 4¹⁴ Ex 27³
j Ex 30¹³
k Ex 29²
l Ex 25²²
m Ex 29²⁸

^asetting up the ^bDwelling, and had ^banointed it and ^bsanctified it, and all the furniture thereof, and the altar and all the vessels thereof, and had anointed them and sanctified them; ² that the ^cprinces of Israel, the ^dheads of their fathers' houses, ^eoffered; these were the princes of the ^ftribes, these are they that ^gwere over them that were ^hnumbered: ³ and they brought their ^boblation before Yahweh, six ^acovered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for every two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and they ^apresented them before the Dwelling. ⁴ And Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ⁵ Take it of them, that they may be to ^hdo the service of the tent of meeting; and thou shalt give them unto the Levites, to every man ^aaccording to his service. ⁶ And Moses took the wagons and the oxen, and gave them unto the Levites. ⁷ Two wagons and four oxen he gave unto the sons of Gershon, ^aaccording to their service: ⁸ and four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, ^aaccording unto their service, ^{under} the hand of ⁱIthamar the son of Aaron the priest. ⁹ But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none: because the service of the ^msanctuary belonged unto them; they ^jbare it upon their shoulders. ¹⁰ And the princes offered ^afor the dedication of the ^aaltar in the day that it was anointed, even the princes offered their oblation before the altar. ¹¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, They shall offer their oblation, each prince on his day, for the dedication of the altar.

¹² And he that offered his oblation the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah: ¹³ and his oblation was one silver ^acharger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver ^abowl of seventy shekels, after the ^ashekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of ^afine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ¹⁴ one golden ^aspoon of ten [shekels], full of ^aincense; ¹⁵ one young bullock, one ram, one ^ahe-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ¹⁶ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ¹⁷ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: ^athis was the oblation of Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

¹⁸ On the second day Nethanel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar, did offer: ¹⁹ he offered for his oblation one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ²⁰ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ²¹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ²² one male of the goats for a sin offering; ²³ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Nethanel the son of Zuar.

²⁴ On the third day Eliab the son of Helon, prince of the children of Zebulun: ²⁵ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ²⁶ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ²⁷ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ²⁸ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ²⁹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliab the son of Helon.

³⁰ On the fourth day Elizur the son of Shedeur, prince of the children of Reuben: ³¹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ³² one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ³³ one

a 60^b
b 54^b
c 131
d 66
e 118^a
f 165^b
g 115^b
h 118^b
i 185^a
j 140^b
k 19^a
l 12^c
m 88^c
n 95^a
o 188^b

variations in the first two sections 12-17 18-23, the same formula, consisting of 118 English words, is repeated for each of the twelve tribes, with the alteration of only six words for the

number of the day and the name and tribe of the prince.

⁷¹⁰ M Or, the dedication-gift.—Cp Ps 30 (title) 2 Chron 7⁹ Exr 6¹⁶. Neh 12²⁷ Dan 3^{2†}.

JE P^{ht}P^eP^a

young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ³⁴ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ³⁵ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Elizur the son of Shedeur.

³⁶ On the fifth day Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, prince of the children of Simeon: ³⁷ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ³⁸ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ³⁹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁴⁰ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁴¹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

⁴² On the sixth day Eliasaph the son of Deuel, prince of the children of Gad: ⁴³ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁴⁴ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁴⁵ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁴⁶ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁴⁷ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

⁴⁸ On the seventh day Elishama the son of Ammihud, prince of the children of Ephraim: ⁴⁹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁵⁰ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁵¹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁵² one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁵³ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

⁵⁴ On the eighth day Gamaliel, the son of Pedahzur, prince of the children of Manasseh: ⁵⁵ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁵⁶ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁵⁷ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁵⁸ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁵⁹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

⁶⁰ On the ninth day Abidan the son of Gideoni, prince of the children of Benjamin: ⁶¹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁶² one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁶³ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁶⁴ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁶⁵ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

⁶⁶ On the tenth day Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai, prince of the children of Dan: ⁶⁷ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁶⁸ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁶⁹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for

JE P^{ht}P^sP^a

a burnt offering; ⁷⁰ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁷¹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

⁷² On the eleventh day Pagiel the son of Ochran, prince of the children of Asher: ⁷³ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁷⁴ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁷⁵ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁷⁶ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁷⁷ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Pagiel the son of Ochran.

⁷⁸ On the twelfth day Ahira the son of Enan, prince of the children of Naphtali: ⁷⁹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁸⁰ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ⁸¹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁸² one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁸³ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahira the son of Enan.

⁸⁴ ^PThis was the dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed ^Pby the princes of Israel: twelve silver chargers, twelve silver bowls, twelve golden spoons: ⁸⁵ each silver charger [weighing] an hundred and thirty [shekels], and each bowl seventy: all the silver of the vessels two thousand and four hundred [shekels], after the shekel of the sanctuary; ⁸⁶ the twelve golden spoons, full of incense, [weighing] ten [shekels] apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary: all the gold of the spoons an hundred and twenty [shekels]: ⁸⁷ all the oxen for the burnt offering twelve bullocks, the rams twelve, the he-lambs of the first year twelve, and their meal offering: and the males of the goats for a sin offering twelve: ⁸⁸ and all the oxen for the sacrifice of peace-offerings twenty and four bullocks, the rams sixty, the he-goats sixty, the he-lambs of the first year sixty. ^PThis was the dedication of the altar, after that it was anointed.

⁸⁹ ^NAnd when Moses went into the tent of meeting to "speak with him, then he heard the Voice speaking unto him "from above the "covering that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim: and he spake unto him.

⁸¹ ^NAnd Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto Aaron, and say unto him, "When thou "lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall "give light "in front of the "candlestick. ³ And Aaron did so; he "lighted the lamps thereof so as to give light "in front of the candlestick, "as Yahweh commanded Moses. ⁴ And "this was the work of the candlestick, "beaten work of gold; unto the base thereof, [and] unto the flowers thereof, it was beaten work: according unto the "pattern which Yahweh had shewed Moses, so he made the candlestick.

⁵ ^NAnd Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ⁶ Take the Levites from

P 188^ba 185^a

b 71

c 188^b

^a Ex 25²¹ = com.
^{mune} ⁵
^c Ex 25²²

1-4 L100c
^a Ex 27²⁰. Lev
²⁴ 1-4
^b Gen 1:15
^c Ex 25³¹
^d Ex 39¹

^e Ex 25⁹

5-10 L111u

⁷⁴ ⁸⁸ M Or, dedication-gift.

^{84b} M Or, at the hands of.

^{89a} This verse is plainly severed from its natural connexion, for there is no proper antecedent to 'him.' It appears to be a fragment of P^s, being closely related to Ex 25²¹, left stranded like a boulder, amid alien surroundings.

^{89b} So M Ex 25¹⁷. T mercy-seat.

⁸¹ The construction of the 'candlestick' is ordained in Ex 25³¹⁻³², Lev 24¹⁻⁴ Ex 27²⁰, and Num 8¹⁻⁴ deal with the oil and lighting or 'setting up' of the candlestick, and are here given in order of probable date. This passage seems to define more precisely the position of the lamps.

² M Or, settest up.—Cp Ex 27²⁰.

⁴ M Or, turned.—Cp Ex 25¹⁸.

³ M Or, set up.

⁵ The appointment of the Aaronic priesthood was followed in Lev 8 by an account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons. In a similar way, the institution of the Levitical order finds its sequel in a narrative of their solemn gift to Yahweh for the service of the sanctuary. The analogy of Lev 8 suggests for this piece also a secondary character. This seems confirmed by marks of redactional extension. Thus the instructions for the purification of the Levites are curiously duplicated. A full close seems to be reached in 10a; but in 10b Moses is again directed to cleanse them cp ⁶, and to wave them as a wave offering

JE P ^h	P ^s	P ^s
f 7 ¹⁵ ct 21 g 4 ¹⁰ h 5 ¹ op 19 ⁹ i 6 ⁶ j Lev 1 2 4	among the children of Israel, and ¹ cleanse them. ⁷ And ² thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: ³ sprinkle the ⁴ water of expiation ^h upon them, and let them cause a ⁵ razor to pass over all their flesh, and let them ⁶ wash their clothes, and ⁷ cleanse themselves. ⁸ Then let them ⁹ take a young bullock, and its meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, and another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin offering. ⁹ And thou shalt ¹⁰ present the Levites before the tent of meeting: and ¹¹ thou shalt ¹² assemble the whole congregation of the children of Israel: ¹⁰ and thou shalt ¹¹ present the Levites before Yahweh: and the children of Israel shall ¹² lay their hands upon the Levites: ¹¹ and Aaron shall ¹³ wave the Levites before Yahweh for a wave offering, ¹⁰ on the behalf of the children of Israel, that they may be to ¹⁴ do the ¹⁵ service of Yahweh ¹ . ¹² And the Levites shall ¹⁶ lay their hands upon the ¹⁷ heads of the bullocks: and offer thou the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, unto Yahweh, to ¹⁸ make atonement for the Levites. ¹³ And thou shalt ¹⁹ set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and wave them for a wave offering unto Yahweh. ¹⁴ Thus shalt thou ²⁰ separate the Levites from among the children of Israel: and the Levites shall be ²¹ mine. ^{15a} And after that shall the Levites go in to ²² do the service of the tent of meeting.	d 149 e 173 f 42 ^a g 118 ^a h 45 ^b i 102 j 140 ^b k 141 l 53
k Lev 8 ⁹	^{15b} And thou shalt ²³ cleanse them, and wave them for a wave offering. ¹⁶ For they are ²⁴ wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of ²⁵ all that openeth the womb, even the firstborn of all the children of Israel, have I taken them unto me. ¹⁷ For all the firstborn among the children of Israel are mine, ²⁶ both man ²⁷ and beast: on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I ²⁸ hallowed them for myself. ¹⁸ And I have taken the Levites instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel. ¹⁹ And I have ²⁹ given the Levites as ³⁰ a gift to ³¹ Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to ³² do the service of the children of Israel in the tent of meeting, and to ³³ make atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no ³⁴ plague among the children of Israel, ³⁵ when the children of Israel ³⁶ come nigh unto the ³⁷ sanctuary. ²⁰ Thus did Moses, and Aaron, and all the ³⁸ congregation of the children of Israel, unto the Levites: according unto all that Yahweh commanded Moses touching the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them. ²¹ And the Levites ³⁹ purified themselves from sin, and they ⁴⁰ washed their clothes; and Aaron waved them for a wave offering before Yahweh; and Aaron made atonement for them to cleanse them. ²² And after that went the Levites in to do their service in the tent of meeting before Aaron, and before his sons: as Yahweh had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them.	m 35 n 12 ^f o 25 ^a p 125 ^a q 88 ^a r 189 ^a s 45 ^a t 143 ^b
l 5 ¹ m Lev 8 ¹⁴ 18 n Lev 8 ³⁴ o 3 ¹³	²³ ^{38a} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ^{38b} This is that which belongeth unto the Levites: from ³⁹ twenty and five years ⁴⁰ old and ⁴¹ upward they shall go in ⁴² to wait upon the service in the work of the tent of meeting: ⁴³ and from the age of fifty years they shall ⁴⁴ cease waiting upon the work, and shall serve no more; ⁴⁵ but shall minister with their brethren in the tent of meeting, to ⁴⁶ keep the charge, and shall do no service. ²⁴ Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charges.	u 188 ^b v 119 ^a w 169 ^b x 39 ^b
p 5 ¹ op 3 ¹² Ex q 3 ¹³ r Ct 3 ¹³ 5 s Cp 3 ⁹ t 4 ¹⁰	²⁵ ^{38a} And Yahweh ⁴⁷ spake unto Moses in the wilderness of ⁴⁸ Sinai, in the ⁴⁹ first month of the second year ⁵⁰ after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, ⁵¹ Moreover let the children of Israel ⁵² keep the passover	a 185 ^a b 7 c 183
23-26 ¹¹ mi u Ct 4 ³ 23 30 v Ex 20 ²⁵ w 1-14 ¹² gd x Ex 10 ¹ y Ex 31 ¹⁶ 34 ²² z Deut 16 ¹ op aa 17		

cp 13 further cp 9a 10a. 16-10 shows direct dependence on 3⁹ 12¹, but in 17 the compiler has abandoned the usage of 3¹³ Ex 12¹². . . 12 . . . 12, in favour of the formula . . . 3 . . . 3 cp 108⁹ 35. Further, the original draft of the ceremony implies that Moses throughout is the agent of dedication, as in Lev 8 cp 6. 9. Accordingly in 13 Moses is instructed to 'wave' the Levites symbolically as a wave offering before Yahweh cp 15b. The allotment of this duty to Aaron 11, belongs apparently to the later revision which set him by the side of Moses in the census cp 11¹⁸. The original form, therefore, would seem to have been comprised in 5-10 12-13a, with a simple record of the fulfilment of the divine commands, now expanded into 30-22, where Aaron's share becomes more prominent. It is in accordance with this view that the atonement to be made by Moses in 12 is ascribed to Aaron in 21. Dillm suggests that 13b-14 fell into its present place when 11 was inserted, thus interrupting 13a and 15a which may have stood in immediate connexion.

8^{11a} So M. T offer, and in 13 15 21.

11b M. Or, from.

17 5 as in 3¹³. T sanctified.

18a M. 5 Nethumim, given.

16 M See 3⁹.

15b M. Or, through the children of Israel coming nigh.

23 According to 4³ the period of Levitical service in the sanctuary was fixed from thirty to fifty years of age. This law, extending the time by five years, from twenty-five to fifty, can only be a later modification.

24 M. 5 to war the warfare in the work.—P^{9a}.

25 M. 5 return from the warfare of the work.

31 The celebration of the passover in the first month of the second year of the Exodus falls in order of time before the census at the opening of the second month 1¹ op 7¹; the record seems, however, to be introduced here to prepare for the secondary passage in 6-14 providing for a supplemental observance on the fourteenth of the second month, which is thus completed before the start on the twentieth 10¹¹. Cp Ex 12.

2 5 and. Apparently some words have dropped out, so that the text is defective. It seems probable that other material has here been incorporated, for the language is not without affinities to P^h; thus 2-5 'do the passover', op Ex 31¹⁶ ct Ex 12¹⁶ 14 17, 3 'statutes and judgements' op 14 ²¹a₁₃. Some slight variations in 5 2-5 further indicate diversity of treatment or scribal manipulation.

JE P¹⁸P⁵P¹

c 37 13 262
d Ex 12⁶
e (S) the first
f S = judgements
cp 213

e 13 16b
g 5²

h 27⁴ 36³ Lev
27¹⁸
i Lev 18³⁰

j Ex 12⁸
k Ex 12¹⁰
l Ex 12⁴⁶

14 12a
m Ex 12⁴⁸

n Ex 12⁴⁹
15-23 10b
o Ex 40³⁴

p Ezek 13. 82
10¹ 40³ 42¹¹
q Ex 40³⁸

r Cp S Neh 5²⁴

in 'its appointed season. ³ In the 'fourteenth day of 'this month, 'at even, ye shall 'keep it in 'its appointed season: according to all the statutes of it, and according to all the 'ordinances thereof, shall ye 'keep it. ⁴ And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should 'keep the passover. ⁵ And they 'kept the passover in the first [month], on the fourteenth day of the month, 'at even, in the wilderness of Sinai: 'according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel.

⁶ And there were certain men, who were 'unclean by the 'dead body of a man, so that they could not 'keep the passover on that day: and they came before Moses and before Aaron on that day: ⁷ and those men said unto him, We are unclean by the 'dead body of a man: wherefore are we 'kept back, that we may 'not 'offer the oblation of Yahweh in 'its appointed season among the children of Israel? ⁸ And Moses said unto them, Stay ye; that I may hear what Yahweh will command concerning you.

⁹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁰ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, 'If any man of you or of your 'generations shall be 'unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a journey afar off, yet he shall 'keep the passover unto Yahweh: ¹¹ in the second month on the fourteenth day 'at even they shall 'keep it; they shall 'eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs: ¹² they shall 'leave none of it unto the morning, nor 'break a bone thereof: according to all the statute of the passover they shall 'keep it. ¹³ But the man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to 'keep the passover, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people: because he offered not the oblation of Yahweh in 'its appointed season, that man shall 'bear his sin. ¹⁴ And 'if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto Yahweh; according to the statute of the passover, and according to the 'ordinance thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have 'one statute, both for the stranger, and for him that is 'born in the land.

¹⁵ And on the day that the 'Dwelling was 'reared up the cloud 'covered the Dwelling, even the tent of the 'testimony: and at even it was upon the Dwelling 'as it were the appearance of fire, until morning. ¹⁶ So it was 'always: the cloud covered it, and the appearance of 'fire by night.

¹⁷ And 'whenever the cloud 'was taken up from over the Tent, then after that the children of Israel journeyed: and in the place where the cloud 'abode, there the children of Israel encamped. ¹⁸ At the commandment of Yahweh the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of Yahweh they encamped: as long as the cloud 'abode upon the Dwelling they remained encamped. ¹⁹ And when the cloud tarried upon the Dwelling many days, then the children of Israel 'kept the charge of Yahweh, and journeyed not. ²⁰ And 'sometimes the cloud was a few days upon the Dwelling; then 'according to the commandment of Yahweh they remained encamped, and according to the commandment of Yahweh they journeyed. ²¹ And 'sometimes the cloud was from evening until morning; and when the cloud 'was taken up in the morning, they journeyed: or [if it continued] by day and by night, when the cloud 'was taken up, they journeyed. ²² Whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the Dwelling, 'abiding thereon, the children of Israel remained encamped, and journeyed not: but when it 'was taken up,

d 189^o

e 198

f 118^ag 190^d
76^bi 50^aj 28^b

k 34

l 54^b
m 60^b
n 161

o 124

p 19^b

q 159

r 54^a
s 19^ct 39^b

9³ 5¹¹ M S between the two evenings — P³².

⁶ An exceptional case giving rise to a law placed in narrative setting (for other instances in P⁵ cp Lev 10¹², 24¹⁰, Num 31²¹, .). The law, however, takes cognizance of other circumstances beside those which suggest it, and the reference to travellers ¹⁰ may have led the compilers to place the section immediately before the account of the resumption of the march cp 18. The peculiarities of phrase noted in 2-5 are not wanting in 6.; for *nephesh* 6. 10 'soul' = 'dead body' cp 198; 'if any man' ¹⁰ cp 190^d; 'bear his sin' ¹³ cp 28^b 193; 'not' ⁷ Lev 18³⁰ 20⁴ 26¹⁶ cp Josh 22²⁶ P⁵; with ⁸ cp Lev 24¹², 'stay' cp Ex 9²⁸. On the whole, therefore, 1-14 may be regarded as in one piece P⁵, showing acquaintance

with the usage of both P⁵ and P⁸.

¹⁵ This passage attaches itself to Ex 40. The general impression of its secondary character suggested by this reference as well as by its numerous repetitions, is further confirmed by some unusual expressions not found elsewhere in P⁵; thus ¹⁶ 'as it were the appearance of fire', ¹⁹ 23 'kept the charge of Yahweh' Lev 8³⁵ (cf 'charge of the Dwelling, the congregation' &c), ²⁰, 'and sometimes' נֶחֱמָה נֶחֱמָה Neh 5²⁻⁴. In 21-23 (S) either follows a shorter text or curtails its original. The present form is probably expanded from a simpler base in P⁵. On the contrast of the representation with that of JE Num 10³³, cp *Introductio* VIII ii 28 i 59.

JE P^hP^ePⁱ

they journeyed. ²³ At the commandment of Yahweh they encamped, and at the commandment of Yahweh they journeyed: they kept the charge of Yahweh, at the commandment of Yahweh by the hand of Moses.

¹⁰ ¹ ^{NL} And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Make thee two trumpets of silver; of beaten work shalt thou make them: and thou shalt use them for the calling of the congregation, and for the journeying of the camps. ³ And when they shall blow with them, all the congregation shall gather themselves unto thee at the door of the tent of meeting. ⁴ And if they blow but with one, then the princes, the heads of the thousands of Israel, shall gather themselves unto thee. ⁵ And when ye blow an alarm, the camps that lie on the east side shall take their journey. ⁶ And when ye blow an alarm the second time, the camps that lie on the south side shall take their journey: they shall blow an alarm for their journeys. ⁷ But when the assembly is to be gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm. ⁸ And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall be to you for a statute for ever throughout your generations.

⁹ ^{NL} And when ye go to war in your land against the adversary that oppresseth you, then ye shall sound an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before Yahweh your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies. ¹⁰ Also in the day of your gladness, and in your set feasts, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; and they shall be to you for a memorial before your God: I am Yahweh your God.

¹¹ And it came to pass in the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth day of the month, that the cloud was taken up from over the Dwelling of the testimony. ¹² And the children of Israel set forward according to their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud abode in the wilderness of Paran.

¹³ And they first took their journey according to the commandment of Yahweh by the hand of Moses. ¹⁴ And in the first place the standard of the camp of the children of Judah set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab. ¹⁵ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Issachar was Nethanel the son of Zuar. ¹⁶ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of Helon. ¹⁷ And the Dwelling was taken down; and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari, who bare the Dwelling, set forward. ¹⁸ And the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur. ¹⁹ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. ²⁰ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel. ²¹ And the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary: and the other did set up the Dwelling against they came. ²² And the standard of the camp of the children of Ephraim set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud. ²³ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. ²⁴ And over the host of the tribe

1-8 148 l
a Gen 614
b 8-10 318⁵ Hos
5⁸ al
c 6 = convoca-
tion Ex 12¹⁶
Lev 23².
Num 28 29⁸

d Lev 23²⁴e 2³f 2¹⁰

8 111h

6. 14m8c
a Ct 31²¹ 32⁶
Deut 20¹
h 31⁶
i Cp 18 62⁰
j Ex 14³⁰
k 149c
l 2811⁷

l 11

m 51⁷

n 12¹⁶ 13³ 28
Deut 11 Gen
21²¹
13-28 14r^h
o 2⁹

p 2⁸

q 151

r 32⁵s 38⁶t 31¹u 180^ba 185^ab 45^ac 97^bd 111^be 111^bf 131^rg 84^bh 24^ai 130^a

j 27

k 62^cl 76^bm 111^c

n 27

o 113

p 203^b

q 183

r 159

s 54^bt 97^a

u 7

v 54^aw 180^b

x 151

y 181

z 165

a' 91

b' 60^b

¹⁰ If 1-8 be rightly ascribed to P^e, the suggestion that P^e contained a brief account of the order of encampment cp 21¹⁸ gains additional strength. But the manner is not quite uniform, a transition occurring at ⁵ to 'ye,' while the duty of blowing is finally limited ⁸ to the priests. After the close in ⁸ the editor appends a passage in a rather different style op 9¹⁸.

² M Or, turned.—Ex 25¹⁸.
⁶ (y adds similar signals for the west and north divisions.

⁹ The instructions for the use of the trumpets 1-8 are confined to the march. In ⁹, however, the situation changes to the promised land cp Lev 19²³ 23¹⁰ 25² (cp 'your land' Lev 19⁹ 88 24²⁴ 23²² 25⁹ 46 26¹) P^h: other peculiarities point in this direction,

'before Yahweh your God' ⁹ Lev 23⁴⁰ P^e (y omits 'your God'), 'gladness (rejoicing)' cp Lev 23⁴⁰, 'sacrifices of your peace offerings' Lev 17², but cp 118², 'I am Yahweh your God,' 203^b (y omits 'your God'). Either therefore P^e has utilized other material, or R has attached ⁹ to the other trumpet arrangements.

¹¹ At this point P^e begins the itinerary from Sinai cp 33. Sam inserts between ¹⁰ and ¹¹ some excerpts from Deut 16-3. The description of the order of the march in 13-28 is obviously dependent on the arrangements of the camp detailed in 2, and belongs to the same secondary series of additions to the main narrative of P^e: its conclusion is probably to be found in ²⁴.

J	E ^P	P ^s	P ^r
u Josh 69 13 ^a Is 52 ¹²		of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideoni. ²⁵ And the standard of the camp of the children of Dan, which was the "rearward of all the camps, set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Abiezer the son of Ammishaddai. ²⁶ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Asher was Pagiel the son of Ochran. ²⁷ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Naphtali was Ahira the son of Enan. ²⁸ ^c Thus were the "journeyings of the children of Israel according to their hosts; and they set forward.	o' 188 ^a
v Judg 41 ¹⁴ w Ex 21 ⁸ x Cp Judg 1 ¹⁶ y Cp Ex 14 ¹⁰ 5 z 14 ⁴⁰ cp Ex 33 ¹ a' Gen 12 ²		²⁹ ^a And Moses said unto "Hobab, the son of "Reuel the Midianite, Moses' "father in law, We are "journeying unto the "place of which Yahweh said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will "do thee good: for Yahweh hath spoken good concerning Israel. ³⁰ And he said unto him, I will not go; but I will depart to mine own a'land, and to my "kindred. ³¹ And he said, "Leave us not, "I pray thee; "forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be to us instead of eyes. ³² And it shall be, if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what good soever Yahweh shall a'do unto us, the same will we a'do unto thee.	d' 38 e' 60 f' 160 g' 186 h' 35
U' Cp D19 C' Cp 150		³³ ^a And they set forward from the mount of Yahweh 'three days' journey; and the b'ark of the covenant of Yahweh "went before them three days' journey, to c'seek out a resting place for them.	i' 85
d' Ex 40 ³⁸ cp Num 14 ¹⁴		³⁴ ^a And the d'cloud of Yahweh was over them by day, when they set forward from the camp.	
e' Gen 11 ⁴ 5 Qal ^a		³⁵ ^a And it came to pass, 'when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, O Yahweh, and let thine enemies be c'scattered; And let them that k'hate thee flee before thee.	j' 127 ^b
f' Gen 24 ⁶⁰ Deut 33 ¹⁷ a Lam 3 ³⁹ et Ex 15 ²⁴ and P114 b Ex 3 ²		³⁶ ^a And when it rested, he said, Return, O Yahweh, unto the "ten thousands of the thousands of Israel. ¹¹ ^a And the people were as "murmurers, "speaking evil in the ears of Yahweh: and when Yahweh heard it, his anger was kindled; and the fire of Yahweh b'burnt among them, and devoured in the uttermost part of the camp. ² And the people a'cried unto Moses; and Moses b'prayed	k' 167 a 147 b 113

¹⁰²⁹ With this paragraph ²⁹⁻³² the narrative of JE is at last resumed (from Ex 34²⁸). The margins prove that it is derived from J, but the abruptness of both opening and close indicates that it is only a fragment. Its beginning has probably been omitted in view of the duplicate narrative of E in Ex 18 (cp 1¹⁸), where some portion of it seems to have been preserved. The conclusion, on the other hand, which told of Hobab's aid (cp Judg 1¹⁶ 4¹¹, Moore's *Judges* in *ICC*, Sayce, *Early Hist* 213), has probably been dropped as inconsistent with P's representations 9¹⁷.

³³ The basis of this passage is J's account of the start, but the language has undergone some editorial manipulation. On the designation 'ark of the covenant' cp Conard, *ZATW* (1892) 62: the repetition of the phrase 'three days' journey' is probably due to a corrupted text; but it does not seem necessary to ascribe the rest to R^p. The verb 'seek out' is used by P, but in the meaning 'to reconnoitre.' It occurs also in Deut 1³³ and may quite well have stood in the older narrative, though Conard thinks that priority here belongs to D, and that the passage in the text is founded upon it. For 'resting place' cp Gen 49¹⁵.

³⁴ The description of the cloud as 'over' the advancing Israelites at once separates this statement from the narrative of J in which it is conceived as going before them 14¹⁴ Ex 13²¹ as a pillar. In P, on the other hand, it is always above them without definite form cp 9¹⁷.. The peculiar phrase 'cloud of Yahweh' occurs only elsewhere in P^s Ex 40³⁸ (cp Num 14¹⁴ R), and this verse which in 5 follows ³⁶ may be regarded as the natural conclusion of 13-28 where a reference to the protecting presence of the cloud might be expected.

³⁵ This pair of poetical invocations is here ascribed to a setting in J, and may have been derived from the Book of the Wars of Yahweh or some other similar collection. For Yahweh's 'enemies' cp Judg 5³¹.

¹¹¹¹ The narratives in 11-12 are obviously derived from JE. Familiar phrases like the 'kindling' of Yahweh's anger 11¹ 10, the style of Moses' expostulation with Yahweh, the description of Yahweh's descent in the cloud 11²⁵ 12⁵, the place of the sanctuary outside the camp 11²⁶ 12⁴, and the account of the prophesying 11²⁵.., are conclusive. The Taberah incident is difficult to locate. The place is not named in P's itinerary which makes Kibroth-hattaavah ³⁴ the first place after the departure from Sinai 33¹⁶. The solitary reference to it elsewhere in Deut 32²² associates it with Massah and Kibroth-hattaavah, but it does not follow that this was the order of the three stories in D's sources. It is plausibly attributed to E, negatively because it shows no special connexion with adjoining J passages, while positively a link is found in Moses' prayer 2 cp 21⁷ and Gen 30¹⁷. No cause is assigned for the murmurs of the people. If they originated in the dissatisfaction with the desert food, E's narrative may have contained an account of the manna, the general disgust at the monotony of the diet, and a plague in punishment, somewhat similar to J's. On this view, E in combining the two documents, retained one and dropped the other, but left the skeleton of E side by side with the full form of J. So, substantially, Dillm. Bacon conjectures that 1-3 originally followed the narrative of the contest with Amalek Ex 17⁸⁻¹⁶, which he inserts after the departure from Horeb, in sequence on Num 12.

^{1b} M Or, which was evil.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
c 5*		unto Yahweh, and the fire ^a abated. ³ And the ^a name of that place was called ^a Taberah: because the fire of Yahweh burnt among them.			
d 54 21 ³ Josh 5 ⁹		... ⁴ ^a And the ^a mixed multitude that was among them ^a fell a lusting: and the children of Israel also wept ^a again, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat? ⁵ We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt for ^a nought; the ^a cucumbers, and the ^a melons, and the ^a leeks, and the ^a onions, and the ^a garlick: ⁶ but now our soul is dried away; there is nothing at all: we have nought ^a save this manna to look to. ⁷ And the manna was like ^a coriander seed, and the ^a appearance thereof as the appearance of ^a bellium. ⁸ The people ^a went about, and ^a gathered it, and ^a ground it in ^a mills, or ^a beat it in ^a mortars, and ^a seethed it in ^a pots, and made ^a cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of ^a fresh oil. ⁹ And when the ^a dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell ^a upon it. ^{10a} And Moses heard the people weeping ^a throughout their ^a families, every man at the door of his tent: and the anger of Yahweh was kindled greatly.			c 138
l Ex 16 ³¹ †		^{10b} ^a And Moses was displeased. ¹¹ And Moses said unto Yahweh, ^a Wherefore hast thou ^a evil entreated ^a thy servant? and wherefore have I not ^a found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the ^a burden of all this people upon me? ¹² Have I ^a conceived all this people? have I brought them forth, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a ^a nursing-father carrieth the sucking child, unto the ^a land which thou ^a swarest unto their fathers?			d 73 e 31 ^a f 21
k Gen 21 ²		¹³ Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat.			g 217
m 5*		... ¹⁴ ^a I am not able to ^a bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me.			
n Ex 16 ⁴		¹⁵ And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have ^a found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.			
o Ex 32 ²⁰ Deut 9 ²¹ *		¹⁶ ^a And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^a Gather unto me ^a seventy men of the holders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and ^a officers over them; and bring them unto the ^a tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee.			h 151
p Ex 11 ⁵		¹⁷ And I will ^a come down and talk with thee there: and I will ^a take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall ^a bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.			i 19
q 5†		... ¹⁸ And say thou unto the people, ^a Sanctify yourselves ^a against			
r Ex 16 ²³					
s Gen 1 ⁸⁹ Ex 12 ³⁰ cf Ex 29 ²					
t Ex 16 ¹⁴					
u Ct 2 ^{65b}					
v Ex 5 ²²					
w Gen 19 ⁷					
x Ct 17					
y Is 49 ²³					
z Cp 32 ¹¹ Gen 28 ¹⁵ Lev 20 ²⁴					
5					
a' Cp 17 Ex 18 ¹⁸ 22					
16-30 Job 1 ¹⁰ 11 ¹⁰ 12 ¹⁰ 13 ¹⁰ 14 ¹⁰ 15 ¹⁰ 16 ¹⁰ 17 ¹⁰ 18 ¹⁰ 19 ¹⁰ 20 ¹⁰ 21 ¹⁰ 22 ¹⁰ 23 ¹⁰ 24 ¹⁰ 25 ¹⁰ 26 ¹⁰ 27 ¹⁰ 28 ¹⁰ 29 ¹⁰ 30 ¹⁰					
b' Ex 31 ⁶					
c' 24b Ex 24 ¹					
d' Ex 5 ¹⁰ 10 ¹⁰					
e' 83					
f' 35 cp Gen 27 ³⁰					
g' Ex 19 ²³					
h' Ex 81 ²³ Josh 7 ¹⁸ 5					

11³ M. That is, *Burning*.

⁴ The narrative in 4-35 reveals a dual origin. The communication of the spirit to the seventy elders in 16, 24b-30 is plainly independent of the demand for flesh meat and the plague which punished the voracity of the people on the advent of the quails cp 16^a. The margins vindicate the main story for J, but it is possible that some passages have undergone later expansion eg 18. 31., and it is also conceivable that other elements have been incorporated into it, causing additional dislocation cp 10^b. It does not seem necessary (with Cornill) to treat 7-9 as an interpolation by RP. In 10 some critics have seen traces of his hand in the phrase 'throughout their families' (in this form only in Num 28^a); but it is hardly used in legal fashion here, and it occurs independently 1 Sam 10²¹.

⁷ M. 5 eye.—Cp Lev 13⁵⁵ 5.

⁸ M. Or, cakes baked with oil.—'Fresh' 5 Ps 32⁴.

⁹ M. Or, with.

^{10a} A phrase so common in P that some critics have ascribed its occurrence here to RP (but the sing suff 'his families' is not favourable to this suggestion cp 24^a). On the other hand, if viewed as original, it supplies one of the numerous links between the phraseology of J and that of P.

^{10b} The expostulation of Moses 10b-12 15 does not seem in harmony with the cause implied in the context. His 'displeasure' is plainly directed, not like the anger of Yahweh against the people, but against Yahweh himself. The language of 12 suggests that he repudiates a responsibility which really lies upon the God of Israel. But that responsibility has not here been thrown upon him, except by remote implication. On the other hand it is formally laid on him in Ex 33¹³. Now

in the original document of JE the Horeb section Ex 32-34 immediately preceded the departure in Num 10²⁰., and stood consequently in near proximity to the manna scene. Bacon accordingly conjectures that this passage once stood after Ex 33³ and before 33¹² (see 12^b). In the combination of J and E these verses were displaced by the insertion of the account of the Tent of Meeting, and were woven into the nearest appropriate situation, where (on this view) they have dislocated the connexion of 13 with 4-10^a.

¹⁴ May be a fragment of E cp 17^b, or it is perhaps due to R, who has caught up the phrase 'bear (5 = carry) all this people' (cp 17^b 'bear the burden of the people') from 12^a.

¹⁵ The prophesying of the seventy elders is in no way related to the adjacent gift of quails. The scene is laid outside the camp, away from the people, at the Tent of Meeting, where Yahweh descends in the cloud as in Ex 33⁷. Joshua, the minister of Moses, is in attendance on his master, and remains in the sanctuary when Moses returns with the elders to the camp 30 cp Ex 33¹¹. But the new associates of Moses in bearing the burden of the people 17 have no concern with Israel's subsequent conduct, and their selection at this precise moment in no way mitigates either the popular greed or the divine wrath. On the other hand the story deals with prophetic conceptions peculiar to E cp 11⁴. It has, however, in part the same motive as another narrative in E (with 17^b cp Ex 18¹⁸ 22, 17^b, however, may be itself due to R), and seems to belong to a small secondary group cp 12, marked by advanced reflexion on the phases of prophetic activity. (Gray, on the other hand, considers that its affinities are with the stories of Saul's frenzy in Samuel.) By the side of the secular judges over the 'small matters,' the coadjutor-prophets must be assigned to EP.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		to-morrow, and ye shall eat flesh: for ye have wept in the ears of Yahweh, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was ⁴ well with us in Egypt: therefore Yahweh will give you flesh, and ye shall eat.			
¹⁹ Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten days, nor twenty days; ²⁰ but a ⁷ whole month, until it come out at your nostrils, and it be ¹ loathsome unto you: because that ye have ⁷ rejected Yahweh which is ¹ among you, and have wept before him, saying, ¹ Why came we forth out of Egypt? ²¹ And Moses said, The people, among whom I am, are ^m six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a ⁷ whole month. ²² Shall ¹ flocks and herds be ⁿ slain for them, to ^o suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?					
²³ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Is Yahweh's hand waxed ^p short? now ^q shalt thou see whether my ^r word shall come to pass unto thee ^{or} not. ^{24a} And Moses went out, and told the people the words of Yahweh.					
^{24b} And he ^b gathered seventy men of the ^b elders of the people, and set them round about the ^o Tent. ²⁵ And Yahweh ^c came down in the ^o cloud, and spake unto him, and ^s took of the spirit that was upon him, and put it upon the seventy elders: and it came to pass; that, when the spirit rested upon them, they ^m prophesied, but they did so no more. ²⁶ But there remained two men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but had not ^w gone out unto the Tent: and they prophesied in the camp. ²⁷ And there ran a young man, and told Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp. ²⁸ And Joshua the son of Nun, the ^v minister of Moses, ^w one of his chosen men, answered and said, My ^l lord Moses, ^w forbid them. ²⁹ And Moses said unto him, Art thou ² jealous for my sake? would God that all Yahweh's people were prophets, that Yahweh would put his spirit upon them! ³⁰ And Moses ^v gat him into the camp, he and the ^b elders of Israel.					
³¹ And there went forth a ² wind from Yahweh, and ^a brought ^b quails from the sea, and ^o let them fall ¹ by the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and about two cubits above the face of the earth. ³² And the people rose up all that day, and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails: he that gathered ^d least gathered ten homers: and they ^o spread them all abroad for themselves round about the camp. ³³ While the flesh was ^o yet between their teeth, ^o ere it was chewed, the anger of Yahweh was kindled against the people, and Yahweh ^o smote the people with a very great ^o plague. ³⁴ And the ^a name of that place was called ¹ Kibroth-hattaavah: because there they buried the people that lusted.					
³⁵ From Kibroth-hattaavah ^o the people journeyed unto Hazeroth; and they abode at Hazeroth.					
¹² ¹ And ^a Miriam and Aaron spake ¹ against Moses ^a because of the Cushite woman whom he had married: ² for he had married a Cushite woman.					
² And they said, Hath Yahweh ^o indeed spoken ^o only ¹ with Moses? hath he not spoken also ¹ with us? And Yahweh ^d heard it. ³ Now the ^e man Moses was very					

¹¹²⁸ M Or, *from his youth*.—If this rendering be adopted, the phrase can hardly proceed from the author of Ex 33¹¹ where Joshua is described as a young man, as it implies a much greater lapse of time, and seems based on a general retrospective view of the whole relations of Joshua to Moses. It is consistent with this discrimination of different strata in E that while in Ex 33⁹ the pillar of cloud itself descends, and is so far identified with Yahweh that it can speak with Moses, in ²⁶ 12⁸ it is Yahweh who comes down, *in* the cloud, by a later religious differentiation.

³¹ M Or, *over*. ³⁴ M That is, *The graves of lust*. ¹² ¹The narrative in 1–15 is closely allied with the institution of the Tent of Meeting Ex 33⁷. and the gift of the spirit to the seventy elders 11¹⁶. ^{24b–30}. The sanctuary is outside the camp ⁴, and Yahweh's presence is marked by the descent of the cloud ⁵ which stands at the door. The importance attached to prophecy, visions, and dreams, is throughout characteristic of E cp 101, 114, and the marginal references amply confirm this ascription. The mention of Miriam also supports it. Dillman has, indeed, found traces of the amalgamation of two docu-

ments; but the apparent doublet ⁴ and they three came out ⁴, and they two came out ⁵, admits of another explanation. In ⁴ the three are summoned together from the camp; in ⁵ the two are called forth from Moses' side to hear the divine vindication of his authority. The phraseological affinities with J, registered in the margins, are not more numerous or decisive than in other E passages, and belong to the common stock of the vocabulary of JE. Whether ^{2–10} was originally continuous with ¹ is more doubtful, as it is founded on a quite different motive. The general reflexions on the nature of prophetic activity and the eminence of Moses as the recipient of direct revelation ^{6–8} suggest that this narrative is among the later additions of E²; with this view the representation of ⁵ harmonizes cp 11²⁸. But the sequel in ^{9–15} may be part of the original story, ^{2–8} having been elaborated out of earlier material.

^{1b} This explanation is obviously derived from the text itself, and is omitted (presumably as a gloss) by E. The wife of Moses in J is Zipporah, a Midianitess; but in E she is not named. Cp Ex 18² ⁵. ^{2ab} M Or, *by*.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
f ⁵ Am 27 ^{al} 4-10 120b g Josh 12 ⁹ 117 ^{ct} h Num 69 [*] i Ex 33 ⁷ j 112b k Ex 33 ⁹ l Gen 37 ⁶ m Gen 45 ¹⁴ n Gen 15 ¹ 46 ² o Ex 14 ²¹ Deut 34 ⁵ p Deut 7 ⁹ 285 ⁹ q Cp Ex 33 ¹¹ r Deut 34 ¹⁰ s ⁵ 1 Kings 10 ¹ al t Ex 20 ⁴ u Ct 917 cp 14 ⁹ v Ex 811 29 (depart) 224 w Ex 48 x ⁵ = turned to 1649 Ex 1610 y Is 12 ¹³ Jer 5 ⁴ z 5038 ^t Niph aa Gen 20 ¹⁷ Ex 15 ²⁶ ab Deut 25 ⁹ ac ⁵ * ad Cp Lev 13 ⁴ ae Cp 120 af 16 1130 ⁵ ag 1135 d' 101 ²	J E / meek, above all the men which were upon the ^b face of the earth. ⁴ And Yahweh spake ^a suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, ^b Came out ye three unto the tent of meeting. And they three came out. ⁵ And Yahweh ^c came down in a pillar of cloud, and ^d stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth. ⁶ And he said, ^e Hear now my words: if there be a ^f 'prophet among you, I Yahweh will ^g 'make myself known unto him in a ^h 'vision, I will speak with him in a ⁱ 'dream. ⁷ My ^j 'servant Moses is not so; he is ^k 'faithful in all mine house: ⁸ with him will I speak ^l 'mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in ^m 'dark speeches; and the ⁿ 'form of Yahweh shall he ^o 'behold: ^p 'wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak ^q 'against my ^r 'servant, against Moses? ⁹ And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against them; and he departed. ¹⁰ And the cloud ^s 'removed from ^t 'over the Tent; and, behold, Miriam was ^u 'leprous, as [white as] snow ^t : and Aaron ^v 'looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous. ¹¹ And Aaron said unto Moses, ^w 'Oh my lord, ^x 'I pray thee, sin upon us, for that we have ^y 'done foolishly, and for that we have sinned. ¹² Let her not, I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb. ¹³ And Moses cried unto Yahweh, saying, ¹⁴ 'Heal her, O God, I beseech thee. ¹⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, If her father had but ¹⁶ 'spit in her face, should she not be ¹⁷ 'ashamed seven days? let her be ¹⁸ 'shut up ^a 'without the camp seven days, and after that she shall be ^b 'brought in again. ¹⁹ And Miriam was ^c 'shut up without the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was ^d 'brought in again. ¹⁶ And afterward the ^e 'people journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the ^f 'wilderness of Paran.	JE / meek, above all the men which were upon the ^b face of the earth. ⁴ And Yahweh spake ^a suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, ^b Came out ye three unto the tent of meeting. And they three came out. ⁵ And Yahweh ^c came down in a pillar of cloud, and ^d stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth. ⁶ And he said, ^e Hear now my words: if there be a ^f 'prophet among you, I Yahweh will ^g 'make myself known unto him in a ^h 'vision, I will speak with him in a ⁱ 'dream. ⁷ My ^j 'servant Moses is not so; he is ^k 'faithful in all mine house: ⁸ with him will I speak ^l 'mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in ^m 'dark speeches; and the ⁿ 'form of Yahweh shall he ^o 'behold: ^p 'wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak ^q 'against my ^r 'servant, against Moses? ⁹ And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against them; and he departed. ¹⁰ And the cloud ^s 'removed from ^t 'over the Tent; and, behold, Miriam was ^u 'leprous, as [white as] snow ^t : and Aaron ^v 'looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous. ¹¹ And Aaron said unto Moses, ^w 'Oh my lord, ^x 'I pray thee, sin upon us, for that we have ^y 'done foolishly, and for that we have sinned. ¹² Let her not, I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb. ¹³ And Moses cried unto Yahweh, saying, ¹⁴ 'Heal her, O God, I beseech thee. ¹⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, If her father had but ¹⁶ 'spit in her face, should she not be ¹⁷ 'ashamed seven days? let her be ¹⁸ 'shut up ^a 'without the camp seven days, and after that she shall be ^b 'brought in again. ¹⁹ And Miriam was ^c 'shut up without the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was ^d 'brought in again. ¹⁶ And afterward the ^e 'people journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the ^f 'wilderness of Paran.	J E / meek, above all the men which were upon the ^b face of the earth. ⁴ And Yahweh spake ^a suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, ^b Came out ye three unto the tent of meeting. And they three came out. ⁵ And Yahweh ^c came down in a pillar of cloud, and ^d stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth. ⁶ And he said, ^e Hear now my words: if there be a ^f 'prophet among you, I Yahweh will ^g 'make myself known unto him in a ^h 'vision, I will speak with him in a ⁱ 'dream. ⁷ My ^j 'servant Moses is not so; he is ^k 'faithful in all mine house: ⁸ with him will I speak ^l 'mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in ^m 'dark speeches; and the ⁿ 'form of Yahweh shall he ^o 'behold: ^p 'wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak ^q 'against my ^r 'servant, against Moses? ⁹ And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against them; and he departed. ¹⁰ And the cloud ^s 'removed from ^t 'over the Tent; and, behold, Miriam was ^u 'leprous, as [white as] snow ^t : and Aaron ^v 'looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous. ¹¹ And Aaron said unto Moses, ^w 'Oh my lord, ^x 'I pray thee, sin upon us, for that we have ^y 'done foolishly, and for that we have sinned. ¹² Let her not, I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb. ¹³ And Moses cried unto Yahweh, saying, ¹⁴ 'Heal her, O God, I beseech thee. ¹⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, If her father had but ¹⁶ 'spit in her face, should she not be ¹⁷ 'ashamed seven days? let her be ¹⁸ 'shut up ^a 'without the camp seven days, and after that she shall be ^b 'brought in again. ¹⁹ And Miriam was ^c 'shut up without the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was ^d 'brought in again. ¹⁶ And afterward the ^e 'people journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the ^f 'wilderness of Paran.	P b 40 c 114 d 101 e 179 f 230 g 56 ^b h 194	
131 ^a And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ² Send thou men, that they					a 185

12¹⁰ The preposition *from* does not necessarily mean more than 'from' cp Gen 17²² 35¹⁸ 1 Kings 13^{al}; in ⁵ the pillar was at the entrance of the Tent, and E nowhere describes it as 'over' or 'covering' it cp Deut 31¹⁵.

16 A fragment of J's itinerary cp 11⁸⁵. The reference to the 'wilderness of Paran' may be due to RP founded on 10¹² to prepare the way for 13⁸. The district is not named in Num 33.

13¹ The story of the explorer's mission 13, shows many signs of composite origin. The opening section 13^{1-17a} is easily identified with P, and supplies the clue to subsequent analysis. (1) The twelve tribal representatives are directed to 'spy out the land of Canaan' ² 17a; their journey is described in 21b 25-26a; and their report is presented in 32. According to these statements they traversed the entire extent of the country from the wilderness of Paran to the extreme north and back again 8 21b 26a, and their absence lasted forty days 26 14⁸⁴. (2) Blended with this is another representation which fixes the point of departure and return as Kadesh 28b (cp 32⁸ Deut 1¹⁹ Josh 14⁸). The travellers advance as far as the valley of Eshcol in the neighbourhood of Hebron 22; this serves as their limit, for they carry back to Kadesh the fruit which they cut down from thence 23 26b. The report of the investigators has in like manner two contradictory aspects, (1) declares the land to be unproductive, and all its people of immense stature 32; (2) affirms that it is fruitful and flows with milk and honey 28b-27, though the people are strong, the cities fortified, and some of the inhabitants gigantic 32. The sequel in 14 corresponds to this division. (1) According to 13²⁸ the report is rendered to Moses, Aaron, and all the congregation: Moses and Aaron, consequently, are the object of the popular murmurs 14² 2 5, and are ultimately charged to communicate to the rebellious children of Israel the divine sentence of 'death in this wilderness' 14²⁸.. The only exemption is in favour of two of the twelve, Joshua son of Nun and Caleb son of Jephunneh 14³⁰ 38 who had endeavoured to pacify the people by declaring the land an exceeding good land 14⁸.. (2) The other version nowhere mentions either Aaron or Joshua. Caleb alone stills the people 13³⁰, and is to be permitted to enter the promised land hereafter 14²⁴; while Moses alone hears his remonstrances 13³⁰ and intercedes for the guilty nation 14¹¹.. Further examination, however, proves that (2) is itself a compound. Thus 13^{17b} contains two instructions 'go up into the South,' and 'go up into the hill-country'; repetitions and doublets in 18-20 are best explained through amalgamation; one writer describes the traditional giants as 'children of Anak' and locates them at Hebron 13²² 28, while elsewhere they are designated 'Nephilim' 33. These indications point to the presence of both J and E, but their exact partition is matter of much difficulty. The

margins show different linguistic clues: further help may be gained from 14¹¹⁻²⁴ (strongly characteristic of J) where the intervention of Caleb 24 justifies the ascription of 13³⁰ to J, and this seems to carry with it 28 22 18b-19 and 17b. On the other hand Deut 1¹⁹⁻⁴⁵ is evidently founded on a form of the story in which P is ignored, and the references to Horeb and the Amorites cohere with E (cp 25g 105); this version describes the ascent of the Twelve into the hill-country and their arrival at the valley of Eshcol in terms corresponding with 13^{17c} 23. The following parallels and contrasts are thus obtained:—

J	E	P
Caleb and others sent by Moses 13 ²⁷ to see the people and the land 18b-19.	[Twelve men sent at the request of the people Deut 1 ²²⁻²⁶ .]	Hoshea (Joshua) and Caleb with ten others sent by command of Yahweh to explore the land of Canaan 13 ^{1-17a} .
Into the South 17b 22.	Into the hill-country 13 ^{17c} .	
They reach Hebron 22.	They reach the valley of Eshcol 23, cut down some fruit, and come back to Kadesh 26b.	They spy out the land to Rehob 21b and come back to the wilderness of Paran 26a.
They report to Moses 27.	They report to their countrymen 26b and show the fruit.	They report to Moses, Aaron, and the congregation 32a 32.
The people are strong 18b 28 51.	The people are many 18c occupying all parts of the country 29.	
The land flowing with milk and honey 27 14 ⁸ .	The land fruitful 20 23b 27b.	The land eating up its inhabitants 32a.
Children of Anak at Hebron 13 ²² 28.	Nephilim in the country 33.	All the people of great stature 32b.
The people weep 14 ¹⁰ .	(The children of Israel) cry out 14 ^{1b} .	The congregation murmur against Moses and Aaron 14 ^{1a} 2 5.
Fear of death and loss of wives and children 3.	Proposal to elect a captain 4.	
Caleb stills the people 13 ³⁰ 14 ⁸ .		Joshua and Caleb exhortate 3 26 10.
Intercession of Moses 11..: only Caleb and the little ones to see the promised land 24 31.		Moses and Aaron enjoined to announce forty years of wandering and death in the wilderness to all save Caleb and Joshua 26-30 32a.. Death of ten spies by plague 36.
	Instructions to march by way of the Red Sea 25.	
The people [proposing to go up] are forbidden, but their presumptuous attempt is defeated 41-45.	The people go up, intending to enter the promised land direct 40.	

J E

P

a 15² Ex 6⁸ Lev
14³⁴
b 10¹² 12¹⁶
c Cp 84

d Ct Josh 14⁶ 14
e Cp 16^b et Ex
17⁹

f $\oint$ = go up

g $\oint$ = the moun-
tain op 29 14⁴⁰
44 Deut 124
h Gen 42⁸ Josh 21
i $\oint$ thereon Lev
25¹⁸ 26³⁵ Deut
30²⁰
j Gen 27²¹
k Cp (23) 31
l $\oint$ *

m 22 23 Deut 128
Josh 14¹²

n Cp fenced $\oint$ 28
Num 32¹⁷ 38
Josh 10²⁰
o Gen 49²⁰
p Ezek 34²⁰†
q Gen 48^{3*}

r Cp 23 26b 27b

s Cp 17c

t 34⁸ Josh 13⁵

u Cp 17b

v Gen 13¹⁸
w Josh 15¹⁴ Judg
11¹⁰

x 32⁹ Deut 134
et Gen 14¹³
y $\oint$ * Is 17¹⁰ al
z esheol Gen 40¹⁰
Deut 32^{32*}

a' Num 20⁵

may ^bspy out the ^cland of Canaan, which ^dI ^egive unto the children of Israel: of every ^ftribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a ^gprince among them. ³ And Moses sent them from the ^hwilderness of Paran ⁱaccording to the commandment of Yahweh: all of them men who were ^jheads of the children of Israel. ⁴ And ^kthese were their names: of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur. ⁵ Of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori. ⁶ Of the tribe of Judah, ⁷Caleb the son of Jephunneh. ⁷ Of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph. ⁸ Of the tribe of Ephraim, ⁹Hoshea the son of Nun. ⁹ Of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu. ¹⁰ Of the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi. ¹¹ Of the tribe of Joseph, [namely], of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi. ¹² Of the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son of Gemalli. ¹³ Of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael. ¹⁴ Of the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of Vophsi. ¹⁵ Of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi. ¹⁶ These are the names of the men which Moses sent to ^bspy out the land. And Moses called Hoshea the son of Nun Joshua. ^{17a} And Moses sent them to ^bspy out the ^cland of Canaan,

b 150
c 4
d 84
e 105
f 131
g 190
h 188

...^{17b} And he said unto them, ^jGet you up this way ^kby the South, ...^{17c} and go up into ^lthe mountains:

^{18a} and ^ksee the land what it is; ...
...^{18b} and the people that dwelleth ⁱtherein, ^jwhether they be ^kstrong or ^lweak,

^{18c} whether they be few or many; ¹⁹ and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be ⁱgood or bad; and what ^mcities they be that they dwell in, whether in camps, or in ⁿstrong holds;

²⁰ and what the land is, whether it be ^ofat or ^plean, whether ^qthere be wood therein, or not. And ^rbe ye of good courage, and bring of the ^s'fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the firstripe grapes.

^{21a} ^sSo they ^twent up,

²² And they ^uwent up ^vby the South, and came unto ^wHebron; and ^xAhi-
man, Sheshai, and Talmi, the children of Anak, were there. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.)

²³ and they came unto the valley of ^yEshcol, and cut down from thence a ^z'branch with one ^{a'}'cluster of grapes, and they bare it upon a staff between two; [they brought] also of the ^{a'}'pomegranates, and of the figs. ²⁴ ^{a'}That place was called the valley

^{21b} ^sand they ^tspied out the land from the wilderness of ^kZin unto Rehob, to the ^u'entering in of Hamath.

i 165

j 84

k 9

1317b 22 M Or, into.

^{21a} $\oint$ and they went up as in 22, an obvious doublet. As P does not contain any instructions to 'go up,' these two passages seem best treated as the issues of the twofold command 'go up,' 17b. One, therefore, belongs to E, the other to J. The continuation of E's narrative is found in 23, at 'they went up and came to the valley of Eshcol' with 22 'they went up ... and

came to Hebron.' With both these at ^{21b} which sends them right through the land to its northernmost verge.

^{21b} The sequel of 17a. The pronoun involved in the $\oint$ verb has been inserted in the text.

^{24a} This verse may possibly be an editorial annotation, explaining the name 'valley of Eshcol' ²³. But the peculiar word 'because' pleads for E.

	J	JE	E	P		
		of ^a Eshcol, ^b because of the cluster which the children of Israel cut down from thence.			l III	
U' 14 ³⁴						
c' Ct 27 30 cp 14 ² 5 26					m 45	
d' 32 ⁸ Deut 1 ¹⁹ Josh 14 ⁶ e' 22 ⁸ Gen 37 ¹⁴ Josh 14 ⁷ Deut 1 ²²		... ^{26b} to ^d Kadesh; and they ^e brought back word unto them, ^a and unto all the congregation, and shewed them the ^r fruit of the land.				
f' Cp 19 14 ⁸		... ^{27a} ⁿ And they ⁿ told him, and said, We came unto the ^l land whither thou sentest us, and ^s surely it ^p floweth with milk and honey; ... ^{27b} and this is the ^r fruit of it.			n 219	
g' 22 ³⁵ 23 ¹⁸ h' Cp 18		²⁸ ^o Howbeit the people that dwell in the land are ^h strong, and the cities are ⁱ fenced, [and] very great: and ^m moreover we saw the ^j children of Anak there.			o 126 p 34	
i' Cp 19 5 Deut 1 ²³ j' Cp 22		²⁹ ^N Amalek dwelleth in the ^l land of the South: and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the ^a Amorite, dwell in the ^m mountains: and the ^m Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the ⁿ side of Jordan.			q 96 ct 17	
k' 14 ²⁵ 43 45 l' Gen 20 ¹ ct 17b		³⁰ ^N And ^o Caleb ^p stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once, and ^q possess it; for we are ^r well able to overcome it. ³¹ But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against the people; for they are ^k stronger than we.				
m' Ex 25 n' 14 ²⁴ p' 5†						
q' Gen 15 ⁷ 22 ¹⁷ 24 ⁶⁰ r' 22 ³⁸ *						
s' 14 ³⁰ cp Gen 37 ²⁴						
t' 14 ⁷						
u' Lev 26 ³⁸ Ezek 36 ¹³						
v' Cp Jer 22 ¹⁴ Is 45 ¹⁴ 5						
		³³ And there we saw the ^N Nephilim,		²⁵ And they returned from ^b spying out the land at the end of ^{b'} forty days. ^{26a} And they went and came to Moses, and to ^c Aaron, and to all the ^m congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of ^b Paran.		
				³² And they ^e brought up an evil report of the land which they had ^b spied out unto the children of Israel, saying, The land, ^r through which we have gone to spy it out, is a land that ⁿ eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men ^v of great stature.		

13^{24b} M. That is, a cluster.26^b A harmonist's insertion from 26^a.27^a Cp 16^{13N}.

29 The authorship of this short catalogue of peoples (which differs in style from the lists named in Ex 3^{8N}) has been much discussed; it is here assigned to JE for the following reasons: (1) 'the land of the South' ct 17²² cp Gen 20¹ E; (2) the reference to the Amorite as dwelling in the hill-country (5 'mountain') seems best to fit E cp 29⁶ Deut 1²⁷ 44; (3) the location of the Canaanite in the Jordan valley on the east and the maritime lowlands on the west is in direct opposition to 14⁴³ J; (4) a further phraseological coincidence with E occurs in the phrase 'hand of the Jordan' cp Ex 25⁶ 'hand' of the Nile. The verse can hardly belong to J on the ground of (3), and the only alternative would be to regard either the whole or part of it as redactional.

30 The intervention of Caleb seems here introduced prematurely, for the people have as yet given no signs of agitation or resistance. The passage probably followed 14¹⁰ and 3, but was displaced by the incorporation of P's version in which Joshua and Caleb endeavour to quell the murmurs of the congregation 14⁶. The sequel of 13³⁰, doubtless included 14⁸ 9b.

33 M Or, giants.—Gen 6⁴†. The harmonist endeavours to identify these with the 'children of Anak' 22^{28b}. Three representations of the tradition are thus traceable: at Hebron dwelt the 'children of Anak' 22²⁸ a race of mighty size, J; 'there' (query in the 'mountain' 17^c) among the numerous races named in 29 were the Nephilim or 'giants,' E; 'all the people' from end to end were of great stature, P. In this last statement the antiquarian detail has been dropped, and the idea generalized.

	J	JE	E	P	
w' Ct 22 28 5		the ^{w'} sons of Anak, which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.			
a Gen 45 ²		... ^{1b} and they ^a gave forth their voice.		14 ^{1a} And all the ^a congregation lifted up	a 45
b 11 ¹⁰ 18		... ^{1c} And the ^b people ^b wept ^a that night.			b 226 c 142 d 114
c 5 26 13 ²⁶				2 And all the children of Israel ^a mur- mured against Moses and against ^a Aaron : and the whole ^a congregation said unto them, ^a Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness!	
d 20 ⁵ Gen 17 ¹⁸ = Oh that					
e Cp 43 [*]		... ³ And wherefore doth Yahweh bring us unto this land, to ^e fall by the sword? Our ^e wives and our ^e little ones shall be a ^j prey: were it not ^e better for us to return into Egypt?			e 52 ^b
f 31 Deut 1 ³⁹ g Ex 14 ¹²		⁴ And they said 'one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.			f 112 ^a
h Ex 12 ⁶ 6 om				5 Then Moses and ^e Aaron ^e fell on their faces before all the ^b assembly of the ^a con- gregation of the children of Israel. ⁶ And ^j Joshua the son of Nun and ^j Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of ^k them that ^b spied out the land, rent their clothes: ⁷ and they spake unto all the ^a congregation of the children of Israel, saying, The land, ⁱ which we passed through to ^b spy it out, is an ⁱ exceeding good land.	g 67 h 150 i 63
i 5 as in 13 ³²					
m Gen 34 ¹⁰		... ⁸ ^m If Yahweh ^m delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it unto us; a ⁿ land which ^j floweth with milk and honey.			j 34
n 13 ²⁷				... ^{9a} Only ^e rebel not against Yahweh, ...	k 154
o Josh 22 ¹⁶ 18. Gen 14 ⁴ Ezek 23 17 ¹⁵ 20 ³⁸ al		9b ⁿ But as for you ^k fear ye not the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their ⁿ defence is ⁱ re- moved from over them, and Yahweh is ^m with us: ^k fear them not.			l 224
p Ct 26. q 23 1630 Deut 31 ³⁰ r Cp Ex 4 ³⁰ .				10 But all the ^a congregation bade ⁿ stone them with stones. And the ^j glory of Yahweh appeared in the tent of meeting unto all the children of Israel.	m 130 n 152 o 79
		11 And Yahweh said unto ^p Moses, How long will this people ^e despise me? and how long will they not ^p believe in me, for all the ⁿ signs which I have			p 134

14^{1a} The opening verse presents a curiously mixed text. ⁵ runs, 'And all the congregation lifted up' (fem sing) 'and they gave forth their voice' (masc pl). The introduction of the 'congregation' shows the hand of P, whose formula elsewhere enables us to reconstruct his text, 'and all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured. . . ' cp Ex 16². The phrase 'give forth the voice' finds a counterpart in E Gen 45²: for 'the people wept' cp 11¹⁰ 18 J. It is possible that J's narrative ran originally 'lifted up their voice and wept' cp 21⁷ 6^b, the first verb being transferred in the amalgamation from the

'people' to the 'congregation,' and 'their voice' being suppressed as needless in view of the other clause.

^{1b} So 5 Gen 45². T *their voice and cried*. The subject may have been 'all the children of Israel' ².

³ Probably a part of Caleb's speech cp 13³⁰.

^{9b} 5 as in ³². T *neither fear ye*. When the clause in ^{9a} is removed (the margin indicates its place in P) the order of the words in 5 becomes more impressive and significant; standing as the second term in a contrast, of which ⁸ supplies the opening.

^{9b} M 5 shadow.

J E

JE

J E P

s Ct 37 cp Ex 5³t Cp Ex 15⁹=destroy
u Gen 12² Ex
32¹⁰v Gen 50¹¹w Ct 12⁸ Ex 33¹¹
x 10³⁸ Ex 13²¹y Gen 29¹³ Deut
22⁵z Ex 34⁶a' Ex 34⁹b' Deut 32⁴c' S = spared
Gen 18²⁴d' Ex 9¹⁶e' Jer 22²⁴ Ezek511 Is 49¹⁸f' Cp Is 63¹¹ 11⁹g' Ex 17^{2b} Deut
61⁶h' 13²⁰i' Gen 22¹⁸j' Ct 13³⁰ Sk' Ct 43⁴⁵ 13²⁹l' Deut 14⁰m' 21⁴ Ex 13¹⁸n' Cp Ex 6⁵

o' Ct 20 Ezek (13)

p' Lev 26³⁰

q' Cp 2

r' 18

wrought 'among them? ¹² I will smite them with the 'pestilence, and
'disinherit them, and will 'make of thee a nation greater and 'mightier than
they. ¹³ And Moses said unto Yahweh, Then the Egyptians shall hear it ;
for thou 'broughtest up this people in thy might from among them ; ¹⁴ and
they will tell it to the 'inhabitants of this land : they have heard that thou
Yahweh art 'in the midst of this people ; for thou Yahweh art seen 'face
to 'face, 'and thy cloud standeth over them, and thou goest 'before them, in a pillar
of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night. ¹⁵ Now if thou shalt kill
this people as one man, then the nations which have 'heard the fame' of thee
will speak, saying, ¹⁶ Because Yahweh was not able to bring this people into
the land which he 'sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the
wilderness. ¹⁷ And now, I pray thee, let the power of 'the Lord 'be great,
'according as thou hast 'spoken, saying, ¹⁸ Yahweh is slow to anger, and
plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and that will by no
means clear 'the guilty ; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children,
upon the third and upon the fourth generation. ¹⁹ a' Pardon, I pray thee, the
iniquity of this people according unto the 'greatness of thy mercy, and
according as thou hast 'forgiven this people, from Egypt even 'until now.
²⁰ And Yahweh said, I have pardoned 'according to thy word : ²¹ d' but in very
deed, 'as I live, and as all the 'earth shall be filled with the glory of Yahweh ;
²² because all those men which have seen my glory, and my 'signs, which
I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, yet have 'tempted me these ten
times, and have not 'hearkened to my voice ; ²³ surely they shall not see the
land which I 'sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that
'despised me see it : ²⁴ but my 'servant i' Caleb, 'because he had another spirit
with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land where-
into he went ; and his seed shall j' possess it.

... ²⁵ k' Now the l' Amalekite and the
Canaanite dwell in the valley : to-
morrow 'turn ye, and get you into
the wilderness by the m' way to the
Red Sea.

²⁶ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and
unto 'Aaron, saying, ²⁷ How long [shall
I bear] with this evil 'congregation, which
'murmur against me ? I have n' heard
the murmurings of the children of Israel,
which they murmur against me. ²⁸ Say
unto them, o' As I live, saith Yahweh,
surely as ye have spoken in mine ears,
so will I do to you : ²⁹ your p' carcasses
shall fall in 'this wilderness ; and all
v' that were numbered of you, according
to your whole number, r' from twenty
years old and upward, which have 'mur-
mured against me, ³⁰ surely ye shall not

q' 58

r' 59

s 136

t 217

u 56

v 166

w 171

x 2

y 44^bz 207^b

a' 185

b' 115^b

¹⁴ ¹³ The S text in ¹³ is much confused, cp Dillm and the versions.

^{14a} M S eye to eye.
^{14b} This clause seems due to a reminiscence of the account of the Dwelling in the midst of the camp and the cloud above it cp 10³⁴.

¹⁷ The following quotation from Ex 34⁸ may be an annotator's addition, but the whole passage has reminiscences of the scenes at Sinai. The affinities with later prophetic language (cp 21), the peculiar appeals to Yahweh's sense of his own fame among the nations ¹⁵ (cp 32¹³ Ezek 36²⁰), the reference to the ten disobediences by which Israel had 'tried' Yahweh ²² (apparently a number belonging to a systematized tradition), all render it probable that this passage belongs to the most recent of the expansions in J. The parallels with Ex 32⁷⁻¹⁴ suggest its kinship

with R¹⁰. On the affinity of J⁸ and R¹⁰ cp *Intro* i 109.

²⁵ The elements of this verse are highly perplexing. ^{25b} is reproduced in Deut 1⁴⁰ as the close of the divine condemnation following a passage in which phrases of J and E seem blended, and the parallels on the whole point to E. But ^{25a} is inconsistent with 13²⁹, as well as with 14⁴³ 45. What is 'the valley' ? In Gen 14⁸ 8 10 the word is applied to the Vale of Siddim, in Gen 37^{14b} to the Vale of Hebron, and in Joshua to other localities ; but it is nowhere used without further definition. S reads 'in the mountain' cp 45 ; this may be only a correction yet it may preserve a genuine trace, for Deut 1⁴⁴ suggests that the original may have run 'Now the Amorite dwells in the mountain' ; the entry of the Amalekite and the Canaanite would in that case be due to the harmonist cp 48⁴⁰.

	J	JE	E	P ^e	
u' Ex 68*				come into the land, concerning which I ^u lifted up my hand that I would make you dwell therein, save ^J Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and ^J Joshua the son of Nun.	
f' 11 ²⁰		31 *But your ^u little ones, which ye said should be a ^J prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have ^u rejected.			
u' Cp 34				32 But as for you, your ^u carcases shall fall in this wilderness. ³³ And your children shall be ^u wanderers in the wilderness forty years, and shall ^u bear your ^u whoredoms, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness. ³⁴ After the number of the days in which ye ^u spied out the land, even ^u forty days, for every day a year, shall ye ^u bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know ^u my alienation. ³⁵ ^a I Yahweh have spoken, surely this will I do unto all this evil ^u congregation, that are ^u gathered together against me: in ^u this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die. ³⁶ *And the men, which Moses sent to ^u spy out the land, who returned, and made all the ^u congregation to ^u murmur against him, by ^u bringing up an evil report against the land, ³⁷ even those men that did bring up an evil report of the land, died by the ^u plague before Yahweh. ³⁸ But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, remained alive of those men that went to ^u spy out the land. ³⁹ And Moses told these words unto all the children of Israel.	e' 23 d' 91 e' m ^a
u' 13 ²⁵					f' 125 ^b
2' 13 ³²					
3' Gen 37 ³⁴ Ex 33 ^{4*}		39b *And the people ^u mourned greatly. ⁴⁰ And they ^u rose up early in the morning, and ^u gat them up to the top of the mountain, saying, ^u Lo, we be here, and will go up unto the ^u place which Yahweh hath promised ^a : for we have ^u sinned.			g' 200 h' 104
2' Cp 13 ^{17c}					
a' Cp Gen 22 ³ 9					
u' 12 ¹¹ 27 ⁷ Deut 1 ⁴¹		.. ⁴¹ And Moses said, ^u Wherefore now do ye ^u transgress the commandment of Yahweh, seeing it shall not			i' 89 ^b
c' 22 ¹⁸ 24 ^{13*}					

14³¹ A fragment left over from J as the language suggests cp ³, and here incorporated with P. Gray, however, considers it the work of E, as the people in J fear to take, but do not reject or despise, the land.

³³ M. ³ ^ushepherds.—32¹³ implies נָדָדִים 'wanderers' for רָעִים.

³⁴ M. Or, the revoking of my promise.—Job 33¹⁰⁺.

³⁶ The divine words are not reported to Israel until ³⁹: the announcement of their fulfilment is thus premature, and may be due to editorial annotation.

^{39b} The source of the clause is doubtful. The change from 'children of Israel' to 'people' marks it off from P. The sequel shows decided traces of dual origin. In ⁴⁰ the people went up to the top of the mountain, whereas in ⁴¹. Moses endeavours to restrain them, and they only reach in ⁴⁴ the point already attained in ⁴⁰. The parallels to ⁴⁰ are decisive for E; and the passage joins on fittingly to ²⁵. On the morrow the people endeavour by an early and unauthorized march to evade

the divine command. The language of 41-43 is no less clearly stamped with significant expressions of J, while the mention of the Amalekite and Canaanite as joint occupants of the southern highlands ⁴³ ⁴⁶ cannot proceed from the author of 13²⁹. In ⁴⁴ the designation 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh' has probably been enlarged from a simpler phrase 'ark of Yahweh.' The statement that it did not 'depart out of the midst (or, from within) the camp' is conclusive (in spite of the word 'depart') against E in which the sanctuary stood outside the camp 11²⁴⁻³⁰ 12⁴ Ex 33⁷. On the other hand, this passage offers a glimpse into the conception of J which seems to have supplied the basis for P's picture of the Dwelling surrounded by the tribes. ⁴⁶ may contain elements of both J and E. For 'Amalekite and Canaanite' Deut 1⁴⁴ seems to have read 'Amorite,' as if from E: the final words 'smote them and beat them down' may comprise a doublet, and the reference to Hormah may also belong to E cp 21¹⁻³.

	J	JE	E	P ^e	P ^r	P ^s	
							j' 66
d" Lev 26 ¹⁷							
e" Ct 13 ²⁹							
f" Cp 24							k' 35
g" Cp 9							
h" [†] cp Hab 2 ⁴							
i" Ex 13 ²²							
j" Deut 1 ⁴⁴							
k" Cp 21 ³							
1-16 17m' wd							
a Lev 14 ³⁴							
b Lev 12							
c Lev 21							
d Lev 24							
e Ex 29 ⁴⁰							
f Lev 15							
g Ex 29 ⁵⁵ [†]							
14ff L2a:10							
h Ex 16 ³							
i Cp 213							
j Lev 7 ⁷ [†]							
k Ex 12 ⁴⁰							

14⁴⁴ As in 10³³, probably a redactional expansion.

15¹ The group of regulations in 15 comprises very varied subjects, introduced without reference to time or place. A series of laws concerning offerings 1³¹, is followed by a brief narrative illustrating the penalty for working on the sabbath 32³⁶, and this in its turn makes way for a law of fringes 37⁴¹. The sacrificial and other formulae connect it at once with P, but the want of sequence suggests that the materials may have been drawn from different sources, and may owe their present place to the compiler who collected priestly *toroth* of diverse ages. Thus the opening section 1³¹ seems to be supplemental

to Lev 2; details of the drink offering unnamed in Lev 1-7 being added to the directions concerning the meal offering which is to accompany the burnt offering. But it may be expanded from an earlier draft: the opening formula 2^b already appears in P^b Lev 19²³ 23¹⁹ 25³; the inclusion of the 'home-born and the stranger' 13-16 recalls Lev 17³ 10 13 15, and with the combination of 'statute' and 'ordinance' (§ = judgement) 15, cp 213. The entry of the second person ³ after the third ⁴ may perhaps indicate imperfect assimilation of material.

⁸ M. Or, in making a special vow.

JE

P^rP^sP^r

17-21 *lymg* 80:
 l Ct 2 5
 m Lev 18³ 20²²*
 n Ezek 44⁸⁰
 o Lev 24

22-31 *lysc*
 p Lev 4¹⁸* Hiph
 Deut 27¹⁸*

q Lev 22²⁷
 r 5 eyes Lev 4¹³
 s Ct Lev 4¹⁴

t Cp 8-11 Lev 5¹⁰

u Lev 4²⁰

v Lev 5¹⁸
 29f *lasc*

w Ex 14⁸
 x Ct Ex 12¹⁹ Lev
 17¹⁵ 5
 y 5*
 z Gen 25³⁴*
 a' Ezr 5⁴⁴ cp
 (Gen 17¹⁴)
 b' Cp Lev 20⁹

32-36 *lgbq*
 c' Ex 5⁷ 12*

d' Lev 24¹²

e' Lev 24¹⁶

f' Cp 1^{19a}
 g' 5 say unto 2 18
 38-41 *lil.m/*

¹⁷ *xl* And Yahweh ^sspoke unto Moses, saying, ¹⁸ *xl* Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, 'When ye come into the land ^mwhither ^{xl}I bring you, ¹⁹ then it shall be, that, when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall ⁿoffer up an heave offering unto Yahweh. ²⁰ Of the ⁿfirst of your ⁿdough ye shall offer up a ⁿ'cake for an heave offering: as ye do the heave offering of the threshing-floor, so shall ye heave it. ²¹ Of the ⁿfirst of your dough ye shall give unto Yahweh an heave offering ⁿthroughout your generations.

²² *xl* And when ye shall ^perr, and not observe all these commandments, which Yahweh hath spoken unto Moses, ²³ even all that Yahweh hath commanded you by the ⁿhand of Moses, from the day that Yahweh gave commandment, and ^qonward ¹throughout your generations: ²⁴ then it shall be, if it be done ⁿunwittingly, without the ⁿ'knowledge of the ⁿ'congregation, that all the congregation shall offer one young ^q'bullock for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto Yahweh, with the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof, ^qaccording to the ordinance, and one ^q'he-goat for a sin offering. ²⁵ And the priest shall make ⁿatonement for all the ⁿ'congregation of the children of Israel, and they shall be ⁿ'forgiven; for it was an error, and they have brought their oblation, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, and their sin offering before Yahweh, for their error: ²⁶ and all the ⁿ'congregation of the children of Israel shall be ⁿ'forgiven, and the ^k'stranger that sojourneth among them; for in respect of all the people it was done ⁿunwittingly. ²⁷ And if one ⁿ'person sin ⁿunwittingly, then he shall offer a she-goat of the ⁿ'first year for a sin offering. ²⁸ And the priest shall make ⁿatonement for the ⁿ'soul that ⁿ'erreth, when he sinneth ⁿunwittingly, before Yahweh, to make ⁿatonement for him; and he shall be ⁿ'forgiven. ²⁹ *xl* Ye shall have ^kone law for him that doeth aught ⁿunwittingly, for him that is ⁿ'homeborn among the children of Israel, and for the ^k'stranger that sojourneth among them. ³⁰ But the ⁿ'soul that doeth aught with an ⁿ'high hand, ⁿwhether he be ⁿ'homeborn or a stranger, the same ⁿ'blasphemeth Yahweh; and that soul shall be ⁿ'cut off from among his people. ³¹ Because he hath ⁿ'despised the word of Yahweh, and hath ⁿ'broken his commandment'; that soul shall utterly be ⁿ'cut off, his iniquity shall be ⁿ'upon him.

³² *xl* And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man ⁿ'gathering sticks upon the sabbath day. ³³ And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the ⁿ'congregation. ³⁴ And they ⁿ'put him in ward, because it had not been declared what should be done to him. ³⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, The man shall ⁿ'surely be put to death: all the ⁿ'congregation shall ⁿ'stone him with stones ⁿ'without the camp. ³⁶ And all the ⁿ'congregation brought him ⁿ'without the camp, and ⁿ'stoned him with stones, and he died; ⁿ'as Yahweh commanded Moses.

³⁷ *xl* And Yahweh ^sspoke unto Moses, saying, ³⁸ *xl* Speak unto the children of Israel, and ⁿ'bid them ⁿ'that they make them ⁿ'fringes in the borders of their garments ¹throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each border

m 85

n 180*

o 45¹

p 25*

q 168

r 146

s 115^b

t 50*

u 46*

v 152

w 120^b

15¹⁷ The demand for firstfruits of dough cakes 17-21 is not specified in 18¹⁰ though it may be included in it. The language is not altogether in the mould of P; no other law opens with 'in your coming' et 2; nor does the phrase 'eat the bread of the land' recur. The usage (though not necessarily the written law) seems to have been known to Ezekiel 44³⁰; and the phrase 'whither I bring you' 18 recalls P^b. The paragraph may, like 1-16, have had an older base.

20 M Or, coarse meal.—Ezek 44³⁰ Neh 10³⁸+.
 23 In its present form the law for atonement for 'error' 22-31 seems to depend on 1-16, as the meal offering and drink offering are to be offered 'according to the ordinance' 24, which points back (for a bullock) to 9-10. But the entire section is plainly related to Lev 4 5¹⁻¹³: in substance it seems earlier than 4 and later than 5¹⁻¹³ (see Laws 78e). In 29, the homeborn and the stranger are associated as in P^b; and the language of 31, though

peculiar, is not inconsistent with this ultimate derivation; 'despise' only in Gen 25³⁴ J; 'his iniquity shall be upon him' cp his 'blood' Lev 20⁹.

34 M Or, in error.

32 The narrative in 32-36 has a close parallel in Lev 24¹².. where older legislative material seemed incorporated in a later story: cp the secondary phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 36b.

37 The compiler's formula 2 18 is here finally attached to the law of fringes 38b-41 cp Deut 22¹². The peculiar opening 'and they shall make' followed by the change to the second person 'and it shall be unto you' 39 points to the employment of some older material. This seems to be drawn 40. from P^b. The parallel with Ezek 6⁹ in 39 supports this, and the term for 'heart' 20f further confirms it.

38 M Or, tassels in the corners.

	J E ^h	P ^e	P ⁱ
1 ^h Ex 28 ²⁸ 2 ^h Ex 25 ⁴	a ^h cord of 'blue: ³⁹ and it shall 'be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of Yahweh, and do them; and that ye 'go not about after your own 'heart and your own 'eyes, after which ye use to go a 'whoring: ⁴⁰ that ye may remember and do all my commandments, and 'be holy unto your God. ⁴¹ 'I am Yahweh your God, 'which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to 'be your God: I am Yahweh your God.		x 27
3 ^h Ezek 60 4 ^h Cp Lev 17 ⁷			y 202 z 203
5 ^h Lev 19 ³⁶			a ^h 26
1-50 Lm 1:1	1 ^h 'And Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben, .. ^{1d} and On, the son of Peleth, took ... ^{2a} rose up before Moses, ...	16 ^{1a} ^{NL} Now Korah, ^{1b} 'the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi,	
a 216 b 5 = meeting cp 105 c 14 ² Ex 16 ³		2 ^b 'with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty 'princes of the 'congregation, 'called to the 'assembly, 'men of renown: ³ and they 'assembled themselves together 'against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, 'Ye take too much upon you, seeing all	a 131 b 45 c 24

15³⁹ M 5 spy not out.—Cp 150.

16^{1a} With the revolt of Korah is inwoven another narrative in which Dathan and Abiram are the leaders. The reasons for this division are found in divergent presentations of fact, marked in their turn by diversities of linguistic usage. (1) On the one hand, Korah heads two hundred and fifty men ^{1a} 2b 17 in a movement against the religious leadership of Moses and Aaron; on the other, Dathan and Abiram ¹² make a protest against the secular authority of Moses alone ^{2a}. (2) The test of the pretensions of Korah and his followers takes place at the sanctuary 8, 16, 18-24^a whence fire comes forth and devours the two hundred and fifty; while the disobedience of Dathan and Abiram is punished at their tents ³⁶-. The clearest proof of the dual sources perhaps lies in the fact that the compiler, anxious to weld into one the fates of two sets of rebels, has inadvertently killed Korah's followers twice over cp ^{32b} and ³⁵. The episode of Korah revolves round the institutions of P, the congregation, the Dwelling, the priesthood. The story of Dathan and Abiram, where Moses acts with the elders as civil officers, bears the familiar phraseological marks of JE. Only the latter incident seems to have been known to D Deut 11⁶.

^{1b} Closer examination of the Korah narrative reveals that within the bounds of P two distinct views have been combined. (1) The two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation at whose head Korah stands, are not all Levites, for their description as 'called to the assembly,' implies that they had secular functions, and the explanation of the daughters of Zelophehad ²⁷ (that their father was in no way involved in the insurrection) proves that the rising was not confined to the sacred order. The opposition described in ³ is based on the principle that all the congregation is holy, and consequently the religious authority assumed by Moses and Aaron, and vested by them in the tribe of Levi, is an invasion of the general rights. The reply of Moses affirms that Yahweh will himself show whom he has chosen to come near him; and the sequel in 17 establishes the divine selection of the tribe of Levi as against the remaining eleven. But (2) Korah and his followers are addressed as Levites ⁸ and charged with aspiring to the priesthood; they have been already dedicated to the service of the Dwelling, and claim a practical equality with Aaron and his family ⁹⁻¹¹. The answer to this pretension is supplied in ³⁶⁻⁴⁰ where the priesthood is strictly confined to the posterity of Aaron. In the one case, therefore, a laity, ideally holy, attempts to break down the exclusive privileges of a consecrated tribe: in the other, the lower clergy endeavour to assert their rights to the functions of the higher. Now it would be natural to expect that the leader of the first movement should be himself a layman.

Wellh (*Comp* 108) pointed out that the Korah of ³⁻⁵ was no Levite, and conjectured that he belonged to Judah. In the genealogies of the Chronicler, beside the Levite Korah, there figures another Korah among the descendants of Caleb i Chron 24⁸, who is here incorporated in the tribe of Judah. If it were possible that the story were originally told of him, it would be easy to understand how the later editors should have transferred him into the sacred tribe, and provided him with the necessary ancestry (cp Bacon).

¹⁰ So 5. T with. The story of the secular revolt of Dathan and Abiram begins at this point, and is independent of Korah and his company. There is, however, good reason to believe that the elements incongruous with P are themselves not all of one piece. Thus in ¹²⁻¹⁵ the speeches imply different points of view. In ¹² 14b Dathan and Abiram defy the authority of Moses on the ground that he has failed to fulfil his promise, and he replies by entreating Yahweh to pay no attention to their offering. The basis of ¹⁵ is clearly some religious act, culminating in sacrifice, and having affinity rather with Korah's protest than with the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram. The evidence of language confirms the view that ¹²⁻¹⁵ is not homogeneous, a strong J element revealing itself, and the doublets in ³¹⁻³³ thus receive a natural explanation. In view of these conditions, and of the large dependence of D on E (cp *Introd* i 71-173), it seems natural to assign Dathan and Abiram to E. There remains, then, On the son of Peleth. He has clearly no place in P, where Korah is the sole leader (cp 'shall one man sin' ²³). Köhler conjectured that the text originally ran 'sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben' (Ex 6⁴), and this has been widely adopted (eg by Kuonen and Dillmann). But Bacon has suggested that the Korah of P's first draft was taken over from J, where Caleb and his family ^{18b} were regarded as Kenizites. The text may then have run 'Now Korah the son of Kenaz and On the son of Peleth took ...' (Bacon). The words as they stand, however, are unintelligible, for the object has been lost (if קִיָּה is correct, and does not represent an original קִיָּה). RV supplies *men*: but it is possible that the first form of the story described the taking of the offering which gave occasion to the indignant remonstrance of Moses in ¹⁵.

^{2b} The order in 5 runs 'and two hundred and fifty men of the children of Israel, princes' &c: it does not seem possible, therefore, to assign the words 'with certain of the children of Israel' to E (Bacon).

³⁰ This expression is not identical with that in Gen 6⁴; the grammatical analogy seems rather to point to 13³².

³⁸ M 5 It is enough for you.—Cp Deut 1⁶ 2³ 3³⁶ and 7^a.

J	JE	E	P ^e	P ⁱ
d 23 ²⁴ 24 ^{7*}			the ^b congregation are holy, every one of them, "and Yahweh is ^a among them: wherefore then ^d lift ye up yourselves above the ^a assembly of Yahweh"? ⁴ And when Moses heard it, he ^e fell upon his face: ⁵ and he ^f spake unto Korah and unto all ^{his} <i>fcompany</i> , saying, In the morning Yahweh will shew who are his, and who is holy, and ^{will} ^{cause} him to come near unto him; even him whom he shall ^{choose} will he cause to come near unto him. ⁶ This do; take you ^{censers} , Korah, and all ^{his} <i>fcompany</i> ; ⁷ and put fire therein, and put ^{incense} upon them before Yahweh to-morrow: and it shall be that the man whom Yahweh doth ^{choose} , he [shall be] holy: ^{ye} take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.	d 22 e 67 f 185 g 118 h 95
e 20 ⁴ Deut 23 ¹⁻⁸ Mic 2 ^{8†}			⁸ And Moses said unto Korah, Hear ^{'now} , ye sons of Levi: ⁹ [^{seemeth} it but] a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel ^{'hath} ^{'separated} you from the ^b congregation of Israel, to ^{'bring} you near to himself; to ^{'do} the service of the ^{kDwelling} of Yahweh, and to stand before the congregation to ^{minister} unto them; ¹⁰ and that he hath ^{'brought} thee near, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee? and seek ye the ^{'priesthood} also? ¹¹ Therefore thou and all thy ^{fcompany} are ^{"gathered} together against Yahweh: and Aaron, what is he that ye ^{murmur} against him?	i 53 j 140 ^b k 54 l 129 ^b m 114 n 139
f 6 11 16 40 5 = <i>congregation</i>				
g 7 17 ⁵				
h Lev 10 ¹				
i Josh 22 ²⁶ cp Jr 18 ⁶				
j 814. . ct 181. .				
k 3 ^{7*}				
l Ex 6 ⁶ Num 20 ¹² 25 ¹² m 14 ⁸⁶				
n Cp 14 ^b o Gen 30 ¹⁶				
p Ex 17 ³ cp 14 ¹¹				
	12 And Moses sent to ^{"call} Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab: and they said, ^{"We} will not come up: .. ¹³ is it a ^{"small} thing that thou hast ^{"brought} us up ^{"out} of a land ^{pflowing} with milk and honey, to ^{pkill} us in the wilderness, but thou			

16^{sb} Dillm and Bacon ascribe these words to J ('perhaps rightly,' Addis). But J's phrase to depict the divine Presence in Israel is בקרר 'in the midst' ^{JE}58 (cp ^{JE}130 'be with'), never בהך 'among,' which is peculiar to P in this connexion.

^{5a} The $\oint$ term here is קָהָל, invariably restricted elsewhere in P² to the 'congregation' of the whole people conceived as the church-nation. $\oint$ is in the highest degree unlikely that P² should have chosen his singular usage to refer to the limited group of Korah's associates. From 19²¹ it is clear that Korah was supported by 'all the congregation', i.e. the entire lay community, and that was probably the reading here. P² with his looser style of language distinguishes a 'congregation of Israel'⁸ and a 'congregation of Korah',¹¹ and this usage was introduced into P² when the secondary additions were made to the narrative. The censers for 'all the congregation' are put in charge of their representatives, the two hundred and

fifty princes.

⁷ This phrase does not fit the context, for Korah and the princes were not all Levites ^{cp} ¹²AN. It was probably originally addressed to Moses and Aaron, and may have followed ⁹, being afterwards transposed to secure a point of contact with ⁸.

⁹ 5 'Is it too little for you' Is 7¹⁸ Ezek 34¹⁸ Job 15¹¹ cp Josh 22¹⁷.

As the text stands Egypt is here described as a 'land flowing with milk and honey,' a designation otherwise reserved for Canaan. *עַל* reads *into*. If this be preferred, the complaint is that the plea of bringing them into a land of plenty has only involved them in death in the wilderness. ^{14a} *וְעַל* will then be inappropriate as repetition, and if assigned to *E* would make a better connexion with ^{14b}. According to the analysis here adopted *E* does not elsewhere use the phrase *cp* ^{13g}, but it is possible that one or two passages assigned on this basis to *J* may really belong to *E*, e.g. ^{13g}.

J	JE	E	P ⁱ	P ^e	P ^s
<i>c'</i> Gen 18 ²³ , 19 ¹⁵ 17	touch ^{27a} nothing of theirs, lest ye be ^{c'} consumed in all their sins.				x 124
	^{27b} And Dathan and Abiram came out, and ^{27c} stood at the door of their tents.				y 215 ^b
<i>d'</i> Gen 24 ¹⁴ 42 ³³ Ex 7 ¹⁷ <i>e'</i> Ex 3 ¹⁰ 4 ¹⁸ 28	.. ^{27c} and their wives, ²⁸ and their sons, and their ²⁸ little ones. ²⁸ And Moses said, ^{d'} Hereby ye shall know that Yahweh hath ^{e'} sent me to ^{f'} do all these ^{f'} works; for [I have] not [done them] of mine own ^{e'} mind. ²⁹ If ^{f'} these men die the common death of all men, ²⁹ or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; then Yah- weh hath not sent me. ³⁰ But if Yahweh ³⁰ make a new thing, and the ^{h'} ground open her mouth, and swallow them up, ³⁰ with ³⁰ all that appertain unto them, and they ^{i'} go down alive into ³⁰ the pit; then ye shall understand that these men have ^{j'} despised Yahweh. ³¹ And ³¹ 'it came to pass, as he made an end of speaking all these words, that the ^{h'} ground clave asunder that was under them.				z 52
<i>h'</i> Gen 4 ¹¹	^{32a} And the ^{h'} earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their ^{l'} households,				
<i>i'</i> Gen 37 ³⁵	^{33a} So they, and ^{33a} all that appertained to them, ^{i'} went down alive into ^{33a} the pit.				a' 127 ^c
<i>j'</i> 14 ¹¹ 23	^{33b} and the ^{h'} earth closed upon them.				
<i>k'</i> C ⁶ 30 cp Deut 11 ⁸	³⁴ And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them: for they said, Lest the ^{k'} earth swallow us up.				
<i>l'</i> Gen 42 ¹⁹ 33 45 ¹⁸				^{33b} ^{33b} and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their ^{v'} goods.	b' 155
<i>m'</i> 17 ¹² <i>n'</i> Cp 21 47 19 ²⁰ 5				^{33c} and they ^{m'} perished ^{n'} from among the assembly.	
<i>o'</i> Lev 10 ² <i>p'</i> Cp 26 4. 18				³⁵ And ^{e'} fire came forth from Yahweh, and devoured the ^{v'} two hundred and fifty men that offered the incense.	
³⁶ [17 ¹ in 5] 36-40 L10d.	³⁶ ^{NL} And Yahweh ^{l'} spoke unto Moses, saying, ³⁷ Speak unto ^{e'} Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the ^{h'} censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire yonder; ³⁷ for they ^{d'} are holy;				<i>o'</i> 12 <i>d'</i> 86

16^{27c} The unusual introduction of 'sons' into the phrase 'wives and little ones,' cp ³²52, suggests that 'their sons' has been added from E cp ³²3.

²⁹ 5 and. The duplicate may possibly be incorporated from E, cp Ex 32³⁴.

^{30a} M 5 create a creation.—Cp Ex 34¹⁰.

^{30b} 5 adds 'and their households and their tents.'

^{30c} 33a M 5 Sheol.

^{32b} As Korah is mentioned along with Dathan and Abiram

in ¹, the harmonist endeavours to include their followers in a common fate cp ^{33c}. But the doom of the two hundred and fifty princes is related independently in ³⁵.

³⁶ This paragraph, cp ⁴⁰, coheres with the secondary representation 5-11, in which a body of Levites claimed the full rights of the Aaronic priesthood.

³⁷ 5 5 indicate that this clause should be combined with the following, 'for the censers . . . are holy.' Cp Dillm, Kautzsch, Addis.

JE	P ^e	P ^e	P ^a
		38 even the censers of "these sinners against their own "lives, and let them be made ^q 'beaten ^r 'plates for a ^e 'covering of the altar: for they ^e 'offered them before Yahweh, therefore they ^e 'are holy: and they shall ^e 'be a sign unto the children of Israel. 39 And Eleazar the priest took ^e ' 27	
^q ' Ex 39 ³			
^r ' ^q † op Gen 16			
Ex 39 ³ ^q			
^e ' Ex 38 ¹⁷ 19 18			
30 ^{22†}			
^t ' Ex 39 ^{8*}			
		40 to be a ^r 'memorial unto the children of Israel, to the end that no ^e 'stranger, which is not of the ^e 'seed of Aaron, come near to ^h 'burn incense before Yahweh; that he be not as Korah, and as his ^j 'company: as Yahweh spake unto him ⁱ 'by the hand of Moses. 41 But on the morrow all the ^b 'congregation of the children of Israel ^m 'murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of Yahweh. 42 And it came to pass, when the ^b 'congregation was ^e 'assembled against Moses and against Aaron, that they ^w 'looked toward the tent of meeting: and, behold, the cloud ^w 'covered it, and the ^t 'glory of Yahweh appeared. 43 And Moses and Aaron came to the front of the tent of meeting. 44 And Yahweh ^s 'pake unto Moses ^s , saying, 45 ^r 'Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a ^e 'moment. And they ^f 'fell upon their faces. 46 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take thy ^e 'censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and lay incense thereon, and carry it quickly unto the ^b 'congregation, and make ^j 'atonement for them: for there is ^k 'wrath gone out from Yahweh; the ⁱ 'plague is begun. 47 And Aaron took as Moses spake, and ran into the ⁿ 'midst of the assembly; and, behold, the ⁱ 'plague was begun among the people: and he put on the incense, and made ^j 'atonement for the people. 48 And he stood between the dead and the living: and the ^m 'plague was stayed. 49 Now they that died by the ^m 'plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, ⁿ 'besides them that died about the matter of Korah. 50 And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the ^e 'door of the tent of meeting: and the ^m 'plague was stayed. ^j ' 178 ^k ' 178 ^l ' 125 ^a	
^v ' Ex 16 ¹⁰			
^w ' 9 ¹⁵			
^z ' Cp 24			
		171 ^z 'And Yahweh ^s 'spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of them rods, one for each ^b 'fathers' house, of all their ^e 'princes according to their fathers' houses, twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod. 3 And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi: for there shall be one rod for each head of their ^b 'fathers' houses. 4 And thou shalt ^t 'lay them up in the tent of meeting before the ^e 'testimony, ^w 'where I ^e 'meet with you. 5 And it shall come to pass, that the man whom I shall ^e 'choose, his rod shall ^e 'bud: and I will make to ^e 'cease from me the ^m 'murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against you. 6 And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, and all their ^e 'princes gave him rods, for each prince one, according to their ^b 'fathers' houses, even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods. 7 And Moses ^e 'laid up the rods before Yahweh in the ^e 'tent of the testimony. 8 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses went into the ^e 'tent of the testimony; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was ^e 'budded, and put forth buds, and ^j 'bloomed ^e 'blossoms, and bare ripe almonds. 9 And Moses brought out all the rods from before Yahweh unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod. 10 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Put back the rod of Aaron before the ^e 'testimony, to be ^e 'kept ^r 'for a token against the ^b 'children of rebellion; that thou mayest make an end of their ^m 'murmurings against me ^t 'that they die not. 11 ^k 'Thus did Moses: as Yahweh commanded him, so did he. ^h ' 161 ^a ⁱ ' 142 ^a ^j ' 52 ^a ^k ' 189 ^a	
¹ 17 ¹⁶ in ^q			
¹⁻¹¹ ^z iii ¹			
^a 7 Ex 16 ³⁸			
^b Ex 25 ²²			
^c 16 ⁵			
^d Gen 40 ¹⁰			
^e Gen 8 ¹			
^f ^q ^q			
^g Cp Ex 28 ³⁸ ^q			
^h Cp Ezek 28			
ⁱ ^q = ^{perish} 16 ³⁸			
^j Cp 153 ^b			
		12 ⁿ 'And the children of Israel ^s 'spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, we ⁱ 'perish, we ^e 'are undone, we are all undone. 13 Every one ^j 'that cometh ^l ' 51	

16^{38a} M Or, these men who have sinned at the cost of their lives.38^b M Or, souls.

44 (q) adds 'and Aaron,' perhaps to explain the following plurals: or have the words accidentally fallen out of q?

17¹² This passage may be an editorial introduction to the law which follows 18¹⁻⁷, derived possibly from an early source of P, and here appended to the Korah incident.

JE P¹P²P³

near, that cometh near unto the ^mDwelling of Yahweh, ⁿdieth: shall we perish all of us?

18¹ ^LAnd Yahweh said unto ^SAaron, "Thou and thy sons and thy 'fathers' house ^bwith thee shall ^b'bear the iniquity of the ⁿ'sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your ⁿ'priesthood.

² And thy brethren also, the ^t'tribe of Levi, the ^b'tribe of thy father, ^b'bring thou near with thee, that they may be ⁿ'joined unto thee, and ⁿ'minister unto thee: but ⁿ'thou and thy sons with thee shall be before the ⁿ'tent of the testimony. ³ And they shall ^b'keep thy charge, and the ^d'charge of all the Tent: only they shall not ^c'come nigh unto the ⁿ'vessels of the ⁿ'sanctuary and unto the altar, ^b'that they die not, neither they, nor ye.

⁴ And they shall be joined unto thee, and ^b'keep the charge of the tent of meeting, for all the ^k'service of the Tent: and a ⁿ'stranger shall not come nigh unto you. ⁵ And ye shall ^b'keep the charge of the ⁿ'sanctuary, and the charge of the altar: that there be ^m'wrath no more upon the children of Israel. ⁶ And ⁿ'I, behold, I have ⁿ'taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel: to you they are a gift, ^b'given unto Yahweh, to ^k'do the service of the tent of meeting. ⁷ And ⁿ'thou and thy sons with thee shall ^b'keep your ⁿ'priesthood for every thing of the altar, and for that ⁿ'within the ⁿ'veil; and ye shall serve: I give you the priesthood as a ^k'service of gift: ^b'and the ⁿ'stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

⁸ ^LAnd Yahweh spake unto Aaron, And ⁿ'I, behold, I have given thee the ^b'charge of mine heave offerings, ⁿ'even all the ⁿ'hallowed ⁿ'things of the children of Israel, unto ⁿ'thee have I given them ⁿ'by reason of the ⁿ'anointing, and ⁿ'to thy sons, as a ⁿ'due for ever. ⁹ ^LThis shall be thine of the ⁿ'most holy things, [reserved] from the fire: every ⁿ'oblation of theirs, ⁿ'even every ⁿ'meal offering of theirs, and every ⁿ'sin offering of theirs, and every ⁿ'guilt offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be ⁿ'most holy for ⁿ'thee and for thy sons. ¹⁰ As the ⁿ'most holy things shalt thou eat thereof: ⁿ'every male shall eat thereof; it shall be ⁿ'holy unto thee. ¹¹ And this is thine; the heave offering of their ⁿ'gift, ⁿ'even all the wave offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them unto ⁿ'thee, and to thy sons and to thy ⁿ'daughters with thee, as a ⁿ'due for ever: every one that is ⁿ'clean in thy house shall eat thereof.

¹² ^LAll the ⁿ'best of the ⁿ'oil, and all the ⁿ'best of the vintage, and of the corn, the ⁿ'firstfruits of them which they give unto Yahweh, to thee have I given them. ¹³ The firstripe fruits of all that is in their land, which they bring unto Yahweh, shall be thine; every one that is ⁿ'clean in thy house shall eat thereof. ¹⁴ ^LEvery thing ⁿ'devoted in Israel shall be thine. ¹⁵ ^LEvery thing that ⁿ'openeth the womb, of ⁿ'all flesh which they ⁿ'offer unto Yahweh, ⁿ'both of man and beast, shall be ⁿ'thine: nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of ⁿ'unclean beasts shalt thou redeem. ¹⁶ ^LAnd those that are to be

m 54^b

a 66

b 176

c 28a

d 111

e 129b

f 165

g 161a

h 39b

i 88c

j 52

k 140a

l 153a

m 178a

n 94b

o 171

p 153b

q 21a

r 88a

s 62c

t 118b

u 107b

v 90a

w 42b

x 21b

y 118a

z 35

a' 167b

1-7 ^L111a⁷
a 27. 1119 cp 162

b Cp ⁿ112
c 3^b

d 3^b
e Lev 97.
f 3³¹

g 12

h 3⁹i 3¹⁰Lev 16¹²8-32 ^L111gk 32 Lev 22²l Cp Lev 7³⁵ ⁿ59 ^L7mishg⁹m Ezek 44²⁹n Gen 34^{12*}o 19 Lev 10¹⁴

12f. 180c

p Ct 930

q Ex 23¹⁹14 ^L18bcr Lev 27²⁸ Ezek44²⁹16-18 ^L18a^b b7s Ex 13²t Cp Lev 27²⁶.17¹³ M Or, shall die.

18¹ The choice of the tribe of Levi by Yahweh gives occasion for a fresh enunciation of the duties of the priesthood and the inferior functions of the Levites 1-7, to which is attached an enumeration of the dues assigned for the maintenance both of the higher and lower clergy 8-32. The language is throughout that of P², though it is also not without affinity to P³ cp 'bear iniquity or sin' 1 22. 32, 'profane' 32. But the whole passage is marked by peculiarities both of form and substance. The laws in 1. 8. 20. are addressed to Aaron (so only Lev 10⁸; elsewhere instructions for Aaron are imparted through Moses, e.g. Lev 8² 16² 21¹ Num 6²³ 8²): and the customary formula 'spake . . . saying' is not employed 1 8 20, ct 25. Unusual phrases will be found in 2 'bejoined' 1 'tribe of thy father,' 19 'covenant of salt,' 21 31 'in return for.' More significant is the general tenor of the group of laws. The regulations in 2-7 by which the Levites are set apart for the service of the sanctuary, seem to define their functions for the first time, and altogether ignore the arrangements of 3⁸⁻¹⁰. This is confirmed by 22, according to which the right of immediate approach to the sanctuary, for-

merly possessed by the whole people, is apparently for the first time withdrawn. The language of 20 is further inconsistent with the subsequent assignment of the Levitical cities 35¹⁻⁸, but agrees with that of Deut 10⁹ 18¹, while 24 actually quotes a prior provision for the Levites, such as D indicates. It is noteworthy that there is no reference to the Dwelling as in 3; 'tent of the testimony' 7 harmonizes with 17⁷, but may be due to late editing, like the word 'tribe' 165. The references to the sanctuary 3 5 and even to the veil 7 are not inconsistent with the possibility that before the account of the Dwelling took shape in Ex 25¹, there was a prior account of the construction of the Tent of Meeting. The early character of this section is also indicated by the allusion to 'the altar' 7 ct Ex 30¹. On the priority of 15-18 before Lev 27²⁶, cp Kuenen, *Hex* 30, and for 20-32 before Lev 27²², *ibid* 311. For the supplemental character of 26-32 cp 22ⁿ.

2 M See Gen 29³⁴.8 M Or, for a portion.—Ex 29²⁹ 40¹⁵+12ab M ⁿ5 fat.

16 M Or, And as to their redemption-money, from a month old shalt thou redeem them.

	JE	P ^e	P ^s	P ^s
u 34 ⁹				b' 119 ^a
v Ex 30 ¹³				c' 61
				d' 148
				e' 37
w Ex 29 ²⁷				f' 85
x 2 Chron 13 ³⁴ cp Lev 2 ¹⁸				g' 22
y Deut 10 ⁹ 18 ¹ Ezek 44 ³⁸				h' 76 ^b
z 1-24 Lgd ¹ z Cp 8 a' Lev 27 ³⁰ .. ct Deut 14 ²² .. 29 1/ 31 5 ⁺				i' 185 ^a
				j' 96 ^c
25-32 18e				k' 12 ^a
a' Cp Dent 14 ²² d' Ex 22 ²⁹				l' 210 ^b
a' 5 ⁺				a 185 ^a b 188 ^b
f' Lev 19 ⁷ 22 ⁹				c 123 d 194
1-22 L6b m 7r a 31 ²¹				

18²⁵ The change to Moses and the appearance of the usual formula, suggests the incorporation of fresh material. This is confirmed by the curious opening 'and to the Levites thou shalt speak and say' &c, implying some previous utterance.

29 30a 82a M S fat.

30b S as in 27. T counted.

19: The ritual described in 10¹⁻¹⁸ may perhaps rest on ancient usage, but the literary form of the ordinance seems to belong to the secondary passages of P. Uncleaness by the dead has been repeatedly implied in previous legislation Lev 21¹⁻¹⁰. Num 5⁶⁻¹⁰: why have the rules for purification been so long postponed? The law would have been more in place in con-

nexion with Lev. 11-15, dealing with the contraction of ceremonial impurity. Its detached position here suggests that it was not comprised in the materials on which that group was founded. Moreover it appears to be quite independent of Lev. 23,⁶ where a guilt offering is demanded on purification; and no incident is narrated as its occasion, after the manner of Ps. The phraseology, though full of familiar phrases, shows a few peculiarities: 'statute of the law'⁷ 2³ 14; 'Elezazar the priest'⁸ 4; 'water of separation'⁹; the explanation of 'dead'¹¹ by 'any soul of a man'; 'purify himself'¹² 20 cp 821 31. 32; cf. Job 41:17 וְאֵין פֶּה, where perhaps פֶּה is a gloss; 'out off from the midst of the assembly'¹⁰.³ *M. Or. per. rect.*

JE	P ¹	P ²	P ³
b Ct Deut 21 ³		^b yoke: ³ and ye shall give her unto ^e Eleazar the priest, and he shall bring her forth ¹ without the camp, and one shall ^s lay her before his face: ⁴ and ^e Eleazar the priest shall ^t ake of her blood with his finger ^c , and ^s prinkle of her blood toward the ² front of the tent of meeting ^s even times: ⁵ and one shall burn the heifer in his sight; her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn: ⁶ and the priest shall take ^j cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the burning of the heifer. ⁷ Then the priest shall ¹ wash his clothes, and he shall ¹ bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be ⁶ unclean until the even. ⁸ And he that burneth her shall ¹ wash his clothes in water, and ¹ bathe his flesh in water, and shall be ⁶ unclean until the even. ⁹ And a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and ¹ lay them up without the camp in a ¹ clean place, and it shall be ^k kept for the ¹ congregation of the children of Israel for a ^j water of ^{mm} separation: it is a sin offering. ¹⁰ And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall ¹ wash his clothes, and be ⁶ unclean until the even: and it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the ² stranger that sojourneth among them, for a ⁰ statute for ever. ¹¹ He that toucheth the ⁶ dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days: ¹² the same shall ^p purify himself therewith on the third day, ¹³ and on the seventh day he shall be clean: but if he ^p purify not himself the third day, ¹⁴ then the seventh day he shall not be clean. ¹⁵ Whosoever toucheth the ² dead body of any man that is dead, and ^p purifieth not himself, ¹ defileth the ⁰ Dwelling of Yahweh; and that soul shall be ² cut off from Israel: because the water of ^{mm} separation was not ^s sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean; his ⁶ uncleanness is yet upon him.	e 12 ^b f 120 ^a g 100 ^c h 149 i 173 j 174 ^a k 39 ^a l 45 ¹ m 139 n 145 ^b o 27 p 143 ^b q 54 ^b r 50 ^a s 148 t 167 ^c u 190 ^b v 143 ^a w 91 x 146 ^a y 45 z 9 aa 183
c Lev 4 ²⁵			
d Ex 26 ³⁵ 40 ²⁴ Josh 15 ⁷ 18 ¹⁷			
e Lev 4 ⁶ 17			
f Lev 14 ⁴			
g Lev 11 ²⁵ 14 ⁴⁶ 15 ⁵			
h 17 ⁴			
i Lev 10 ¹⁴			
j Cp 87			
k Ct 66 5			
l Lev 15 ³¹			
m Lev 14 ⁷			
n 18 31 ¹⁹			
o Lev 14 ⁵			
p Lev 4 ⁶			
q Cp 16 ^{55c}			

¹⁴ ^{nb} This is the law ¹when a man dieth in a tent: every one that cometh into the tent, and every one that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. ¹⁵ And every open vessel, which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean. ¹⁶ And whosoever in the ^mopen field toucheth one that is ²slain with a sword, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days. ¹⁷ And for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin offering, and ^mrunning water shall be put thereto in a vessel: ¹⁸ and a clean person shall take hyssop, and ²dip it in the water, and ^sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched the bone, or the ²slain, or the dead, or the grave: ¹⁹ and the clean person shall ^sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he shall ²purify him; and he shall ¹wash his clothes, and ¹bathe himself in water, and shall be clean at even. ²⁰ But the man that shall be unclean, and shall not ²purify himself, that soul shall be ²cut off ²from the midst of the assembly, because he hath ¹defiled the ⁰sanctuary of Yahweh: the ^jwater of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him; he is unclean. ²¹ And it shall ⁰be a perpetual statute unto ²them: and he that ^sprinkleth the ^jwater of ^{mm}separation shall ¹wash his clothes; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be ⁶unclean until even. ²² And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean; and the ²soul that toucheth it shall be unclean until even.

²⁰^{1a} ⁿ And the children of Israel, even the whole ²congregation, came into the wilderness of ²Zin in the ⁰first monthⁿ.

¹⁹ ^m Or, impurity.

^{12a} ^m Or, and on the seventh day, so shall he be clean.

^{12b} ^m Or, and.

¹⁴ Another set of regulations for purification after defilement through the dead, founded on similar conceptions, yet hardly in actual succession to the foregoing. It seems less like an addition than an independent ordinance on a similar basis; it is accordingly referred by its title to the group of Priestly Teaching cp *Intro* XIII 9 1 152.

¹⁷ ^m 5 living.

²¹ As in ¹⁰. But Sam 5 2 Targ-Jon and some 5 MSS read 'you' (Dillm).

²⁰^{1a} The narrative in 1-13 is derived principally, as the margins show, from P. But fragments of other material seem to be blended with it. In ¹⁶ 'the people' as contrasted with 'the whole congregation' suggests another source; the allusion to Kadesh points to ¹⁴., and the mention of Miriam seems best attributed to E. In the Meribah incident 2-13 it is probable

	J	JE	E	P ¹	P ²	P ³
a 14 16 22 13 ²⁶		1 ^b And the people abode in ^a Kadesh ;				
b 12 ¹ cp Gen 35 ⁸		and ^b Miriam died there, and was buried there.				
c 16 ³					2 And there was no water for the ^a congregation : and they ^a assembled themselves together against ^c Moses and against Aaron,	d 24
d Ct 1 ² cp Ex 17 ²		.. 3 ^a And the people ^d strove with Moses,...				
e 16 ³⁵ 46. .						e 51
f 16 ³					3 ^b and ⁿ spake, saying, Would God that we had ^d died when our brethren ^d died ^b before Yahweh ! ⁴ And why have ye brought the ^a assembly of Yahweh into ⁱ this wilderness, that we should die there, ⁿ we and our cattle ?	
g Ex 16 ³						
h Ex 17 ³		5 And ⁿ why ⁿ have ye ^h made us to ⁱ 'come up out of Egypt, to ^b 'bring us in unto this evil place ? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates ; neither is there any ^j water to drink.				f 136
i 16 ³⁴						
j Cp Ex 17 ¹						
k 10 ⁷					6 And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the ^a assembly unto the ^d 'door of the tent of meeting, and ^h 'fell upon their faces : and the ⁱ 'glory of Yahweh appeared unto them. ⁷ And Yahweh ⁱ 'spake unto Moses, saying, ^{8a} Take the ⁱ 'rod, and ^a assemble the ^a 'congregation, thou, and Aaron thy brother,	g 111 ^b h 67 i 70 j 185
l 9 17 ¹⁰ Ex 7 ⁹						
m Cp Deut 8 ²⁵		... 8 ^b and speak ⁿ 'ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water ;...			8 ^c and ⁿ 'thou shalt ^m 'bring forth to them water out of the rock : so ⁿ 'thou shalt give the ^a 'congregation and their cattle drink. ⁹ And Moses took the ⁱ 'rod from before Yahweh, as he commanded him. ¹⁰ And	

that editorial redaction has been at work to soften the guilt of Moses and Aaron. As the text stands, the nature of their sin ¹² is not apparent. It is elsewhere described as 'rebellion' ²⁴ 27¹, which led Nöldeke to conjecture that ^{10b} in its original form was addressed by Yahweh to the two leaders. The solution propounded by Cornill, ZATW xi 27, supposes that Yahweh first instructed them to *speak* to the rock, which would then immediately yield its water. Their unwillingness to undertake this great act of faith and demonstrate Yahweh's deity ('hallow' him) to the murmuring nation led to the command to employ the agency of the sacred rod, laid up in the sanctuary ⁹. This view is highly plausible, but it assumes a large amount of reconstruction. The text, therefore, follows the arrangement of Bacon. Both critics agree in assigning ^{3a} and ⁵ to J, and Bacon proposes to allot to the same source the clause in ^{8b} which appears inconsistent with the use of the rod. The grounds for ascribing ^{3a} and ⁵ to J are briefly (1) that the strife is on the part of 'the people' (et 'the congregation,' 'the assembly,' the 'children of Israel'), 'with Moses,' et 'with Yahweh' ¹³ (and 'Moses and Aaron' ^{2 6 10}), cp Ex 17² E; (2) that the language of ⁵ resembles that of JE; (3) that the Meribah story of E has been already related in Ex 17.

20^{1a} The omission of the year is at first sight strange, considering the precision of P's customary usage. The last previous date specified the second year 10¹¹. In the itinerary in 33, the wilderness of Zin (identified with Kadesh) is the last stage before Mount Hor which is reached in the fortieth year ³⁶⁻³⁸.

cp below 22^b. But according to JE, Kadesh had been occupied by the tribes long before 13²⁶ and the futile attempt to enter Canaan by the south had been made from there, cp Deut 1¹⁹ 46. The representation of P, therefore, which put the arrival at Kadesh near the end of the wanderings, could only be combined with JE by omitting the year. The suggestion of Ewald, *Hist of Israel* ³ ii 194⁴, to omit Kadesh in 13²⁶ has not been generally accepted, and he himself observes that D already knew it there. Nöldeke first pointed out why the omission must be attributed to R (*Untersuchungen* 83; cp Dillm and Addis).

^{3b} The phraseology of this clause is peculiar, ⁵ 'and said saying.' The inf וַיֹּאמֶר is often joined to the verb וַיִּסְמַח, cp 16³⁵, but in immediate sequence (as here) it occurs only 2 Sam 5¹ 20¹⁸ Jer 29²⁴ Ezek 12²⁷ (5) 33¹⁰ 24 Zech 4¹ (cp Cornill, ZATW xi 22). The next phrase וַיִּן and would that... shows that some words must have been removed (the usage in Josh 7² 2 Sam 18¹² + is different), so that the whole passage has probably been curtailed. For 'would that' cp 14² Gen 17¹⁸ 23¹³.

⁴ The introduction of 'cattle' ^{4 80} 11 is not after the manner of P, which does not elsewhere refer to the flocks and herds and other animals accompanying the Israelites on the march, until Num 32. The formula in Ex 16³ ignores them. The word occurs in Gen 45¹⁷ Ex 22²⁸, and is probably a redactor's gloss, cp Cornill, ZATW xi 25. ^{8a} ⁵ as in 4. ⁹ *T wherefore*.

¹⁰ The word is written as in Ex 17¹, and may be equally well read 'hast thou brought us up,' addressed to Moses alone.

¹¹ A harmonizing plural.

¹² (5) 'ye shall...'

[illegible]

20¹⁰ (S) 'hear me,' שמעני for שמע נא, cp Gen 23^{8*}. As P does not use נא, cp ^{JE}186, the reading of (S) seems preferable.

¹¹ § 'the rod,' cp ^{8a}. In P the rod is assigned to Aaron, Num 17¹⁰ cp Ex 7⁹ 19 &c. The pronoun, therefore, is harmonistic.

¹³ As it is not apparent from the previous narrative how Moses and Aaron failed in faith, it may be inferred that the story has been abbreviated by R^p presumably in order to remove any shadow from the founders of the theocracy and the priesthood. The following words may have been substituted for the stronger charge in ²⁴ (cp Addis): P Does not empty the word 'believe,' cp J¹ 34. ^{13a} M That is, *strife*.

14-18 This passage is obviously cognate with 21²¹. The parallels (cp ¹⁴, especially) are in favour of El. J must have contained a duplicate story of the application to Edom, the issue of which is related in ¹⁹. The parallels to ^{17b} in 21²²

suggests that the clause 'we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left' may be derived from J cp 22²⁶.

¹⁹ The phraseology of ¹⁹ points to a new source; 'children of Israel' of ¹⁴ (perhaps harmonizing, note the plurals 'we' and the sing 'I'); 'high way' et 'king's way' ¹⁷ 21²²; 'I and my cattle,' without a word, 'pass through on my feet'. In ²⁰ et 'come out with much people and a strong hand' with ¹⁸. But ²⁰ converts the return message of hostile refusal ¹⁸ 21a into an actual armed resistance against the whole people, the result of which was that Israel turned away to take a more circuitous route. But in ^{22a} (continued in 21^{4b}) they are still at Kadesh, where they had awaited the reply to the request forwarded by Moses: they could not, therefore, have already started. The reference to the 'strong hand' ²⁰ seems to connect ¹⁸, 21^b with J. ^{21a} So *šp. T* thus. ^{21b} So *šp. T* wherefore.

²² The narrative is continued in 21^{4b}.

J E P^tP^eP^rJ^t Cp 13
25-29 L110/b:K^r 33³⁸ ct Deut
10⁶I^r Deut 34⁸a Cp Josh 12¹⁴
Judg 11⁶
b Cp 14⁴⁵ ct 13²⁹
c Cp 28
d Gen 28²⁰ 31¹³
Judg 11³⁰e 5 Gen 32¹ Ex
18²⁰ cp Gen
19⁸ Ex 20²⁶
Num 32⁴¹
f 20²² 33⁴¹g 14²⁵
h Cp Deut 21
Judg 11¹⁸
i Cp Judg 10¹⁶
16¹⁶
j 12¹
k Ex 17^{1a}
l 8 Deut 81^{5*}m 14⁴⁰n Ex 23²⁵o Ex 17¹⁵ 5p 20²² 22¹
q 33⁴³
r 33⁴⁴s Cp Judg 11¹⁸ 5

^agathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the ^tland which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye ^rrebelled against my word at the ^jwaters of Meribah. ²⁵ ^tTake Aaron and ^rEleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor: ²⁶ and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon ^rEleazar his son: and Aaron shall be ^agathered [unto his people], and shall die there. ²⁷ And Moses did as Yahweh commanded: and they went up into mount Hor in the ^qsight of all the ^acongregation. ²⁸ And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon ^rEleazar his son; and Aaron ^kdied there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. ²⁹ And when all the ^acongregation saw that Aaron ^was dead, they ⁱwept for Aaron thirty days, [even] ^aall the ^thouse of Israel.

²¹ ^rAnd the Canaanite, ⁿthe king of ^aArad, which dwelt in the ^bSouth, heard tell that Israel came by the way ⁿof Atharim; and he ^fought ^aagainst Israel, and took some of them captive. ² And Israel ^avowed a vow unto Yahweh, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will ^ddevote their cities. ³ And Yahweh ^bhearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they ^ddevoted ^tthem and their cities: and the name of the place was called ⁿHormah.

^{4a} ⁿAnd they journeyed from ^jmount Hor...

^{4b} ⁿby the ^qway to the Red Sea, to ^hcompass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people ^was much ⁱdiscouraged ⁿbecause of the way. ⁵ And the people ^jspake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ⁿye ^bbrought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, and there is ⁿno water; and our soul loatheth this ⁿlight bread. ⁶ And Yahweh sent ⁱfiery ^aserpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died. ⁷ And the people came to Moses, and said, We have ^msinned, because we have ^jspoken against Yahweh, and against thee; ⁸ pray unto Yahweh, that he ^ttake away the serpents from us. And Moses ^cprayed for the people. ⁸ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Make thee a ⁱfiery serpent, and set it upon a ^tstandard: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live. ⁹ And Moses made a serpent of brass, and set it upon the standard: and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he ^llooked unto the serpent of brass, he lived.

¹⁰ And the ^pchildren of Israel journeyed, and pitched in ^qOboth. ^{11a} And they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched at ^rIye-abarim.

...^{11b} ⁿin the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the ^ssunrising.

²⁰²⁹ Standing at the end of the sentence, these words may be an amplifying gloss.

²¹^{1a} The incident of the defeat at Hormah interrupts E's narrative of the march from Kadesh ⁱby the way to the Red Sea ²⁰²²⁻²⁹ ^{21a} cp Deut 1⁴⁰ ²¹. It has accordingly been customary to assign it to J, and in deference to the practical unanimity of critical opinion it is so treated in the text. But there are difficulties in this view. (1) According to the narrative in Judg 1¹⁷ (commonly ascribed to J) the name Hormah was given on a very different occasion, after a defeat inflicted by Judah and Simeon on the Canaanites: is it likely, as is usually assumed, that the same document provided for it a double origin? (2) Phraseological indications, 'fought against Israel,' 'vowed a vow,' the peculiar form אָרָד ^{21a}, are all in favour of E. Can this be based on the missing sequel of E 14⁴⁰ for which it was necessary to find another connexion? It may be objected (1) that the incident is not recognized in Deut 1⁴¹⁻⁴⁵; (2) that E does not locate the Canaanites in the Negeb, but in the Arabah in the east, and along the maritime lowlands on the west 13²⁹ cp Josh 11³. Yet in 14²⁵ Canaanites are recognized in the territory which Israel was to have entered from Kadesh,

apparently according to E. Each view seems embarrassed by inconsistencies, and though it is possible that 13²⁹ is redactional, the silence of D is a serious obstacle, so that critical assurance is impossible.

^{1b} The identification of the national name Canaanite with the king of Arad is so awkward as to make it probable that these words are a late gloss, cp Moore, *Judges* p 36.

^{1c} M Or, of the spies. ^{2a} So M 5. T utterly destroy.

^{2b} M From the same root as *herem*, a devoted thing.

^{4a} The march from mount Hor is the sequel of the death of Aaron 20²²⁻²⁹; but the language of 4b-9 has nothing in common with P. ^{4b} is, in fact, the continuation of the advance from Kadesh 20^{22a}, and the parallels for the story of the brazen serpent clearly point to E.

^{4b} The continuation in E of the march from Kadesh 20^{22a}.

^{4c} M Or, was impatient. 5 was shortened.—Cp Judg 10¹⁶ 16¹⁸.

^{4d} M Or, in.

^{5a} 5 as in 20⁵, perhaps to be read *hast thou brought us up*,

(5) *Sam hast thou brought us out*.

^{1b} M Or, vile.—5^r.

^{11b} As this description is not identical with that in Num 33⁴⁴

J	E	JE	J	E	P ^e
t Cp Deut 10 ⁷		12 From 'thence they journeyed, and pitched in the valley of "Zered.			
u Deut 21 ⁸		13 From thence they journeyed, and "pitched on the other side of Arnon,			
v Judg 11 ¹³		which is in the "wilderness, that cometh out of the "border of the			
w Cp 23		Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the			
x 20 ¹⁶ , 21 21 ²²		Amorites. 14 "Wherefore it is said in the "book of the Wars of Yahweh"	g	85	
y G† cp Intro ^d		Vaheb "in Suphah,			
i 19		And the valleys of Arnon,			
		15 And the slope of the valleys			
		That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar,			
		And leaneth upon the border of Moab.			
z 10 ²⁹		16 "And from thence [they journeyed] to "Beer: that is the well "whereof			
a' Ct 20 ⁷ cp Ex		Yahweh said unto Moses, a' Gather the people together, and I will give			
4 ²⁹		them water.			
b' Ex 15 ¹		17 Then b' sang Israel this song:			
		Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:			
c' Gen 21 ³⁰ 2619.		18 The well, which the "princes "dugged,	h	191	
Ex 7 ²⁴ cp 144		Which the nobles of the people d' delved,			
d' Gen 26 ²⁶ 50 ⁵		"With the "sceptre, [and] with their "staves.			
e' Cp Gen 49 ¹⁰		And from the wilderness [they journeyed] to "Mattanah: 19 and from			
f' Ex 21 ¹⁹		Mattanah to "Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to h' Bamoth: 20 and from			
g' 19 ¹		Bamoth to the valley that is in the "field of Moab, to the j' top of Pisgah,	i	54	
h' Cp 22 ⁴¹ Josh		which looketh down upon "the desert.			
13 ¹⁷		21 "And Israel sent k' messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites,			
j' Gen 36 ³⁵ cp		saying, 22 Let me "pass through thy land: we will not "turn aside into			
Gen 32 ⁸		"field, or into vineyard; we will not "drink of the water of the wells:			
k' Cp 23 ²⁸		we will go by the "king's [high] way, "until we have passed thy border.			
l' 20 ¹⁴ Judg		23 And Sihon would not "suffer Israel to "pass through his border: but	j	118	
11 ¹⁹ .		Sihon "gathered all his people together, and went out "against Israel	k	183	
l' 20 ¹⁷		into the "wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and he "fought "against Israel.			
		24a And Israel o' smote him with the edge of the sword", and "possessed			
		his land from Arnon unto Jabbok.			
m' 20 ^{21b}		.. 24b "even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children			
n' 11 ¹⁶ Judg 11 ²⁰		of Ammon was "strong. 25 And Israel took all these cities: and Israel			
		"dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the			
		"towns thereof. 26 "For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites,			
		who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his			
		land, even unto Arnon.			
		27 "Wherefore they that "speak in proverbs" say,			
		Come ye to Heshbon,			
		Let the city of Sihon be built and established:			
		28 For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,			
		A flame from the city of Sihon:			
		It hath devoured Ar of Moab,			
		The "lords of "the high places of Arnon.	l	107	

but agrees with that in Judg 11¹⁸ (apparently founded on E), it is probable that the narrative of E is here resumed. The formula in 12, differs from that of P but coincides with the fragment embedded in Deut 10⁶.

21¹⁴ M Or, *in storm*.

18a Again a fresh formula at 10 12 cp 18b: the parallels in 17 30 point clearly to J. The geographical data of 20 show that the people are still in Moab, whereas in 13 they have already crossed the Arnon which formed its northern boundary cp 23.

16b M That is, *A well*. 18 M Or, *By order of the lawgiver*.

20 M Or, *Heshimon*.—23²⁸ Deut 32¹⁰.

31 This section repeats for Sihon the message addressed in 20¹⁴, to the king of Edom. The issue is the same 23 cp 20^{21b}; but as the people are already encamped upon his territory, an encounter is inevitable. The scene of the conflict is the "wilderness" reached in 13.

34b The recital in Judg 11¹⁹⁻²², after following E through the conquest of Sihon and his Amorites, makes no mention of the

children of Ammon, and there is reason to think that 24b 25 32 are incorporated from a separate narrative. In 24b G reads *the border of the children of Ammon was Jazer* (יָזֶר for יָר) cp 32. In 25 the statement that "Israel took all these cities" implies a conquest of towns of which nothing is said in the preceding text; while 25b is a doublet of 31. 32 seems clearly to belong to the same document as 25 (cp "towns") and probably preceded it.

25 M *5 daughters*.

28 This verse has the aspect of an explanatory addition connecting the poem on the fall of Heshbon with the mention of its occupation by Israel in 25 J. It is possible that the whole poem 27-30 is an editorial incorporation, and was no part of the original E (in which case 14, may be attributed to similar insertion). Then the true sequel of 24a is found in 31 "and Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites." For corrections of the text of the poem cp Dillm, *in loc*, and Meyer, ZATW 183: (who expounds a very different theory).

28 M Or, *Bamoth*.

J E

JE

J E P⁸

29 Woe to thee, Moab!

Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh:

He hath given his sons as fugitives,

And his daughters into captivity,

Unto Sihon king of the Amorites.

30 We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,

And we have laid waste even unto Nophah,

Which reacheth unto Medeba.

31 Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.

32 And Moses sent to spy out Jazer, and they took the towns thereof, and drove out the Amorites that were there.

33 And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei. 34 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon. 35 So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him remaining: and they possessed his land.

22¹ And the children of Israel journeyed, and pitched in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho.

2 And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites. 3 And Moab was sore afraid of the people, because they were many.

3^b And Moab was distressed because of the children of Israel. 4 And Moab

1¹ Judg 1²³
2¹ 32³⁹ 41 Josh
6²⁰ 19⁴⁷ Judg
18 18
7¹ 5 = dispos-
sessed 32³⁹ Josh
15¹⁴ Judg 1¹⁹
27.

a 21¹⁰

b Deut 1¹⁷ 18²²
32²⁷ 4

a 2

21³⁰ M Some ancient authorities have, *Fire* reached unto.
21³¹ 5 and. This verse is parallel with 26, but while J specifies the conquest of the cities, E relates the occupation of the land.

23 So far as literary form goes, this section is clearly based on Deut 3¹, and is due to B⁴. Whether E mentioned the conquest of Og is doubtful in view of the silence of 22² Josh 24⁸ Judg 11¹⁹⁻²² Cp Deut 31¹.

22² The story of Balak and Balaam 22²⁻²⁴ shows no sign of deriving any of its materials from P whose allusions 31⁸ 16 25⁹⁻¹⁸ Josh 13²¹, imply a wholly different view of Balaam's relations with Israel (though it may have been suggested by some features in J). The narrative is not, however, all of one piece. (1) The episode of the encounter with the angel of Yahweh 22²⁹⁻³⁵ is plainly incongruous with the context. In 20 Balaam is divinely directed to accompany the princes of Moab, and in 21 he departs with them the next morning. But in 22 'Elohim' is displeased with him for starting; he travels apparently only with two attendants; and the story closes 35 at the point already reached in 21. As the general phenomena of 22-35 point clearly to J, an immediate presumption is established in favour of E's authorship of the passage directly preceding, and this is confirmed by the nocturnal communication from Elohim 20 which is quite in E's manner*. Are we then to suppose (with Kuenen) that the episode of the speaking ass is a detached fragment of J incorporated by E? Dillmann is surely right in objecting that the author of 20 would not thus have stultified himself. It is more natural to regard this rather as the work of B, and to inquire if there are no other traces of diversity of source. (ii) These are not wanting. Thus (1) there seem to be doublets in 3, 'Moab was sore afraid,' and 'Moab was distressed.' (2) The messengers of 5a 24¹² are variously described as 'elders of Moab' 7 (and 'of Midian' 4), and as 'princes' 8 13-15 35 40 23⁶ 17. (3) Their destination is, on the one hand, Pethor by the Euphrates 8, and on the other, 'the land of the children of his people' 8, or 'of Ammon' 8, Sam 8 9 and even some Hebrew MSS. With this latter view may be compared the representation in 24 where Balaam and his two servants travel, not across the desert, but among vineyards with walled enclosures. (4) The language of 24¹ shows some notable differences compared with 23, especially in the reference to the 'spirit of God' 1 et 23⁶ 16, and to enchantments cp 22⁷ 23²³. So (5) the

poems in 24³ 15 are introduced by a personal identification hardly needed after 23⁷, and marked by phraseology suggestive of another hand 4 16. The analysis thus yields the following parallels:

J	E
Moab's distress 22 ^{3b} .	Moab's fear 22 ^{3a} .
Messengers sent to Balaam, elders of Moab (and Midian) 22 ⁴ 5 7 24 ¹² .	Princes of Moab sent to summon Balaam 22 ⁸⁻¹⁶ 19-21 40 23 ⁶ 17.
To the land of the children of Ammon (?) 5 ^c cp 23 ⁵ .	To Pethor in the East 22 ^{6b} 23 ⁷ .
Balaam sets out with his servants and Yahweh is wroth with him for going, the angel of Yahweh appearing to him by day 22 ²² .	Elohim by night commands Balaam to go, and he sets out with the princes of Moab 22 ²⁰ .
Balaam does not practise enchantment 22 ⁷ 24 ¹ , but speaks under the influence of the spirit of God 24 ² .	Balaam speaks the word that Elohim puts in his mouth 22 ²⁸ 23 ⁶ 12 16 cp Ex 4 ¹⁶ .

Further linguistic marks will be found in the margins: in some verses the authorship must be still doubtful, as the two narratives travel over so much common ground, and the parallels founded on expressions used only once elsewhere cannot be regarded as decisive, even when the phrase shows a strongly marked character, such as 'cover the eye of the earth' 22^{6c}. A curious indication of this is seen in the use of the unusual word 22⁷ for 'curse' in both documents 22¹¹ 17 23⁸ 11 13 25 27 24¹⁰, implying, perhaps, a common redaction. The occasional signs of the harmonist's work are noted as they occur. It may be also mentioned that the versions show great confusion in the use of the divine names, due largely, it would seem, to uncertainty as to the appropriateness of the employment of 'Yahweh' by a non-Israelite. Allusions to the narrative of E will be found in Josh 24⁹. The sources of the story are of course beyond the critic's reach: but it may be noted that there seem to have been other traditions in circulation about Balaam beside those embodied in Num 22-24 cp Deut 34¹ Josh 24⁸; he is presented still more unfavourably in Josh 13²². 35 M Or, *abhorred*.—Cp Ex 1¹³.

* Kalisch, *Bible Studies* i (1877) 51, refused to recognize any such distribution, or to ascribe the 'Balaam book' to either J or E. He supposed it to be a fragment of a larger work (such as the lost books of Nathan and Gad &c), accounting for some of its peculiar phenomena by hypotheses of interpolation. But this view has not found any support.

J E

J E

J E P

c Cp 7

d 5³ cp 1 Kingse 5³ = green thing

f Gen 31

g 24¹² Gen 32³h Cp Num 20¹⁴i Gen 31²¹ Exj 23³¹ Josh 24²

k 14

l Cp 20 27 1612

m Josh 24⁹n 11 17 cp 23⁷ 13o 24¹⁴ 5p 24⁹ Gen 12³ 27²⁹q 23²³ Deut 18¹⁰r 5³s 15³¹t 11²⁴ 5u Gen 22⁵v 12²⁵w Gen 20³ 31²⁴

x Cp 20

y Cp 2

said unto the 'elders of 'Midian, Now shall "this multitude 'lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the 'grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab 'at that time. ^{5a} And he 'sent messengers unto Balaam the son of Beor,

... ^{5b} to Pethor, which is by the 'River, ...

... ^{5c} to the land of the children of "his people, to 'call him, saying, 'Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the "face of the earth, and they abide over against me: ⁶ 'come now therefore, I pray thee, 'curse me this people; for they are too 'mighty for me: "peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: for I know that he whom thou 'blesses is blessed, and he whom thou 'cursest is cursed. ⁷ And the elders of Moab and the 'elders of Midian departed with the "rewards of 'divination^m in their hand; and they came unto Balaam, and "spake unto him the words of Balak:

⁸ And he said unto them, Lodge 'here this night, and I will 'bring you word again, as Yahweh shall speak unto me: and the princes of Moab abode with Balaam. ⁹ And God 'came unto Balaam, and said, What 'men are these with thee? ¹⁰ And Balaam said unto God, 'Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, '[saying], ...

¹¹ 'Behold, the people that is come out of Egypt, it covereth the face of the earth: now, 'come 'curse me them; "peradventure I shall be able to fight against them, and shall drive them out.

¹² And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go "with them; thou shalt not 'curse the people: for they are blessed. ¹³ And Balaam 'rose up in the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak, Get you into your land: for "Yahweh refuseth to 'give me leave to "go with you. ¹⁴ And the princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam refuseth to "come with us. ¹⁵ And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they. ¹⁶ And they came to Balaam, and said to him, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, Let nothing, I pray thee, 'hinder thee from "coming unto me:

... ¹⁷ For I will 'promote thee unto very great honour, and whatsoever thou sayest unto me I will do: 'come therefore, I pray thee, 'curse me this people. ¹⁸ And Balaam answered and said unto the 'servants of Balak, 'If Balak would give me his house full of 'silver and gold, I cannot 'go beyond the word of Yahweh my God, to 'do less or more.

... ¹⁹ Now therefore, I pray you, 'tarry ye also here this night, that I may know what Yahweh will speak unto me more. ²⁰ And God 'came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the 'men be come to 'call thee, rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that shalt thou 'do. ²¹ And Balaam 'rose up in the morning, and "saddled his ass, and went with the princes of Moab.

²² And "God's anger was kindled because he went: and the 'angel of Yahweh placed himself in the way for an 'adversary against him. Now he was 'riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him. ²³ And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh standing in the way, with his sword 'drawn in his hand: and the ass 'turned asidé out of the way, and went into the field: and Balaam smote the ass, to turn her into the way. ²⁴ Then the angel of Yahweh stood in a 'hollow way between the vineyards,

b 24
c 59
d 64

e 118

f 4

22²⁴ As the 'elders of Midian' are only named in 4⁷ and then disappear, Wellhausen and Kuenen regard their introduction as due to an attempt on the part of R^p to combine the Balaam story of JE' with P's account of the subsequent war with Midian 31⁸⁻¹⁶. Dillmann, on the other hand, followed by Bacon, sees here an original element of J, founded on a tradition resembling that utilized by P. In support of this it is pointed out that J has at an earlier stage located a defeat of Midian in the 'field of Moab' Gen 36²⁶, thus associating the two nationalities in geographical neighbourhood.

^{4b} M 5 the assembly.—Cp 124^b. The language is somewhat

peculiar: the appearance of this word here is surprising in the mouth of Moab: for 'grass' cp also Gen 1³⁰ 9³.

^{5c} Sam 5 and some 5 MSS, Ammon.

^{5d} M 5 eye.—Cp 11 Ex 10⁵ 15⁴.

¹⁰ The insertion of the message without any connecting word may perhaps be due to the fusion of two documents.

¹³ 5 God. Some uncertainty attaches to the use of the divine names, which may have been editorially altered.

²² Sam Yahweh. 5 is probably a harmonist's alteration cp 20. In 22-35 5 reads 'angel of God' save in 31b 34; no doubt an intentional change out of reverence for 'Yahweh.'

	J E	JE	J E P
m ^l 5 [*]		a ^m fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. ²⁵ And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh, and she ⁿ thrust herself unto the wall, and ⁿ crushed Balaam's foot against the wall: and he smote her again. ²⁶ And the angel of Yahweh went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no way to ^l turn either to the right hand or to the left. ²⁷ And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh, and she lay down under Balaam: and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with his ^o staff. ²⁸ And Yahweh opened the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me ^p these three times? ²⁹ And Balaam said unto the ass, Because thou hast ^q mocked me: I would ^t there were a sword in mine hand, for now I had killed thee. ³⁰ And the ass said unto Balaam, Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ^r ridden ^v all thy life long unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay. ³¹ Then Yahweh opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of Yahweh standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand: and he ^b bowed his head, and fell on his face. ³² And the angel of Yahweh said unto him, Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass ^v these three times? behold, I am come forth for an ^h adversary, because thy way is ^p perverse ^s before me: ³³ and the ass saw me, and ^t turned aside before me ^v these three times: ⁿ unless she had turned aside from me, surely now I had even slain thee, and ^v saved her alive. ³⁴ And Balaam said unto the angel of Yahweh, I have sinned; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me: now therefore, if it ^u displease thee, I will get me back again. ³⁵ And the angel of Yahweh said unto Balaam, Go ⁿ with the men: but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak. ^{36^a} And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he ^v went out to meet him unto the ^w City of Moab, which is on the border of Arnon, ^{36^b} ⁿ which is in the ^x utmost part of the border. ^{37^a} ⁿ And Balak said unto Balaam, Did I not earnestly ^v send unto thee to call thee? wherefore camest thou not unto me? ^{37^b} am I not able ^s indeed to ^v promote thee to honour? ³⁸ And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to speak any thing? the word that God ^u putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak. ³⁹ And Balaam went with Balak, and they came unto ^{b^v} Kiriath-huzoth. . . ⁴⁰ ^l And Balak sacrificed ^o oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the princes that were with him. ⁴¹ And it came to pass in the morning, that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into ⁿ the high places of Baal, and he saw from thence the ^x utmost part of the people. ^{23¹} ^l And Balaam said unto Balak, ^c Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. ² And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; and ⁿ Balak and Balaam ^b offered on every altar a bullock and a ram. ³ And Balaam said unto Balak, Stand by thy burnt offering, and I will go; ^a peradventure 'Yahweh will come to meet me: and whatsoever he sheweth me I will tell thee. And he went to a ^d bare height. ⁴ And God met Balaam: and he said unto him, I have ^c prepared the seven altars, and I have ^b offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. ⁵ And 'Yahweh ^j put a word in Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak. ⁶ And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, he, and all the princes of Moab. ⁷ ⁿ And he ^v took up his parable ^o , and said,	g 84
o' Gen 32 ¹⁰			
p' Cp Ex 3 ⁹ 22 ²⁰			
q' Cp Ex 10 ²⁸			
r' Gen 48 ¹⁶			
s' Gen 33 ¹²			
t' Cp Gen 19 ¹⁰			
u' Cp 11 ^{10b} 5			
v' Ex 18 ⁷			
w' Ct 21 ²⁸			
x' 20 ¹⁶			
y' Cp 5 Josh 24 ⁹			
z' Gen 18 ¹⁸			
a ^u 23 ⁵ 12 16 Ex 4 ¹⁵			
b ^u 4 27 ^{pa} c' Ct 33			
1-7 & c 27 ^b /10d ^k			
a Cp 4 14			
b Gen 22 ¹³ JE II O			
c 3 God 5 12 15. 26 d 5 [*] e 5=laid Gen 22 ⁹ f 12 16 22 ³⁸			
g 18 24 ³ 15 20. 23 ¹ Job 27 ¹ 29 ¹⁴			

22³² M 5 headlong.—Job 16¹¹†.

²³ 5 = *peradventure* ⁶. For 𐤎𐤓𐤕𐤓 the versions seem to have read '𐤎𐤓𐤕𐤓', unless.

³⁵ The narrative is here brought back by R to the point reached in ²⁰. ^{36^b} Apparently a doublet of the preceding.

³⁷ It is possible that some dislocation of E has been caused here by the combination of the two colloquies in J and E. From ⁴⁰ it might be inferred that Balaam had not yet joined the king. Similarly ³⁹ is hardly part of the story of ⁴⁰.

⁴¹ M Or, *Bamoth-baal*.—Ct 21¹⁶.

^{23²} 3 omits *Balak and Balaam*, the subject being simply 'he' and the verb singular as in ¹⁴ ²⁰. The sequel of ² seems to have been transposed into ⁴ (so Bacon), where Balak's report to Balaam is put into Balaam's own mouth, interrupting the natural succession 'Elohim met Balaam, and put a word in Balaam's mouth' Cp ¹⁶.

^{7a} The recurrence of this formula in the introduction of the oracles both in E and J is a curious literary phenomenon, as it occurs nowhere else save in Job 27¹ 29¹. Did each document use it independently, or did one derive it from the other, or is

J E	JE	J E P
<i>h</i> Cp 22^{5b} <i>i</i> 22⁵ <i>j</i> 11 13 27 22¹¹ <i>k</i> <i>G</i> <i>Yahweh</i> <i>l</i> <i>G</i> <i>God</i> <i>m</i> Cp 22²¹ <i>n</i> 24^{27*} <i>o</i> Mic 7¹⁴ Ps 48[†] <i>p</i> <i>G</i> <i>Hithpa†</i> <i>q</i> Gen 13^{16*} <i>r</i> 2 Kings 6^{25†}	From ^hAram hath Balak brought me, The king of Moab from the mountains of the East: ⁱCome, curse me Jacob, And come, ⁿdefy Israel. ⁸How shall I ^jcurse, whom ^kGod hath not cursed? And how shall I defy, whom ^l'Yahweh hath not defied? ⁹For from the ^mtop of the rocks I see him, And from the hills I ⁿ'behold him: Lo, it is a people that ^o'dwell alone', And shall not be ^p'reckoned among the nations. ¹⁰Who can ^q'count the dust of Jacob, ^r'Or number the ^s'fourth part of Israel? Let ^t'me die the death of the righteous, And let my last end be like his! ¹¹And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to ^u'curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether. ¹²And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which ^v'Yahweh ^w'putteth in my mouth? ^xAnd Balak said unto him, ^y'Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them; ^z'thou shalt see ^{aa}'but the ^{ab}'utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and ^{ac}'curse me them from thence. ^{ad}And he took him into the field of ^{ae}'Zophim, to the top of ^{af}'Pisgah, and ^{ag}'built seven altars, and ^{ah}'offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. ^{ai}And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt offering, while I meet [^{aj}'Yahweh] ^{ak}'yonder. ^{al}And ^{am}'Yahweh met Balaam, and ^{an}'put a word in his mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus shalt thou speak. ^{ao}And he came to him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath Yahweh spoken? ^{ap}And he ^{aq}'took up his parable, and said, Rise up, Balak, and hear; Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor: ^{ar}God is not a man, that he should lie; Neither the son of man, that he should ^{as}'repent: Hath he said, and shall he not do it? Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? ^{at}Behold, I have received [commandment] to bless: And he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it. ^{au}He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, Neither hath he seen ^{av}'perverseness in Israel: Yahweh his God is ^{aw}'with him, And the shout of a king is among them. ^{ax}^{ay}God bringeth them forth out of Egypt; He hath as it were the ^{az}'strength of the ^{ba}'wild-ox. ^{bb}^{bc}Surely there is no ^{bd}'enchantment ^{be}'with Jacob, Neither is there any ^{bf}'divination ^{bg}'with Israel: ^{bh}'Now shall it be ^{bi}'said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God ^{bj}'wrought!	<i>b</i> 20^b <i>c</i> 130

it due to a common redaction? (It is somewhat singular that both here and in Job it should be employed of a non-Israelite.) The origin of the poems is in like manner a difficult problem. From what sources did J and E derive them? From the days of Ewald it has been generally admitted that the last three *m^cshalim* 24²⁰⁻²⁴ are later supplements (cp Dillm, *NDJ* 138; and for the interpretation of the allusions, *ib* 162-7, Cornill, *Eval* 70). It is at least conceivable that the others belong also to the reproductive style of after-times. In 23²² the identity with 24⁸ can only be explained by some form of mutual dependence. As 23²³ seems to prepare for 24¹ (cp Dillm), it appears most natural to regard 23²³ as founded on 24, though both J and E may have drawn from a common source. Phrases recalling the language of Gen 27 and 49 are noted in the margin, as well as some parallels with other poems: the designation 'Most High' 24¹⁰ is chiefly common in literature after the Exile (cp Cheyne,

Book of Psalms 18).

23^{7b} *M* *G* *be* *wroth* *against*.—^{mic} Mic 6¹⁰ *al*.

10^a *M* *G* *Or*, *by* *number*, *the* *&c*.

10^b *M* *G* *my* *soul*.

13 Apparently an insertion by R. In 22⁴¹ Balaam is conducted to Bamoth-baal from which he views only 'the uttermost part of the people.' Balak, disappointed in the result, proposes to visit another point of view from which he 'may see them,' i.e. plainly the whole encampment without hindrance. But this would anticipate the climax in 24³, and the limitation of 22⁴¹ is accordingly editorially renewed.

22^a Cp 24⁸ and 23^{an}.

22^b *M* *Or*, *horns*.—Cp 24⁸ Ps 95⁴ Job 22^{26†}.

22^c *M* *Or*, *oz* *antelope*, *G* *reem*.—Cp Deut 33^{17*}.

22^{ab} *M* *Or*, *against*.

22^{so} *M* *Or*, *At* *the* *due* *season*.

22^d *M* *Or* *told* *to* . . . *what* *God* *hath* *wrought*.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
c' 24 ⁹ Gen 49 ⁹ Deut 33 ²⁰ e' 24 ⁹ e' 49 ⁹		24 Behold, the people riseth up as a 'lioness, And as a 'lion doth he lift himself up: He shall not lie down until he eat of the 'prey, And drink the blood of the slain.			
j' 22 ²⁰		25 And Balak said unto Balaam, 'Neither curse them at all, 'nor bless them at all. 26 But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that 'Yahweh speaketh, that I must 'do?			d ii
g' 5* i Sam 15 ²⁰ 26 2 Sam 17 ⁴ cp Ex 15 ²⁶ h' 21 ²⁰		27 'And Balak said unto Balaam, 'Come now, I will take thee unto another place; 'peradventure it will 'please God that thou mayest 'curse me them from thence.			
		28 And Balak took Balaam unto the top of 'Peor, that 'h'looketh down upon 'the desert.			
		29 And Balaam said unto Balak, 'Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. 30 And Balak did as Balaam had said, and 'offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar.			
1-4 Jmc a Ct 23 ²⁷ 5 cp Gen 16 ⁶ h' 5* c' 23 ²⁸ d Josh 7 ¹⁸ e Cp Gen 41 ⁸⁸ Num 11 ²⁶ f 23 ²⁷ g' 4 15. Gen 22 ¹⁶ cp Num 14 ²⁸ * h' 16 Gen 40 ²¹ Deut 32 ¹ Josh 24 ²⁷ * i Cp 16 Ex 24 ¹¹ ct Ex 18 ²¹ * j 18 Gen 15 ¹ Ezek 13 ⁷ † k 16 Gen 49 ²⁶ ct FI l 5† m Cant 4 ¹⁰ † n Ct 54 o 5* cp Gen 28 p 5* q Cp Gen 28 Ps 104 ¹⁶ r Ex 15 ⁸ Deut 32 ² s 5*		24 ¹ 1 And 'Balaam saw that it 'pleased Yahweh to bless Israel, and he went not, 'as at the other times, to meet with 'enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness. 2 And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel dwelling 'according to their tribes; and the 'spirit of God came upon him. 3 And he 'took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor 'saith, And the man whose eye 'was closed 'saith: 4 He 'saith, which heareth the 'words of God', Which 'seeth the 'vision of the 'Almighty, Falling down, and 'having his eyes open: 5 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, Thy 'tabernacles, O Israel! 6 As valleys are they spread forth, As 'gardens by the river side, As 'Pign-aloes which Yahweh hath 'planted, As cedar trees beside the waters. 7 Water shall 'flow from his 'buckets, And his seed shall be in many waters, And his king shall be higher than Agag, And his kingdom shall be exalted. 8 'God bringeth him forth out of Egypt; He hath as it were the 'strength of the 'wild-ox: He shall eat up the nations his adversaries, And shall 'break their bones in pieces, And 'smite [them] through with his arrows. 9 'He 'couched, he lay down as a lion, And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up? 'Blessed be 'every one that blesseth thee, And 'cursed be every one that curseth thee. 10 And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he 'smote his hands' together: and Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to 'curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast altogether blessed them 'these three times. 11 Therefore now flee thou to thy 'place: I thought to 'promote thee unto great honour; but, lo, Yahweh hath 'kept thee back from honour. 12 And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy 'messengers which thou			a 10 ^c b 24 c 65

23²⁷ The language of Balak 25 implies that he relinquishes his project. But in approaching the parallel narrative of J, it was necessary to account for a third effort, and R therefore reproduces the preparatory arrangements of E 27 28, cp 15.

28a No mountain named Peor is known in the Old Testament. Bacon supposes that the name has been editorially substituted for Pisgah which had been already employed 14 by E. The same description of the view is attached to Pisgah in 21¹⁰ (J). Both narratives, therefore, place the scene of Balaam's blessing on the same summit.

28b M Or, *Jeshimon*.

24¹ So S. T And when Balaam saw . . . he went not. Dillmann ascribes this verse to R.

3a J usually of Deity: of man only 3. 18. 2 Sam 23¹ Prov 30¹. For the peculiar position of the word cp Ps 36¹ 110¹.

3b M Or, *is opened*.—154.

4 The analogy of 16 suggests the addition of the clause 'and knoweth the knowledge of the Most High.

8 This verse seems derived from Gen 49⁹ 27²⁸, and has consequently been suspected as an addition. But cp 23²⁷AN.

10 Apparently due to the harmonist. Cp 23¹¹ 26²⁷.

J E

J E

J E P

c' 22¹⁸d' 16²⁸c' Cp 22³⁵f' 22⁸g' Ex 18¹⁹*h' Gen 49¹

sentest unto me, saying, ¹³ c' If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of Yahweh^{c'}, to do either good or bad^{d'} of mine own mind; what Yahweh speaketh, ^{e'} that will I speak? ¹⁴ And now, behold, I go unto my people: ^{f'} come, [and] I will ^{g'} advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the ^{h'} latter days. ¹⁵ And he ^{f'} took up his parable, and said,

Balaam the son of Beor ^{e'} saith,

And the man whose eye ^{h'} was closed ^{e'} saith:

¹⁶ He ^{e'} saith, which heareth the ^{h'} words of God,
And knoweth the knowledge of the ^{e'} Most High,
Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down, and ^{h'} having his eyes open:

¹⁷ I see him, but not now:

I ^{f'} behold him, but not nigh:

¹⁷ There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,

And a ^{h'} sceptre shall rise out of Israel,

And shall ^{e'} smite through the ^{e'} corners of Moab,

And ^{m'} break down all the sons ^{n'} of tumult.

¹⁸ ^{n'} And Edom shall be a ^{n'} possession,
Seir also shall be a ^{n'} possession, [which were] his enemies;
While Israel doeth valiantly.

¹⁹ And out of Jacob shall one have dominion,
And shall destroy the remnant from the city.

²⁰ And he looked on ^{n'} Amalek, and ^{f'} took up his parable and said,
Amalek was the first of the nations;

But his ^{o'} latter end shall come to destruction.

²¹ And he looked on the Kenite, and ^{f'} took up his parable, and said,

^{p'} Strong is thy ^{q'} dwelling place,

And thy ^{r'} nest is set in the rock.

²² Nevertheless ^{n'} Kain shall be wasted,
^{n'} Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.

²³ ^{n'} And he ^{f'} took up his parable, and said,

Alas, who shall live when God ^{n'} doeth this?

²⁴ But ships [shall come] from the coast of Kittim,
And they shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber,
And he also shall come to destruction.

²⁵ And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his ^{e'} place: and Balak also went his way.

²⁵ ^{1a} ^{n'} And Israel ^a abode in ^b Shittim,

^{1b} ^{n'} And the people began to ^{e'} commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab:
² ^{n'} for they called the people unto the ^{e'} sacrifices of their gods; and the people did ^{e'} eat, and ^{d'} bowed down to their gods.

^{3a} ^{n'} And Israel ^{n'} joined himself unto ^{n'} Baal-peor.

^{3b} And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel. ⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Take all the ^{e'} chiefs of the people, and ^{f'} hang them up unto Yahweh ^{g'} before the sun, that the ^{h'} fierce anger^{h'} of Yahweh may ^{h'} turn away from Israel.

⁵ And Moses said unto the ^{j'} judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that have joined themselves unto Baal-peor.

a 26^{1b} 21³¹ §

b Josh 21

1b 14⁶c Cp Ex 34¹⁵2. 15⁵ ^h k

d § = worship

Ex 34¹⁴

e § = heads Deut

33⁵ cp 5²³f 2 Sam 21⁶ 9g 2 Sam 12¹²h 32¹⁴ Ex 32¹²i Cp Gen 27⁴⁵j Ex 18¹¹.24¹⁵ M Or, is opened.

17 M Or, of Sheth.

18 Kalisch proposes to regard 18-24 as supplemental, *Bibl Stud* i 263; he refers ²⁴ to the relations of Assyria and Cyprus in the seventh century, under Assurbanipal.

²⁰ The three concluding oracles seem irrelevant here, being concerned neither with Israel nor Moab ¹⁴. Cp 23^{7a}. It has been thought that they were added to bring the cycle up to seven. Some interpreters have found a reference to the Macedonian power in ²⁴. But cp Cheyne, *Expos Times* June 1899 399.

22a M Or, the Kenites.—Cp Judg 1¹⁶ 4¹¹.22b M Or, How long? Asshur &c.—Cp 2 Kings 15²⁹.

23a (g) inserts, And he looked upon Og.

23b M Or, establisheth him.

25¹ The narrative of the Moabite idolatry 1-5 is plainly composite, for its statements are curiously duplicated. On the one hand, Israel, encamped in Shittim, becomes devoted to the Baal of Peor, and punishment on the guilty worshippers is meted out by Moses through the judicial organization ^{1a} ^{3a} ⁵. On the other, the people are seduced by the women of Moab into unchastity and false worship of their gods; the divine wrath is kindled, and Moses is commanded to avert it by the sacrificial doom of the heads of the people ² ^{3b} ⁴. The close correspondence of ² with Ex 34¹⁵ makes it certain that this account is derived from J; the reference to the judges⁵ confirms the belief that the other element must be drawn from E.

^{3a} M Or, yoked.—³ ⁵ Ps 106²⁸.^{3b} M Or, the Baal of Peor. See 23²⁸.

	JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
6-9 L ¹⁰ _p		... ⁶ ^{NL} And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of	
k 1 ²		^k all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, while they were weeping at the 'door of the tent of meeting. ⁷ And when 'Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the 'congregation, and took a 'spear in his hand; ⁸ and he went after the man of Israel into the 'pavilion, and ^m thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her 'belly. So the 'plague was 'stayed from the children of Israel. ⁹ And those that died by the 'plague were twenty and four thousand.	a 45 b 12 ^o c 111 ^u
l 5* Judg 5 ⁸		¹⁰ ^L And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹¹ 'Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath ² turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them, so that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. ¹² Wherefore say, ^q Behold, I give unto him my 'covenant of peace: ¹³ and it shall be unto 'him, and to his seed after him, the covenant of an 'everlasting priesthood; because he was jealous for his God, and ^h made atonement for the children of Israel. ¹⁴ Now the name of the man of Israel that was slain, who was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu, a 'prince of a 'fathers' house among the Simeonites. ¹⁵ And the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur; he was head of the 'people ^s of a 'fathers' house in Midian.	d 125 ^b e 185
m 5* Judg 9 ⁵⁴		¹⁶ ^{NL} And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁷ 'Vex the Midianites, and smite them: ¹⁸ for they 'vex you with their wives, wherewith they have 'beguiled you ^v in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of the 'prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain on the day of the 'plague in the matter of Peor.	f 162 g 62 h 25 ^a
n 5† o 16 ⁴⁸		²⁶ ^{NL} And it came to pass after the 'plague, that Yahweh spake unto Moses and unto 'Eleazar the 'son of Aaron the priest, saying, ² 'Take the 'sum of all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years 'old and upward, by their 'fathers' houses, all that are 'able to go forth to war in Israel. ³ And Moses and 'Eleazar the priest 'spake with them in the 'plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, ⁴ [Take the sum of the people] from twenty years 'old and 'upward; 'as Yahweh commanded	i 131 j 66
10-13 L ^{11A} _p			
p Jer 1 ⁸²⁰			
q Gen 9 ^{5b} .			
r Ezek 34 ²⁵ 37 ²⁶			
s 54 ¹⁰			
s Gen 25 ¹⁶ cp Ps 117 ¹⁴			
t 10 ⁶ Ex 23 ²²			
u Cp Gen 37 ^{18*}			
v 31 ¹⁶			
1-56 L ⁴ tu:			
a 25 ⁸ .			
b 20 ²⁸			
c 12 ^{..}			
			a 12 ^b b 84 ^c c 45 ^a d 119 ^a e 166 ^b f 66 g 16 h 185 ^a i 2 ^a

25⁶ To the story of the Moabite apostasy the compiler has attached an account of an incident in which Phinehas slays a Simeonite prince and a Midianitish woman. But the opening of it is lost. From ^{8b} it appears that a plague was raging, thousands have already perished ⁹, and the congregation is assembled in lamentation at the sanctuary. This plague does not correspond to either form of penalty inflicted in ⁴ and ⁵: and improper connexions with Midianite women do not belong to the plains of Moab. The language at once identifies the source of the narrative with P. A late harmonistic allusion in ³¹¹⁶ connects the worship of the Baal of Peor with the Midianite women under the insidious advice of Balaam, and it is possible that the missing beginning assigned this cause for the plague, and was set aside by R³ in favour of the extract from JE.

⁸ M Or, *alcove*.

¹⁵ The word rendered 'people' seems to be a rare name for certain Arab clans, explained by the more familiar title 'fathers' house,' cp Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*.

¹⁸ The allusions in ¹⁸ to 'the matter of Peor' are certainly due to the compiler. But it is probable that the command to retaliate upon the Midianites is an after-thought, preparing the way for the later recital of the war with Midian in ³¹. The main narrative passes on to the second census, for which fresh instructions are given ²⁶¹..; the vengeance on Midian is not yet in sight.

²⁶¹ The second census obviously belongs like the first ¹²^{..} to P; but it is doubtful whether it formed part of P². On the whole, it seems better referred to P¹. The opening appears to be much curtailed. In ³ it is not clear who are designated by 'with them.' The first words of ⁴ are lost; and Dillm on grammatical grounds rejects the Massoretic punctuation of ^{4b},

so that the clause 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' stands by itself, and the phrase 'and the children of Israel which came forth out of the land of Egypt' is left suspended at the beginning of the enumeration. This, however, does not cohere with the explanation in ⁶⁴.. These phenomena show that the incorporation of the passage has not been effected without mutilation. A comparison with 1 points in the same direction.

(1) The introductory formula seems to be of a secondary character cp ¹¹⁸.. (2) The order of the tribes corresponds with that of 1 (itself secondary) save for the inversion of Manasseh and Ephraim. (3) The lists of tribal clans in the main agree with those in Gen ⁴⁶^{..}. P², though occasional divergences (see Benjamin ³⁸..) show that fresh material might be utilized. (4) The document contains sundry annotations, additions, and explanations, after the manner of a later editor, though some of these seem to be supplemental insertions op ⁸⁻¹⁰ 11 58 ⁵⁸⁻⁶¹ (where the connexion is very loose) ⁶⁴.. (5) The introduction of the division of the land ⁵²⁻⁵⁵ seems premature; the name of the land, even, is not mentioned, much less its conquest, or even the passage of the Jordan, ct ³³⁵¹.. ³⁴²..; moreover, according to ²⁷¹².. Deut ³²⁴⁹.., Moses was not permitted to cross the Jordan and could not be the instrument of the distribution. On ⁵⁴⁸ cp ³³^{44N}. (6) The phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' ⁴ is characteristic of P² cp ¹⁸⁹.. and the description of the plains of Moab ⁸ ⁶³ as 'by' the Jordan op ³¹¹² ³³⁴⁸⁻⁵⁰ ³⁵ ²⁶¹³ suggests a different hand from that of ²⁴¹. The view that the existing narrative belongs to P² does not exclude the conjecture that, like 1, it may have been based on an earlier and simpler form.

⁴ The phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' never includes any other object elsewhere, and the structure of the following clause implies that it begins a new sentence op ^{1N}.

JE P ^t	P ^E	P ^a
	Moses and the children of Israel, which came forth out of the land of Egypt.	
d 20 Gen 46 ⁸ Ex 614	⁵ ^d Reuben, the firstborn of Israel: the sons of Reuben; [of] Hanoch, the family of the Hanochites: of Pallu, the family of the Palluites: ⁶ of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Carmi, the family of the Carmites.	j 65
	⁷ These are the families of the Reubenites: and ¹ they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and seven hundred and thirty.	k 188 ^a l 115 ^b
e 162 f High Ps 60 g 165 h 162 i 165	⁸ And the sons of Pallu; Eliab. ⁹ And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. ^m These are that Dathan and Abiram, which were called of the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against Yahweh: ¹⁰ and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died; what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men, and they became a sign. ¹¹ ⁿ Notwithstanding the sons of Korah died not.	m 188 ^c
j Ct 21 ⁸ Ex 17 ¹⁵ k Gen 46 ¹⁰ Ex 615	¹² The sons of ^k Simeon after their families: of ⁿ Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites: of Jamin, the family of the Jaminites: of ^o Jachin, the family of the Jachinites: ¹³ of ^o Zerah, the family of the Zerahites: of Shaul, the family of the Shaulites. ¹⁴ These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty and two thousand and two hundred.	n 27 o 65 ^b
l Gen 46 ¹⁶	¹⁵ The sons of ^o Gad after their families: of ^p Zephon, the family of the Zephonites: of Haggi, the family of the Haggites: of Shuni, the family of the Shunites: ¹⁶ of ^o Ozni, the family of the Oznites: of Eri, the family of the Erites: ¹⁷ of ^o Arod, the family of the Arodites: of Areli, the family of the Arelites. ¹⁸ These are the families of the sons of Gad according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.	p 18 ^a
m Gen 46 ¹²	¹⁹ The sons of ^m Judah, Er and Onan: and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. ²⁰ And the sons of Judah after their families were; of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites: of Perez, the family of the Perezites: of Zerah, the family of the Zerahites. ²¹ And the sons of Perez were; of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites. ²² These are the families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand and five hundred.	q 4 ^a
n Gen 46 ¹³	²³ The sons of ⁿ Issachar after their families: [of] Tola, the family of the Tolaites: of Puvah, the family of the Punites: ²⁴ of ^o Jashub, the family of the Jashubites: of Shimron, the family of the Shimronites. ²⁵ These are the families of Issachar according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and four thousand and three hundred.	
o Gen 46 ¹⁴	²⁶ The sons of ^o Zebulun after their families: of Sered, the family of the Seredites: of Elon, the family of the Elonites: of Jahleel, the family of the Jahleelites. ²⁷ These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.	
p Gen 46 ²⁰	²⁸ The sons of ^p Joseph after their families: Manasseh and Ephraim. ²⁹ The sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites: and Machir begat Gilead: of Gilead, the family of the Gileadites. ³⁰ These are the sons of Gilead: [of] ^o Jezer, the family of the Jezerites: of Helek, the family of the Helekites: ³¹ and [of] Asriel, the family of the Asrielites: and [of] Shechem, the family of the Shechemites: ³² and [of] Shemida, the family of the Shemidaites: and [of] Hephher, the family of the Hephherites. ³³ And Zelophehad the son of Hephher had no sons, but daughters: and the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. ³⁴ These are the families of Manasseh: and they that were numbered of them were fifty and two thousand and seven hundred.	r 30

²⁶ The references in 8-10 rest on 16 in its present composite form. If this census-list belongs to P^E, this passage must be regarded as a later insertion.

¹¹ A separate addition to account for the survival of families tracing descent from Korah.

^{12a} M In Gen 46¹⁰ Ex 615 ¹⁶ Nemuel.

^{12b} M In 1 Chron 4²⁴ Jarib.

¹³ M In Gen 46¹⁰ Zohar.

¹⁶ M In Gen 46¹⁶ Esbon.

¹⁷ M In Gen 46¹⁰ Arod.

²⁴ M In Gen 46¹³ Iob.

³⁰ M In Josh 17² Abiezer. See Judg 611 24 34.

¹⁵ M In Gen 46¹⁶ Ziphion.

JE P^aP^aP^a

³⁵ These are the sons of Ephraim after their families: of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthelahites: of ³⁶Becher, the family of the Becherites: of Tahan, the family of the Tahanites. ³⁶ And these are the sons of Shuthelah: of Eran, the family of the Eranites. ³⁷ These are the families of the sons of Ephraim according to those that were numbered of them, thirty and two thousand and five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph after their families.

7 Gen 46²¹

³⁸ The sons of ³⁹Benjamin after their families: of Bela, the family of the Belaïtes: of Ashbel, the family of the Ashbelites: of ⁴⁰Ahram, the family of the Ahramites: ³⁹ of ⁴¹Shephupham, the family of the Shuphamites: of Hupham, the family of the Huphamites. ⁴⁰ And the sons of Bela were ⁴¹Ard and Naaman: [of Ard], the family of the Ardites: of Naaman, the family of the Naamites. ⁴¹ These are the sons of Benjamin after their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and six hundred.

7 Gen 46²³

⁴² These are the sons of ⁴³Dan after their families: of ⁴⁴Shuham, the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan after their families. ⁴³ All the families of the Shuhamites, according to those that were numbered of them, were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.

8 Gen 46¹⁷

⁴⁴ The sons of ⁴⁵Asher after their families: of Imnah, the family of the Imnites: of Ishvi, the family of the Ishvites: of Beriah, the family of the Beriites. ⁴⁵ Of the sons of Beriah: of Heber, the family of the Heberites: of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites. ⁴⁶ And the name of the daughter of Asher was Serah. ⁴⁷ These are the families of the sons of Asher according to those that were numbered of them, fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

t Gen 46²⁴

⁴⁸ The sons of ⁴⁹Naphtali after their families: of Jahzeel, the family of the Jahzeelites: of Guni, the family of the Gunites: ⁴⁹ of Jezer, the family of the Jezerites: of Shillem, the family of the Shillemites. ⁵⁰ These are the families of Naphtali according to their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and four hundred.

52-56 L⁴u^c

⁵¹ These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty.

v 33⁵⁴

⁵² ⁵³And Yahweh ⁵⁴spake unto Moses, saying, ⁵³ Unto these the land shall be divided ⁵⁴for an inheritance according to the number of names. ⁵⁴ To the ⁵⁵more thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one ⁵⁶according to those that were numbered of him shall his inheritance be given. ⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: ⁵⁶according to the names of the ⁵⁷tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. ⁵⁶ According to the lot shall their inheritance be divided between the more and the fewer.

s 96^ct 19^bu 18^mv 16⁵57-62 L⁴p^b

⁵⁷ ⁵⁸And these are they that were numbered of the Levites after their families: of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites: of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites: of Merari, the family of the Merarites. ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹These are the families of Levi: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korahites. And Kohath ⁶⁰begat Amram.

v Ex 6²⁰

⁵⁹ And the name of Amram's wife was ⁶⁰Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt: and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister. ⁶⁰ And unto Aaron were born ⁶¹Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. ⁶¹ And Nadab and Abihu ⁶²died, when they offered strange fire before Yahweh. ⁶² And they that were numbered of them were twenty and three thousand, ⁶³every male from a ⁶⁴month old and upward: for they ⁶⁴were not numbered among the children of Israel, because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.

w 107^bx 115^c58 Ex 6²³2 Lev 10¹y 3¹⁵

⁶³ These are they that were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest;

26³⁵ M In 1 Chron 7²⁰ Bereb.58 M In Gen 46²¹ Ehi in 1 Chron 8¹ Aharah.59 M In Gen 46²¹ Muppim, and Huppim.40 M In 1 Chron 8¹ Adar.42 M In Gen 46²³ Hushim.

⁵⁸ This enumeration of the Levitical clans seems to be a fragment thrust in by a compiler unwilling to leave anything on one side. Its source is unknown, and its statements neither fit the context nor agree with other lists 31⁸. . . and Ex 61⁷. . .

JE P^aP^gP^sz 14²⁹a' 14³⁷⁻³⁸1-11 13g^c
a 26³⁸b 16¹¹
c 16⁵
d 14³⁵
e 36³ cp 9⁷ Lev
27¹⁸ Ex 5¹¹f Cp Lev 24¹²
Num 9⁸ 15³⁴
et Ex 18¹⁹ 5¹
g 36⁵ Ex 10²⁹h 36⁸
i 35²⁹†
j 19k 334⁷ Deut 32⁴⁹l 20²⁴m 20¹⁸ Deut 32⁵¹15 14w^d
n 16¹²o 21 Cp Deut 31²
Josh 14¹¹
p Cp 1 Chron 11²q Deut 34⁹r 23 Deut 32⁸s 5^{*}

who numbered the children of Israel in the 'plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. ⁶⁴ But among these there was not a man of ²them that were numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest; who numbered the children of Israel in the 'wilderness of Sinai. ⁶⁵ For Yahweh had said of them, "They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

²⁷¹ Then drew near the daughters of "Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the "families of Manasseh the son of Joseph: and ^bthese are the names of his daughters; Mahlah, Noah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Tirzah. ² And they stood before Moses, and before "Eleazar the priest, and before the "princes and all the "congregation, at the 'door of the tent of meeting, saying, ³ Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not among the "company of them that ^bgathered themselves together against Yahweh in the company of "Korah: but he 'died in his own sin; and he had no sons. ⁴ Why should the name of our father be "taken away from among his "family, because he had no son? Give unto us a "possession among the brethren of our father. ⁵ And Moses 'brought their cause before Yahweh. ⁶ And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ⁷ The daughters of Zelophehad "speak right': thou shalt surely give them a "possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them. ⁸ And thou shalt ^bspeak unto the children of Israel, saying, 'If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. ⁹ And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. ¹⁰ And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. ¹¹ And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his 'kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall ^bpossess it: and it shall ^kbe unto the children of Israel a 'statute of judgement', ¹² as Yahweh commanded Moses.

¹² And Yahweh said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain of ^kAbarim, and behold the land which I have given unto the children of Israel. ¹³ And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be "gathered unto thy people, as 'Aaron thy brother was gathered: ¹⁴ because ye 'rebelled against my word in the wilderness of "Zin, in the strife of the "congregation, "to 'sanctify me at the waters before their eyes. (^bThese are the waters of "Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.)

¹⁵ And Moses ^bspake unto Yahweh, saying, ¹⁶ Let Yahweh, the "God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, ¹⁷ which may 'go out before them, and which may come in before them, and which may ^plead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of Yahweh be not as sheep which have no shepherd. ¹⁸ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the "spirit, and ^play thine hand upon him; ¹⁹ and "set him before "Eleazar the priest, and before all the "congregation; and "give him a charge in their sight.

²⁰ And thou shalt put of thine 'honour upon him, that all the "congregation

y 7

a 65
b 188^ac 12^b
d 13¹
e 45
f 11^bg 127^b
h 185^ai 190^cj 101
k 27l 189^c

m 75

n 9
o 86^dp 102
q 141

²⁷¹ The petition of the daughters of Zelophehad 1-11 is closely connected with 26 cp ³². Its theme has the same aspect as that of 26³²... cp 26¹³. Phraseologically the passage follows the usage of P, but it shows occasional and noteworthy peculiarities, e.g. ⁵ 'brought their cause (5 judgement) before Yahweh' †; ⁷ 'speak right' ³⁶ nowhere else in P; ¹¹ 'possess' ³⁶, וַיִּשָּׂא לָהֶם (2127), elsewhere in P only Gen 28⁴ Lev 20²⁴ P^h (allied with J) 25⁴⁶ P^s Num 33⁶³ P^s (all save Lev 25⁴⁰ after 'give') et 181; 'a statute of judgement' ³⁵ 29⁴; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 189^c, which sounds especially incongruous at the close of the answer of Yahweh 6-11. On the other hand the plea in ³ that Zelophehad was not among the princes associated with Korah points to dependence on the earlier form of P's narrative 16²⁻⁷ before Korah and his followers were converted into Levites.

¹² This passage is obviously connected with Deut 32⁴⁸... but the relation of the two has been variously estimated. Did the

same author reproduce his own words in another connexion? Or, if they are not both from the same hand, which is the original and which the copy? The phraseology of Deut 32⁴⁸⁻⁵² bears every characteristic mark of P^g, and does not appear like an expansion of 12-14. On the other hand, (1) the opening of ¹² lacks P's customary formula of the divine address; (2) the prohibition in Deut 32^{52b} is omitted, so that the occasion for the appointment of Joshua as leader is not so clearly emphasized; (3) the explanation in 14^b seems due to an annotator. The view of Dillmann is therefore adopted here, according to which Deut 32⁴⁸⁻⁵² once stood before Num 27¹⁵. When D was incorporated before the record of the death of Moses, the long separation of the event from this passage led to the transfer or the divine command to its present position in Deut 32⁴⁸... and the vacant place was filled in Num 27¹²⁻¹⁴ by an editorial abstract. ¹⁴ M See 20¹².

JE P^rP^sP^r

t *ḥ* = *harken*
Deut 34⁹
21 *ḥ* = *harken*
u Ex 2380

28-70/9a/
a Lev 24²
b Lev 12

c *ḥ* may set fruits
cp Lev 23²
3-8 17dc

d *ḥ* made cp Ex
3824
7 17we

e 63 Lev 10⁹

f 19b/
f Lev 23³

11-15 19cb
g 1010f

14 17we

16 19dh
h Lev 23⁵
17-23 19g/
i Lev 23⁶
j Lev 23⁷

of the children of Israel may 'obey. ²¹ *L* And he shall stand before 'Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the judgement of the "Urim before Yahweh: at his word shall they 'go out, and 'at his word they shall come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the 'congregation. ²² And Moses 'did as Yahweh commanded him: and he took Joshua, and 'set him before 'Eleazar the priest, and before all the 'congregation: ²³ and he 'laid his hands upon him, and 'gave him a charge, as Yahweh spake 'by the hand of Moses".

²⁸ *L* And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² "Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, My 'oblation, my 'food for my offerings made by fire, of a sweet savour unto me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in 'their 'due season. ³ *L* And thou shalt say unto them, 'This is the offering made by fire which ye shall offer unto Yahweh; he-lambs of the first year without blemish, two day by day, for a continual burnt offering. ⁴ The one lamb shalt thou 'offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer 'at even; ⁵ and the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil. ⁶ It is a continual burnt offering, which was 'ordained in mount 'Sinai for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ⁷ *L* And the drink offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb: in the 'holy place shalt thou pour out a 'drink offering of 'strong drink unto Yahweh. ⁸ And the other lamb shalt thou 'offer 'at even: as the meal offering of the morning, and as the drink offering thereof, thou shalt 'offer it, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

⁹ *L* And on the 'sabbath day two he-lambs of the first year without blemish, and two tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof: ¹⁰ 'this is the burnt offering of every sabbath, 'beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.

¹¹ *L* And in the 'beginnings of your months' ye shall offer a burnt offering unto Yahweh; two young bullocks, and one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; ¹² and three tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for each bullock; and two tenth parts of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for the one ram; ¹³ and a several tenth part of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering unto every lamb; for a burnt offering of a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ¹⁴ *L* And their drink offerings shall be half an hin of wine for a bullock, and the third part of an hin for the ram, and the fourth part of an hin for a lamb: 'this is the burnt offering of every month 'throughout the months of the year. ¹⁵ And one he-goat for a sin offering unto Yahweh; it shall be offered 'beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.

¹⁶ *L* And in the 'first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, is Yahweh's passover. ¹⁷ *L* And on the 'fifteenth day of this month shall be a feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. ¹⁸ In the 'first day shall be an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: ¹⁹ but ye shall

²⁷ It might have been expected that the narrative of the death of Moses would follow at this point, like that of Aaron after the investiture of Eleazar 20²⁸⁻²⁹. On the reasons for regarding the materials in 28-36 as secondary additions see the notes to the successive sections, and cp *Intro* xiii 10a i 154.

²⁸ The catalogue of sacrifices in 28-29 is a summary of the dues required for the service of the altar. Its terminology harmonizes in the main with that of Lev 1-7; and its annual order is modelled on that of Lev 23. But it seems to belong to the secondary materials of P, for (1) it occurs in the midst of a group of other secondary passages; (2) it is widely separated from other ritual detail, and had P^s contained any such list it would have been natural to look for it in connexion with the calendar in Lev 23 (why should the feasts be ordained in the first year of the wanderings, and the accompanying offerings only in the last?); and (3) it incorporates the new moon festivals

28¹¹⁻¹⁶ unrecognized in Lev 23 cp Num 10¹⁰; (4) it lays unusual stress on the great autumn feast 29¹²⁻²⁸, though the ancient title is ignored; (5) it contains some delicate phraseological variations, e.g. 'my food for my fire-offerings' 'observe to offer' 28³, 'ordained in Mount Sinai' 28⁶, 'drink offering of strong drink' 28⁷, the drink offering (here very prominent) being unnamed in Lev 1-7 (cp Lev 23¹³ 18 37), 'day of the firstfruits' 28²⁶, 'according unto their ordinance' 29⁶ 33 cp 18 21 24 27 30 37.

² M. *ḥ* bread.—Cp Lev 31¹.

³ M. See Ex 29³⁸⁻⁴².—The reference in ⁸ seems clearly to depend on the law in Exodus; but it is possible that that law has been itself worked over with reference to this passage (cp Lev 23¹⁸).

⁴ M. *ḥ* between the two evenings.—⁷ 32.

⁷ Elsewhere in Hex only in the sense of 'strong drink' Lev 10⁹ Num 6⁸ Deut 14²⁶ 29⁶.

JE P^eP^eP^s^k Lev 23⁸

^koffer an offering made by fire, a burnt offering unto Yahweh; two young bullocks, and one ram, and seven he-lambs of the first year: they shall be unto you without blemish: ²⁰ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil: three tenth parts shall ye offer for a bullock, and two tenth parts for the ram; ²¹ a several tenth part shalt thou ^ooffer for every lamb of the seven lambs; ²² and one he-goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you. ²³ Ye shall offer these ^hbeside the burnt offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering. ²⁴ After this manner ye shall ^ooffer daily, for seven days, the ^hfood of the offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: it shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof. ²⁵ And on the ^hseventh day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.

26-31 Lg^f

/ 57

^m Lev 23¹⁶ⁿ Ex 34²²^o Lev 23²¹^p Cp Lev 23¹⁸

²⁶ ^hAlso in the ^hday of the firstfruits^l, when ye offer a ^mnew meal offering unto Yahweh in your ^hfeast of ⁿweeks, ye shall have an ^hholy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: ²⁷ but ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; ²⁸ two young bullocks, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; ²⁹ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for each bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, ³⁰ a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; ³¹ one he-goat, to make atonement for you. ^hBeside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, ye shall ^ooffer them (they shall be unto you without blemish), and their drink offerings.

1-6 Lg^gb^a Lev 23²⁴

²⁹ ^hAnd in the ^hseventh month, on the first day of the month, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: it is a day of blowing of trumpets unto you. ² And ye shall ^ooffer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the ram, ⁴ and one tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; ⁵ and one he-goat for a sin-offering, to make atonement for you: ⁶ ^hbeside the burnt offering of the ^hnew moon, and the meal offering thereof, and the continual burnt offering and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings, ^haccording unto their ordinance, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.

a 117

^b 5 month 23¹¹^c 33 cp 18 Lev 5¹⁰7-11 Lg^hd^d Lev 23²⁷^e Lev 23²⁸

⁷ ^hAnd on the ^htenth day of this seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; and ye shall afflict your souls; ye shall ^odo no manner of work: ⁸ but ye shall offer a burnt offering unto Yahweh for a sweet savour; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; they shall be unto you without blemish: ⁹ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, ¹⁰ a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs: ¹¹ one he-goat for a sin offering; ^hbeside the sin offering of atonement, and the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.

b 31

12-28 Lg^{ir}^f Lev 23³⁹

¹² ^hAnd on the ^hfifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work, and ye shall keep a feast unto Yahweh seven days: ¹³ and ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh; thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish: ¹⁴ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth parts for each ram of the two rams, ¹⁵ and a several tenth part for every lamb of the fourteen lambs: ¹⁶ and one he-goat for a sin offering; ^hbeside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

¹⁷ And on the ^hsecond day [ye shall offer] twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ¹⁸ and their

JE P¹

P²

P³

21 24 27 30 37
Lev 5¹⁰

meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, "after the ordinance: ¹⁹ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.

²⁰ And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; ²¹ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ²² and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

²³ And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ²⁴ their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ²⁵ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

²⁶ And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ²⁷ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ²⁸ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

²⁹ And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³⁰ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ³¹ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offerings thereof.

³² And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³³ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, "after ³⁴the ordinance: ³⁴ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

³⁵ On the eighth day ye shall have a "solemn assembly: ye shall do no servile work: ³⁶ but ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: one bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³⁷ their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the ordinance: ³⁸ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

³⁹ ³⁹ These ye shall offer unto Yahweh in your "set feasts, beside your vows, and your freewill offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your meal offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings. ⁴⁰ And Moses told the children of Israel according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses.

³⁰ ³⁰ And Moses "spake unto the "heads of the "tribes" of the children of Israel, "saying, "This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded. ² "When a man voweth a vow unto Yahweh, or sweareth an oath to bind his soul with a "bond, he shall not "break his word; he shall do according to all that "proceedeth out of his mouth. ³ Also "when a woman voweth a vow unto Yahweh, and bindeth herself by a bond, being

⁴⁰ [30¹ in 35]

j 5 30¹

1-16 LgE.

a 1 Kings 8¹

2 Chron 5²† ep

32²⁸ Josh 14¹

21¹

b 2 6 8 10-14 35†

c Cp 12 32²⁴ Deut

(8³) 23²⁸*

c 118^c

a 185^a

b 165^b

c 188^b

d 190^c

29²⁵ M. See Lev 23³⁶.
30¹ The law of vows here set forth is not connected directly with previous specific ordinances Lev 27 Num 6, but it regulates their general force. It plainly belongs to the collection of P, but does not appear to be from the hand of P². The style of the law, with its successive cases, indicates the advance of legal distinctions characteristic of P², and with this the phraseological indications correspond. The formula 'heads of the tribes' appears elsewhere only in the later Levitical additions

in 1 Kings 8¹ (ep 35) and the parallel in 2 Chron 5². Other expressions like 'bind with a bond' 'break his word' ² 'rash utterance' ³, are only found here; while 'afflict the soul' ¹³ is employed in a sense not quite harmonious with P²'s customary usage. The phrase 'bear her iniquity' ¹⁵ (where Sam 9 read 'his iniquity') shows some affinity with P¹ ep 193; and it is possible that this law may have been amplified from a briefer and earlier form.

² M. 5 profane.—In this connexion † ep Ezek 39⁷.

JE P ^a	P ^b	P ^c
d 8 11 et 327 9 Ps 33 ¹⁰ 141 ⁶ †		
e 8 5†		
f 12. 15 25 ³¹ Gen 17 ¹⁴ Lev 26 ¹⁵ 44 Deut 37 ¹⁶ 20*		
g Lev 27		
1-54 14m†		
a 5*		
b Cp 27 ¹² .		
c 3217 50 Niph*		
d Jer 50 ¹⁵ 28 57 ¹¹ cp Jer 11 ²⁰ 20 ¹² Ezek 25 ¹⁴ 17†		
e Cp 16†		
f 10 ⁹		
g Gen 34 ²⁵		
h Josh 13 ²² i Josh 13 ²¹ j 25 ¹⁵		
k Gen 34 ²⁹		
l 5 = beasts 11 Gen 34 ²³ cp 36 ⁸ Num 32 ²⁶		
m 5 = cattle Gen 34 ²³ n Gen 25 ¹⁶ o Josh 6 ²⁴ p 12 26. 32 Is 49 ²⁴ †		
q 22 ¹		
r Cp Jb 83 Ex 187 Num 22 ³⁶		

in her father's house, in her youth; ⁴ and her father heareth her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father holdeth his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. ⁵ But if her father ^ddisallow her in the day that he heareth; none of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and Yahweh shall forgive her, because her father ^ddisallowed her. ⁶ And if she be [married] to a husband, while her vows are upon her, or the 'rash utterance' of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul; ⁷ and her husband hear it, and hold his peace at her in the day that he heareth it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. ⁸ But if her husband ^ddisallow her in the day that he heareth it; then he shall /make void her vow which is upon her, and the 'rash utterance' of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul: and Yahweh shall forgive her. ⁹ But the vow of a widow, or of her that is ^ddivorced, [even] every thing wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand against her. ¹⁰ And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath, ¹¹ and her husband heard it, and held his peace at her, and ^ddisallowed her not; then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound her soul shall stand. ¹² But if her husband /made them null and void in the day that he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and Yahweh shall forgive her. ¹³ Every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may /make it void. ¹⁴ But if her husband altogether hold his peace at her from day to day; then he establisheth all her vows, or all her bonds, which are upon her: he hath established them, because he held his peace at her in the day that he heard them. ¹⁵ But if he shall /make them null and void after that he hath heard them; then he shall /bear her iniquity. ¹⁶ These are the statutes, which Yahweh commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between a father and his daughter, being in her youth, in her father's house.

31¹ ¹² And Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses, saying, ² ^aAvenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: ^bafterward shalt thou be ^bgathered unto thy people. ³ And Moses ^aspake unto the people, saying, ^aArm ye men from among you for the ^cwar, that they may go against Midian, to execute ^dYahweh's vengeance^d on Midian. ⁴ Of every ^ctribe a thousand, ^cthroughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the ^cwar. ⁵ So there were ^edelivered, out of the ^fthousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for ^cwar. ⁶ And Moses sent them, a thousand of every ^ctribe, to the ^cwar, them and ^gPhinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the vessels of the ^hsanctuary and the ⁱtrumpets for the alarm in his hand. ⁷ And they ^jwarred against Midian, ^jas Yahweh commanded Moses; and they ^kslew ^kevery male. ⁸ And they ^kslew the kings of Midian with the rest of their ^lslain; ^lEvi, and Rekem, and ^jZur, and Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they ^kslew with the sword. ⁹ And the children of Israel ^ktook captive the women of Midian and their ^klittle ones; and all their ^ccattle, and all their ^mflocks, and all their ^kgoods, they ^ktook for a prey. ¹⁰ And all their cities in the ^lplaces wherein they dwelt^l, and all their ⁿencampments, they ^oburnt with fire. ¹¹ And they took all the spoil, and all the ^pprey, ^mboth of man and of beast. ¹² And they brought the captives, and the ^pprey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and unto ⁿEleazar the priest, and unto the ^ocongregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the ^pplains of Moab, which are by the ^qJordan at Jericho.

¹³ And Moses, and ⁿEleazar the priest, and all the ^qprinces of the ^ocongregation, went forth to ^rmeet them ^rwithout the camp. ¹⁴ And Moses was

31¹ The inclusion of 31 in P is amply justified by the margins. But various reasons, both of matter and style, unmistakably indicate its secondary character, apart from the question whether the author intended to lay down any permanent law for the distribution of booty in war (cf Deut 13¹⁶. 20¹⁴). (1) The vengeance to be inflicted on Midian is awkwardly placed after the instructions for Moses' death and the appointment of his successor 27¹²⁻²³: Joshua is ignored, and Phinehas apparently takes the command ⁶: the reference in 2 may be due to R (Dillm), but it may also be a sign of the author's own adaptation to the previous narrative. (2) The Midianites are led by five kings ⁸, among them being Zur, who, however, in 25¹⁵ is only 'head of a fathers' house.' (3) The introduction of Eleazar as legislator ²¹., qualifying the commands of Moses, has no parallel

in P. (4) The writer seems to have been acquainted with P's story in Gen 34 cp 7⁹, but he uses other terms, e.g. 'spoil' ¹¹ cp Gen 45²⁷ Ex 15⁹ Deut 13¹⁷ ^{al}, 'both man and beast' ¹¹. (5) The general phraseology shows a considerable freedom; thus 'go to meet' ¹³, 'thy servants' ¹⁴ (unknown to P), belong specially to J (do they imply an older basis in JE for the present narrative?); other expressions, e.g. 16³⁰ 64 have their nearest parallels in Chronicles; a considerable number occur nowhere else, e.g. 'were delivered' ⁶, 'sent to the war' ⁸, 'were to the children of Israel for . . . ¹⁶, 'skilled in war' ²⁷, 'tribute' ²⁸, 'people of the war' ³², 'half' ³⁸; and others, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' ⁷ 31⁴⁷, 'purify yourselves' ¹⁹, 23, 'water of separation' ²³, are characteristic of P's. The general effect of the narrative as a type of religious behaviour is not without analogies to that of Abraham in Gen 14²⁰.

JE P^cP^gP^a

s 48 ct 115 5
 t Op Ex 1820
 u Ct Is 134
 1 Chron 74
 12374
 15-18 L136
 v Gen 73
 w 5p 2 Chron
 2518
 y 258
 z Ct 187
 a' Cp 8
 b' 18 38 Jdg 211.
 cp Lev 1822
 2013
 c' Gen 610.
 d' 1916 19
 e' Lev 1310 5.
 f' Ex 254
 g' 326 1 Chron
 1917
 h' Ezek 2218 20
 2712 ct Is 1264
 i' 197
 j' 5p 4p Jer 28
 k' Ct 13 5 43
 l' 37.4 cp Ex 124
 5
 m' 47 1 Chron
 2464
 n' 47 158
 o' 5=people of
 the host+ ct 28
 p' 43 54
 q' 5 Deut 245

"wroth with the 'officers of the host, the 'captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, which came from the 'service of the war". 15 And Moses said unto them, Have ye 'saved all the 'women alive? 16 Behold, these "caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to 'commit 'trespass against Yahweh "in the "matter of Peor, and so the 'plague was among the 'congregation of Yahweh. 17 "Now therefore 'kill 'every male among the 'little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by 'lying with him. 18 But all the women children, that have not known man by 'lying with him, 'keep alive for yourselves. 19 And encamp ye 'without the camp seven days: whosoever hath 'killed any 'person, and whosoever hath touched any 'slain, "purify yourselves on the third day and on the d'seventh day, ye and your captives. 20 And as to every garment, and all that is 'made of skin, and all work of 'goats' [hair], and all things made of wood, ye shall "purify yourselves. 21 And "Eleazar the priest said unto the men of war which 'went to the battle", "This is the statute of the law which Yahweh hath commanded Moses: 22 howbeit the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the 'tin, and the lead, 23 every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make to go through the fire, and it shall be 'clean; nevertheless it shall be "purified with the water of 'separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make to go through the water. 24 And ye shall "wash your clothes on the d'seventh day, and ye shall be 'clean, and 'afterward ye shall come into the camp. 25 And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, 26 "Take the sum of the 'prey that was taken, "both of man and of beast, thou, and "Eleazar the priest, and the b'heads of the fathers' [houses] of the 'congregation: 27 and divide the 'prey into two parts; between the men 'skilled in war', that 'went out to 'battle, and all the 'congregation: 28 and 'levy a 'tribute unto Yahweh of the men of war that went out to battle: one 'soul of five hundred, [both] of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the flocks: 29 "take it of their 'half, and give it unto "Eleazar the priest, for Yahweh's 'heave offering. 30 And of the children of Israel's 'half, thou shalt take one m'drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, [even] of all the 'cattle, and give them unto the Levites, which 'keep the 'charge of the 'Dwelling of Yahweh. 31 And Moses and "Eleazar the priest did 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. 32 Now the 'prey, over and above the booty which the 'men of 'war took, was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep, 33 and threescore and twelve thousand beeves, 34 and threescore and one thousand asses, 35 and thirty and two thousand 'persons in all, of the women that had not known man by 'lying with him. 36 And the 'half, which was the portion of them that went out 'to war, was in number three hundred thousand and thirty thousand and seven thousand and five hundred sheep: 37 and Yahweh's 'tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen. 38 And the beeves were thirty and six thousand; of which Yahweh's 'tribute was threescore and twelve. 39 And the asses were thirty thousand and five hundred; of which Yahweh's 'tribute was threescore and one. 40 And the persons were sixteen thousand; of whom Yahweh's 'tribute was thirty and two persons. 41 And Moses gave the 'tribute, which was Yahweh's 'heave offering, unto "Eleazar the priest, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. 42 And of the children of Israel's 'half, which Moses divided off from the men that 'warred, 43 (now the 'congregation's 'half was three hundred thousand and thirty thousand, seven thousand and five hundred sheep, 44 and thirty and six thousand beeves, 45 and thirty thousand and five hundred asses, 46 and sixteen thousand 'persons;) 47 even of the children of Israel's 'half, Moses took one m'drawn out of every fifty, both

= 178^b
 t 107^a
 u 164^b
 v 146^a
 w 143^b
 x 185^b
 y 42
 z 173
 a' 84^c
 b' 84^a
 c' 85
 d' 82
 e' 118^c
 f' 39^b
 g' 54^b

3110a 5 יָצָא, the same word as in 5; probably a corruption of the text for יָצָא, cp Dillm, NDJ 191.

10b This reference may be an editorial insertion (Dillm).

23 M Or, impurity.—Cp 19¹⁸ 20.

29 5 ye shall take. The unexpected plural interrupts the sequence of the singular, 'levy' 28, 'and give' 29; the clause seems needless, and may be a later editorial amplification, cp 53 (so Dillm).

JE P^eP^eP^av^e Cp 27⁹³v^e 5 = hand 4²⁸
2 Sam 10¹⁰ 18¹v^e Judg 21⁸v^e 2 Sam 10¹v^e Gen 24²²v^e Ex 35²²v^e Ezek 16¹²⁴v^e Ct 28 32 42 5v^e 1 Chron 13¹⁴a 25⁵⁹
e 25¹⁸
c 21²⁴ 32d 25⁷³e 25⁸¹f 5 Hoph Lev
1138 Num
2654^{*}g 31²¹ 5 = battleh 9 30⁵ cti Dent 12⁸j 25⁹k 34⁴ Dent 19l 13^{26b}l 13^{28a}

of man and of beast, and gave them unto the Levites, which ^vkept the ^vcharge of the ^vDwelling of Yahweh; ¹as Yahweh commanded Moses. ⁴⁸ And the ^vofficers which were over the thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses; ⁴⁹ and they said unto Moses, Thy ^vservants have ^vtaken the sum of the men of war which are under our ^vcharge, and there ^vlacketh not one man of us. ⁵⁰ And we have ^vbrought Yahweh's ^voblation, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of gold, ^vankle chains, and ^vbracelets, ^vsignet-rings, ^vearrings, and ^varmlets, to ^vmake atonement for our souls before Yahweh. ⁵¹ And Moses and ^vEleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought jewels. ⁵² And all the gold of the ^vheave offering that they ^voffered up to Yahweh, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds, was sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels. ⁵³ ^{[For] the ^vmen of ^vwar had taken booty, every man for himself.} ⁵⁴ And Moses and ^vEleazar the priest took the gold of the ^vcaptains of thousands and of hundreds^v, and brought it into the tent of meeting, for a ^vmemorial for the children of Israel before Yahweh.

³²¹ Now the children of ^vReuben and the children of Gad had a very ^vgreat multitude of ^vcattle: and when they saw the land of ^vJazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for ^vcattle; ² the children of Gad and the children of Reuben came and ^vspake unto Moses, and to ^vEleazar the priest, and unto the ^vprinces of the ^vcongregation, saying, ³ Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and ^vNimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and ^vSebam, and Nebo, and ^vBeon, ⁴ the land which Yahweh ^vsmote before the ^vcongregation of Israel, is a land for ^vcattle, and thy ^vservants have cattle. ⁵ And they said, If we have ^vfound grace in thy sight, let this land ^vbe given unto thy ^vservants for a ^vpossession; bring us not over Jordan. ⁶ And Moses said unto the children of Gad and to the children of Reuben, Shall your brethren ^vgo to the war^v, and shall ye sit here? ⁷ ^vAnd wherefore ^vdiscourage ye the heart of the children of Israel from going over into the ^vland which Yahweh hath given them? ⁸ ^vThus did your fathers, when I sent them from ^vKadesh-barnea to ^vsee the land. ⁹ For when they went

h' 118^a
j' 118^bj' 25^ak' 112^aa 185^ab 12^bc 13¹d 45^ae 127^b

³¹⁵⁰ M Or, necklaces.—Ex 35²²+

³² M See ³²—The absence of any syntactical combination (5) adds and) makes it possible that this also is an annotator's addition cp ²⁹ (so Dillm).

³²^{1a} The narrative of the settlement of the tribes of Reuben and Gad (and the half tribe of Manasseh) ¹⁻³⁸ presents many conflicting phenomena. There is consequently considerable diversity of critical opinion, and similar indeterminateness of result (for recent discussions cp Bacon and Addis). The assignment of the East Jordan territories to Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh, is recognized by P Num 34¹⁴, and by D Deut 3¹²⁻²⁰, and it may be fairly assumed that their statements are based upon some earlier account. Such an account might naturally be sought in Num 32, where there are many marks of the style of J. But it becomes plain on closer examination that even the passages which display most affinity with J are in close (if not indissoluble) connexion with words otherwise peculiar to P cp ⁴. ¹⁸. &c. The evidence of this is exhibited in the margins, where occasional points of contact are also indicated with P^a in 31, cp 'go to the war' ⁶, 'be armed (arm themselves)' ¹⁷, 'flocks' ¹, and 'cattle' ²⁸ (ct ¹ 24 5) cp ³¹. In ⁷⁻¹⁵ the sequence of ⁶ and ¹⁰ is interrupted by a hortatory digression chiefly founded on passages in Num 14, and showing indications of acquaintance with both its elements J and P, together with touches from D. The signs of duality of source seem further confirmed by slight variations of detail. The order of the names Reuben and Gad changes in ². The list of cities built by Gad and Reuben ³⁴⁻³⁸ does not quite accord with the enumeration in ⁴, and neither, again, agrees with Josh 13¹⁶. ²⁴.. The gift which is conditional in ²⁰. ²⁸.., is apparently made unreservedly in ³³. Yet the phraseology of ³³ is not without characteristics of P in its latter clauses, and the unexpected occurrence of the Deuteronomistic שָׁלוֹם 'tribe' (instead of P's usual הָעָם) has its counterpart in the narrative in Josh 22. On the whole, therefore, it seems impossible to separate the element of J from that

of a writer in the school of P, and the narrative ¹⁻³⁸ is accordingly ascribed to P^a who may be supposed to have freely worked up earlier materials of J and P. Under these circumstances it does not seem needful to assign ⁷⁻¹⁵ to a still later hand. The secondary and reflective character of the narrative is clear throughout, as (1) in the representation that the cities were built anew, implying their total previous destruction, whereas the older view described the Israelites as entering into cities which they had not builded Dent 6¹⁰; (2) in the careful explanation ³⁸ that the old idolatrous names were changed; (3) in the religious character of the march 'before Yahweh' ²⁰.. (cp ⁴) contrasted with the customary expression 'before the children of Israel' ¹⁷ Dent 3¹⁸ Josh 1⁴; and (4) in the prominence given to Eleazar the priest ²⁸, to whom (with Joshua and the heads of the fathers) the ultimate decision is referred. In the sequel however Josh 13¹⁶.., Eleazar and Joshua claim no share in the Trans-jordanic settlement, which is regarded as the work of Moses alone cp ³³.

¹⁵ In the order of enumeration Reuben here stands first, as the elder (cp Gen 35²⁰). But in the rest of the story ².. Gad takes precedence. In Sam, however, the priority of Reuben is maintained throughout, while in (5) Gad takes the lead ² & ³³. It does not seem possible amid these variations to employ the difference as a clue to diversity of sources.

^{3a} M In ³⁶ Beth-nimrah.

^{3b} M In ³⁸ Sibmah.

^{3c} M In ³⁸ Baal-meon.

⁴ This phrase, repeatedly used of the divine action by the plagues in Egypt, is not employed elsewhere for conquest. Cp ²⁰.

⁷ In this section, founded on Num 14, there are points of contact both in matter and form with J P and D (see the margins). But it does not seem necessary to separate it from the rest of the narrative: thus the imperfects in ⁷ ⁷⁻¹⁵ reappear in ²⁰ ²³.

JE P^aP^aP^a

m 13²⁸
n 10⁶¹
o 2²³33
p 14²⁴28 cp
q 14²¹28 cp
r 14²⁷
s 14²⁹
t 12 33¹
u 12 14⁴
v 12¹³8
w 14³⁰
x Josh 14⁶ 14
y Cp 14^{33N}
z 14³³
aa 2³⁷b
ab 1⁵ cp Lev
ac 2⁵36
ad 1⁵ cp Is 30¹
ae Jer 7²¹
af 2⁵⁴
ag 14⁴³ Josh 22¹⁶
ah 1¹²3
ai 1⁵ i Sam 23¹⁰
aj Gen 44¹⁸
ak 24 86 1⁵*
al i Sam 24³
am 17 24 26 38⁵²
an 20 31⁸ Niph¹
ao Gen 28¹⁵ 1⁵
ap Ex 23²⁰
aq 1⁵36⁵
ar 30 Josh 10²⁰
as 15³⁰ (29)* cp
at Num 13¹⁹
au Cp 32 35¹⁴ 2^{2b}
av Lev 22²⁷
aw 34¹⁵ Josh 12¹
ax 21 27 29 32
ay Josh 41³ ct 17
az 1⁵ 1⁵=dis-
ba 2⁵² Ex 34²⁴
bb 2⁵² Gen 13⁸
bc Josh 13^{1*}
bd Cp Gen 24⁴¹

be 30²
bf 12⁵⁶
bg 31⁹ 1⁵ ct 1
bh 31⁵

ci Josh 13¹⁵.

up unto the ^uvalley of Esheol, and ^vsaw the land, they ^wdiscouraged the heart of the children of Israel, that they should ^xnot go into the ^yland which Yahweh had given them. ¹⁰ And Yahweh's ^zanger was kindled in that ^{aa}day, and he ^{ab}swore, saying, ¹¹ Surely none of the men that came up out of Egypt, from ^{ac}twenty years ^{ad}old and ^{ae}upward, shall see the land which I ^{af}swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob; because they have not ^{ag}wholly followed me: ¹² ^{ah}save ^{ai}Caleb the son of Jephunneh the ^{aj}Kenizzite, and Joshua the son of Nun: because they have ^{ak}wholly followed Yahweh. ¹³ And Yahweh's ^{al}anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them ^{am}wander to and fro in the wilderness ^{an}forty years, until all the generation, that had ^{ao}done evil in the sight of Yahweh, was ^{ap}consumed. ¹⁴ And, behold, ye are risen up in your fathers' stead, an ^{aq}increase of sinful men, to ^{ar}augment yet the ^{as}fierce anger of Yahweh toward Israel. ¹⁵ For if ye ^{at}turn away from after him, he will ^{au}yet again leave them in the wilderness; and ye shall ^{av}destroy all this people. ¹⁶ And they ^{aw}came near unto him, and said, We will build ^{ax}sheepfolds here for our ^{ay}cattle, and cities for our ^{az}little ones: ¹⁷ but we ourselves will ^{ba}be ^{bb}ready armed to go before the children of Israel, ^{bc}until we have ^{bd}brought them unto their ^{be}place: and our ^{bf}little ones shall dwell in the ^{bg}fenced cities because of the inhabitants of the land. ¹⁸ We will not return unto our houses, until the children of Israel have ^{bh}inherited every man his inheritance. ¹⁹ For we will not ^{bi}inherit with them ^{bj}on the other side Jordan, ^{bk}and forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side Jordan ^{bl}eastward. ²⁰ And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing; if ye will ^{bm}arm yourselves to ^{bn}go ^{bo}before Yahweh to the war, ^{bp}and every armed man of you will pass over Jordan ^{bq}before Yahweh, until he hath ^{br}driven out his enemies from before him, ^{bs}and the land be ^{bt}subdued ^{bu}before Yahweh: then afterward ye shall return, and be ^{bv}guiltless towards Yahweh, and towards Israel; and this land shall ^{bw}be unto you for a ^{bx}possession before Yahweh. ²³ But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against Yahweh: and be sure your sin will find you out. ²⁴ Build you cities for your ^{by}little ones, and ^{bz}fold for your sheep; and do that which hath ^{ca}proceeded out of your mouth. ²⁵ And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben ^{cb}spake unto Moses, saying, Thy ^{cc}servants will do as my ^{cd}lord commandeth. ²⁶ Our ^{ce}little ones, our wives, our ^{cf}flocks, and all our ^{cg}cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead: ²⁷ but thy ^{ch}servants will pass over, every man that is ^{ci}armed for ^{cj}war, ^{ck}before Yahweh to battle, as my ^{cl}lord saith.

²⁸ So Moses gave charge concerning them to ^{cm}Eleazar the priest, and to Joshua the son of Nun, and to the ^{cn}heads of the fathers' [houses] of the ^{co}tribes of the children of Israel. ²⁹ And Moses said unto them, If the children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, every man that is ^{cp}armed to battle, ^{cq}before Yahweh, and the land shall be ^{cr}subdued before you; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a ^{cs}possession: ³⁰ but if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall ^{ct}have possessions ^{cu}among you in the ^{cv}land of Canaan. ³¹ And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben answered, saying, As Yahweh hath said unto thy ^{cw}servants, so will we do. ³² We will pass over armed ^{cx}before Yahweh into the ^{cy}land of Canaan, and the ^{cz}possession of our inheritance [shall remain] with us beyond Jordan. ³³ ^{ca}And ^{cb}Moses gave unto them, even

32¹⁶ Many critics have regarded this as the junction with a fresh narrative which has been assigned to El. But the proposal in ¹⁶ must clearly have some antecedent. The remonstrance in ⁶ is sufficient to explain it. The approach of the speakers to Moses with further suggestion in the middle of the interview resembles the approach of Judah to Joseph Gen 44¹⁸.

17 For the peculiar form חֲזִיקִים Knobel-Dillm propose חֲזִיקִים 'armed' Ex 13¹⁸ El, Josh 14⁴¹². This reading would lend slightly additional linguistic weight to the ascription of ¹⁶, to El.

But it can also be equally well explained on the hypothesis of familiarity with the language of earlier documents.

26 The word 'flocks' is the same as that translated 'cattle' 14¹⁶.

33 This verse is probably a harmonistic addition cp 34¹⁴ Deut 31². Josh 13¹⁵. The preceding narrative did not mention the half tribe of Manasseh, which is here included under D's term שֵׁבֵט as in Josh 22⁹. In 34-38 which forms the natural sequence to ³¹, the permission granted in ³⁴ is carried into effect.

J E P^rP^rP^ra^r Josh 22⁹ §
cp D¹²I^r § fem 34² 12
Josh 18²⁰ 10⁴⁹
Deut 32⁸*c^r 21³²
d^r Deut 3¹⁵
e^r Deut 3¹⁴
f^r 21³²a 4²⁸
b §*c Ex 12⁸⁷
d Ex 12² 17
e Cp Lev 23¹¹
f Ex 14⁸g Ex 12¹²h Ex 12⁸⁷
i Ex 13²⁰
j Ex 14² 9k Ex 14²³
l Ex 15²²
m Ex 15²³
n Ex 15²⁷

to the children of Gad, and to the children of Reuben, and unto the half ^atribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, ^baccording to the cities thereof with [their] ^cborders, even the cities of the land round about. ³⁴ And the children of Gad built Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer; ³⁵ and Atroth-shophan, and Jazer, and Jogbehah; ³⁶ and Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran: ^dfenced cities, and ^efolds for sheep. ³⁷ And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kiriathaim; ³⁸ and Nebo, and Baal-meon, (their names ^fbeing changed,) and Sibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded.

³⁹ And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and ^gtook it, and ^hdispossessed the ⁱAmorites which were therein. ⁴⁰ And ^jMoses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein. ⁴¹ And ^kJair the son of Manasseh went and ^ltook the towns thereof, and called them ^mHavvoth-jair. ⁴² And Nobah went and ⁿtook Kenath, and the ^ovillages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name.

³³ ¹These are the ²journeys of the children of Israel, ³when they went forth out of the land of Egypt ⁴by their hosts ⁵under the hand of Moses and Aaron. ⁶ And Moses wrote their ⁷goings out ⁸according to their journeys ⁹by the commandment of Yahweh: and these are their journeys ¹⁰according to their goings out. ¹¹ And they journeyed from ¹²Rameses in the ¹³first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the ¹⁴morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an ¹⁵high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians, ¹⁶while the Egyptians were burying all their firstborn, which Yahweh had smitten among them: upon their ¹⁷gods also Yahweh executed ¹⁸judgements. ¹⁹ And the children of Israel journeyed from ²⁰Rameses, and pitched in ²¹Succoth. ²² And they journeyed from Succoth, and pitched in ²³Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness. ²⁴ And they journeyed from Etham, and ²⁵turned back unto ²⁶Pi-hahiroth, which is ²⁷before ²⁸Baal-zephon: and they pitched before ²⁹Migdol. ³⁰ And they journeyed from ³¹before Hahiroth, and passed through the ³²midst of the sea into the wilderness: and they went ³³three days' journey in the wilderness ³⁴of ³⁵Etham, and pitched in ³⁶Marah. ³⁷ And they journeyed from Marah, and came unto ³⁸Elim: and in Elim were twelve springs of water, and threescore and ten palm trees; and they pitched there. ³⁹ And they journeyed from Elim, and ⁴⁰pitched by the Red Sea. ⁴¹ And they journeyed from the Red Sea,

a 183^ab 18^tc 19^o

d 183

e 99

f 64

³²³⁸ This phrase is exposed to some grammatical difficulty. The same participle recurs only in Ex 28¹¹ 30⁶ 13 Ezek 41²⁴ with the meaning 'encompassed,' 'surrounded,' 'enclosed.' The Greek versions seem to have understood the cities to be 'walled,' and omit 'their names.' Dillm strikes out the words as a late gloss of apology for the idolatrous names Nebo and Baal-meon (or, as מִיִּבְרוֹת may be read as a singular, for the latter only).

³⁹ The preceding narrative implies that the conquest of Gilead has been already effected ¹⁻⁴. The description of its subjugation by Manassite clans must therefore be derived from another source. It has some analogy with the account of the western settlement in Judges 1 now usually assigned to J. For a brief statement of theories concerning its relation to other traditions, cp G A Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* 577 n. See further Josh 17¹⁴ 18.

⁴⁰ The difference of terminology ('Machir' for 'B'né Machir') and the interruption of the sequence between ³⁹ and ⁴¹ indicated by the phrase 'took their [ie the Amorites] towns,' suggest that ⁴⁰ is a harmonizer's addition cp Deut 3¹⁵ prior to P who regards Machir as Manasseh's only son ²⁶29, and who did not intend to locate the whole tribe east of the Jordan.

⁴¹ M That is, *The towns of Jair*.—For another tradition about the name cp Judges 10⁴. ⁴² M § daughters.—Cp 21²⁵.

³³¹ The itinerary of the Israelites' march ¹⁻⁴⁹ is admitted on all hands to belong to the group of P. But to what section of it? The answer depends on the relation assumed between some of its heterogeneous materials. Thus the references to Marah and Elim ⁸, to Kibroth-hattavah and Hazeroth ¹⁶, and the Canaanite ⁴⁰, are derived from J, while Rephidim ¹⁴ seems traceable to El. P may of course have had its own itinerary in which these stages may have been named; but the stylistic

correspondences with specific passages in JE are here unmistakable. Are these references to be treated as the additions of a later editor, or are they integral parts of the document as conceived by its compiler? Nöldeke's observation that the total number of forty stations was probably adjusted to the tradition of forty years of wandering, has inclined many critics to the belief that the series has not reached its present form through casual incorporation, but has been deliberately arranged. In that case it displays a usage of previous sources analogous to that already noted in 32, and must be assigned to the same group P^r. Its place in the midst of similar documents, and its addition of fresh touches ('while the Egyptians were burying their firstborn' ¹⁶, and the age of Aaron ³⁸, to say nothing of the unknown names ¹⁸⁻³⁰), tend to confirm this conclusion, which is not impaired by the difficulty of reconciling some of the data eg 11 31-33 ³⁶ with other passages. As with 32, its dependence on J seems closer than on El. A hint of foundation on an earlier source may be preserved in ².

^{1b} M Or, stages.

^{1c} M Or, by which.

^{8a} Sam Onk & Q and even some § MSS read 'Pi-hahiroth.'

^{8b} Ex 15²² has *Shur*. Dillm conjectures that Etham may be an equivalent of *Shur*, in which case ^{8b} ^{9ad} would be original P, otherwise the passage must be treated as a compiler's insertion. It is, however, possible that Etham is a very late scribal addition or correction; (§^u omits it, though (§^u ^{2b} ^{2c} ^{2d} ^{2e} ^{2f} ^{2g} ^{2h} ²ⁱ ^{2j} ^{2k} ^{2l} ^{2m} ²ⁿ ^{2o} ^{2p} ^{2q} ^{2r} ^{2s} ^{2t} ^{2u} ^{2v} ^{2w} ^{2x} ^{2y} ^{2z} ^{2aa} ^{2ab} ^{2ac} ^{2ad} ^{2ae} ^{2af} ^{2ag} ^{2ah} ^{2ai} ^{2aj} ^{2ak} ^{2al} ^{2am} ^{2an} ^{2ao} ^{2ap} ^{2aq} ^{2ar} ^{2as} ^{2at} ^{2au} ^{2av} ^{2aw} ^{2ax} ^{2ay} ^{2az} ^{2ba} ^{2bb} ^{2bc} ^{2bd} ^{2be} ^{2bf} ^{2bg} ^{2bh} ^{2bi} ^{2bj} ^{2bk} ^{2bl} ^{2bm} ^{2bn} ^{2bo} ^{2bp} ^{2bq} ^{2br} ^{2bs} ^{2bt} ^{2bu} ^{2bv} ^{2bw} ^{2bx} ^{2by} ^{2bz} ^{2ca} ^{2cb} ^{2cc} ^{2cd} ^{2ce} ^{2cf} ^{2cg} ^{2ch} ^{2ci} ^{2cj} ^{2ck} ^{2cl} ^{2cm} ^{2cn} ^{2co} ^{2cp} ^{2cq} ^{2cr} ^{2cs} ^{2ct} ^{2cu} ^{2cv} ^{2cw} ^{2cx} ^{2cy} ^{2cz} ^{2da} ^{2db} ^{2dc} ^{2dd} ^{2de} ^{2df} ^{2dg} ^{2dh} ^{2di} ^{2dj} ^{2dk} ^{2dl} ^{2dm} ^{2dn} ^{2do} ^{2dp} ^{2dq} ^{2dr} ^{2ds} ^{2dt} ^{2du} ^{2dv} ^{2dw} ^{2dx} ^{2dy} ^{2dz} ^{2ea} ^{2eb} ^{2ec} ^{2ed} ^{2ee} ^{2ef} ^{2eg} ^{2eh} ^{2ei} ^{2ej} ^{2ek} ^{2el} ^{2em} ^{2en} ^{2eo} ^{2ep} ^{2eq} ^{2er} ^{2es} ^{2et} ^{2eu} ^{2ev} ^{2ew} ^{2ex} ^{2ey} ^{2ez} ^{2fa} ^{2fb} ^{2fc} ^{2fd} ^{2fe} ^{2ff} ^{2fg} ^{2fh} ^{2fi} ^{2fj} ^{2fk} ^{2fl} ^{2fm} ^{2fn} ^{2fo} ^{2fp} ^{2fq} ^{2fr} ^{2fs} ^{2ft} ^{2fu} ^{2fv} ^{2fw} ^{2fx} ^{2fy} ^{2fz} ^{2ga} ^{2gb} ^{2gc} ^{2gd} ^{2ge} ^{2gf} ^{2gg} ^{2gh} ^{2gi} ^{2gj} ^{2gk} ^{2gl} ^{2gm} ^{2gn} ^{2go} ^{2gp} ^{2gq} ^{2gr} ^{2gs} ^{2gt} ^{2gu} ^{2gv} ^{2gw} ^{2gx} ^{2gy} ^{2gz} ^{2ha} ^{2hb} ^{2hc} ^{2hd} ^{2he} ^{2hf} ^{2hg} ^{2hh} ^{2hi} ^{2hj} ^{2hk} ^{2hl} ^{2hm} ^{2hn} ^{2ho} ^{2hp} ^{2hq} ^{2hr} ^{2hs} ^{2ht} ^{2hu} ^{2hv} ^{2hw} ^{2hx} ^{2hy} ^{2hz} ^{2ia} ^{2ib} ^{2ic} ^{2id} ^{2ie} ^{2if} ^{2ig} ^{2ih} ²ⁱⁱ ^{2ij} ^{2ik} ^{2il} ^{2im} ²ⁱⁿ ^{2io} ^{2ip} ^{2iq} ^{2ir} ^{2is} ^{2it} ^{2iu} ^{2iv} ^{2iw} ^{2ix} ^{2iy} ^{2iz} ^{2ja} ^{2jb} ^{2jc} ^{2jd} ^{2je} ^{2jf} ^{2jg} ^{2jh} ^{2ji} ^{2jj} ^{2jk} ^{2jl} ^{2jm} ^{2jn} ^{2jo} ^{2jp} ^{2jq} ^{2jr} ^{2js} ^{2jt} ^{2ju} ^{2jv} ^{2jw} ^{2jx} ^{2jy} ^{2jz} ^{2ka} ^{2kb} ^{2kc} ^{2kd} ^{2ke} ^{2kf} ^{2kg} ^{2kh} ^{2ki} ^{2kj} ^{2kk} ^{2kl} ^{2km} ^{2kn} ^{2ko} ^{2kp} ^{2kq} ^{2kr} ^{2ks} ^{2kt} ^{2ku} ^{2kv} ^{2kw} ^{2kx} ^{2ky} ^{2kz} ^{2la} ^{2lb} ^{2lc} ^{2ld} ^{2le} ^{2lf} ^{2lg} ^{2lh} ^{2li} ^{2lj} ^{2lk} ^{2ll} ^{2lm} ^{2ln} ^{2lo} ^{2lp} ^{2lq} ^{2lr} ^{2ls} ^{2lt} ^{2lu} ^{2lv} ^{2lw} ^{2lx} ^{2ly} ^{2lz} ^{2ma} ^{2mb} ^{2mc} ^{2md} ^{2me} ^{2mf} ^{2mg} ^{2mh} ^{2mi} ^{2mj} ^{2mk} ^{2ml} ^{2mm} ^{2mn} ^{2mo} ^{2mp} ^{2mq} ^{2mr} ^{2ms} ^{2mt} ^{2mu} ^{2mv} ^{2mw} ^{2mx} ^{2my} ^{2mz} ^{2na} ^{2nb} ^{2nc} ^{2nd} ^{2ne} ^{2nf} ^{2ng} ^{2nh} ²ⁿⁱ ^{2nj} ^{2nk} ^{2nl} ^{2nm} ²ⁿⁿ ^{2no} ^{2np} ^{2nq} ^{2nr} ^{2ns} ^{2nt} ^{2nu} ^{2nv} ^{2nw} ^{2nx} ^{2ny} ^{2nz} ^{2oa} ^{2ob} ^{2oc} ^{2od} ^{2oe} ^{2of} ^{2og} ^{2oh} ^{2oi} ^{2oj} ^{2ok} ^{2ol} ^{2om} ^{2on} ^{2oo} ^{2op} ^{2oq} ^{2or} ^{2os} ^{2ot} ^{2ou} ^{2ov} ^{2ow} ^{2ox} ^{2oy} ^{2oz} ^{2pa} ^{2pb} ^{2pc} ^{2pd} ^{2pe} ^{2pf} ^{2pg} ^{2ph} ^{2pi} ^{2pj} ^{2pk} ^{2pl} ^{2pm} ^{2pn} ^{2po} ^{2pp} ^{2pq} ^{2pr} ^{2ps} ^{2pt} ^{2pu} ^{2pv} ^{2pw} ^{2px} ^{2py} ^{2pz} ^{2qa} ^{2qb} ^{2qc} ^{2qd} ^{2qe} ^{2qf} ^{2qg} ^{2qh} ^{2qi} ^{2qj} ^{2qk} ^{2ql} ^{2qm} ^{2qn} ^{2qo} ^{2qp} ^{2qq} ^{2qr} ^{2qs} ^{2qt} ^{2qu} ^{2qv} ^{2qw} ^{2qx} ^{2qy} ^{2qz} ^{2ra} ^{2rb} ^{2rc} ^{2rd} ^{2re} ^{2rf} ^{2rg} ^{2rh} ^{2ri} ^{2rj} ^{2rk} ^{2rl} ^{2rm} ^{2rn} ^{2ro} ^{2rp} ^{2rq} ^{2rr} ^{2rs} ^{2rt} ^{2ru} ^{2rv} ^{2rw} ^{2rx} ^{2ry} ^{2rz} ^{2sa} ^{2sb} ^{2sc} ^{2sd} ^{2se} ^{2sf} ^{2sg} ^{2sh} ^{2si} ^{2sj} ^{2sk} ^{2sl} ^{2sm} ^{2sn} ^{2so} ^{2sp} ^{2sq} ^{2sr} ^{2ss} ^{2st} ^{2su} ^{2sv} ^{2sw} ^{2sx} ^{2sy} ^{2sz} ^{2ta} ^{2tb} ^{2tc} ^{2td} ^{2te} ^{2tf} ^{2tg} ^{2th} ^{2ti} ^{2tj} ^{2tk} ^{2tl} ^{2tm} ^{2tn} ^{2to} ^{2tp} ^{2tq} ^{2tr} ^{2ts} ^{2tt} ^{2tu} ^{2tv} ^{2tw} ^{2tx} ^{2ty} ^{2tz} ^{2ua} ^{2ub} ^{2uc} ^{2ud} ^{2ue} ^{2uf} ^{2ug} ^{2uh} ^{2ui} ^{2uj} ^{2uk} ^{2ul} ^{2um} ^{2un} ^{2uo} ^{2up} ^{2uq} ^{2ur} ^{2us} ^{2ut} ^{2uu} ^{2uv} ^{2uw} ^{2ux} ^{2uy} ^{2uz} ^{2va} ^{2vb} ^{2vc} ^{2vd} ^{2ve} ^{2vf} ^{2vg} ^{2vh} ^{2vi} ^{2vj} ^{2vk} ^{2vl} ^{2vm} ^{2vn} ^{2vo} ^{2vp} ^{2vq} ^{2vr} ^{2vs} ^{2vt} ^{2vu} ^{2vv} ^{2vw} ^{2vx} ^{2vy} ^{2vz} ^{2wa} ^{2wb} ^{2wc} ^{2wd} ^{2we} ^{2wf} ^{2wg} ^{2wh} ^{2wi} ^{2wj} ^{2wk} ^{2wl} ^{2wm} ^{2wn} ^{2wo} ^{2wp} ^{2wq} ^{2wr} ^{2ws} ^{2wt} ^{2wu} ^{2wv} ^{2ww} ^{2wx} ^{2wy} ^{2wz} ^{2xa} ^{2xb} ^{2xc} ^{2xd} ^{2xe} ^{2xf} ^{2xg} ^{2xh} ^{2xi} ^{2xj} ^{2xk} ^{2xl} ^{2xm} ^{2xn} ^{2xo} ^{2xp} ^{2xq} ^{2xrr} ^{2xs} ^{2xt} ^{2xu} ^{2xv} ^{2xw} ^{2xx} ^{2xy} ^{2xz} ^{2ya} ^{2yb} ^{2yc} ^{2yd} ^{2ye} ^{2yf} ^{2yg} ^{2yh} ^{2yi} ^{2yj} ^{2yk} ^{2yl} ^{2ym} ^{2yn} ^{2yo} ^{2yp} ^{2yq} ^{2yr} ^{2ys} ^{2yt} ^{2yu} ^{2yv} ^{2yw} ^{2yx} ^{2yy} ^{2yz} ^{2za} ^{2zb} ^{2zc} ^{2zd} ^{2ze} ^{2zf} ^{2zg} ^{2zh} ^{2zi} ^{2zj} ^{2zk} ^{2zl} ^{2zm} ^{2zn} ^{2zo} ^{2zp} ^{2zq} ^{2zrr} ^{2zs} ^{2zt} ^{2zu} ^{2zv} ^{2zw} ^{2zx} ^{2zy} ^{2zz} ^{3aa} ^{3ab} ^{3ac} ^{3ad} ^{3ae} ^{3af} ^{3ag} ^{3ah} ^{3ai} ^{3aj} ^{3ak} ^{3al} ^{3am} ^{3an} ^{3ao} ^{3ap} ^{3aq} ^{3ar} ^{3as} ^{3at} ^{3au} ^{3av} ^{3aw} ^{3ax} ^{3ay} ^{3az} ^{3ba} ^{3bb} ^{3bc} ^{3bd} ^{3be} ^{3bf} ^{3bg} ^{3bh} ^{3bi} ^{3bj} ^{3bk} ^{3bl} ^{3bm} ^{3bn} ^{3bo} ^{3bp} ^{3bq} ^{3br} ^{3bs} ^{3bt} ^{3bu} ^{3bv} ^{3bw} ^{3bx} ^{3by} ^{3bz} ^{3ca} ^{3cb} ^{3cc} ^{3cd} ^{3ce} ^{3cf} ^{3cg} ^{3ch} ^{3ci} ^{3cj} ^{3ck} ^{3cl} ^{3cm} ^{3cn} ^{3co} ^{3cp} ^{3cq} ^{3cr} ^{3cs} ^{3ct} ^{3cu} ^{3cv} ^{3cw} ^{3cx} ^{3cy} ^{3cz} ^{3da} ^{3db} ^{3dc} ^{3dd} ^{3de} ^{3df} ^{3dg} ^{3dh} ^{3di} ^{3dj} ^{3dk} ^{3dl} ^{3dm} ^{3dn} ^{3do} ^{3dp} ^{3dq} ^{3dr} ^{3ds} ^{3dt} ^{3du} ^{3dv} ^{3dw} ^{3dx} ^{3dy} ^{3dz} ^{3ea} ^{3eb} ^{3ec} ^{3ed} ^{3ee} ^{3ef} ^{3eg} ^{3eh} ^{3ei} ^{3ej} ^{3ek} ^{3el} ^{3em} ^{3en} ^{3eo} ^{3ep} ^{3eq} ^{3er} ^{3es} ^{3et} ^{3eu} ^{3ev} ^{3ew} ^{3ex} ^{3ey} ^{3ez} ^{3fa} ^{3fb} ^{3fc} ^{3fd} ^{3fe} ^{3ff} ^{3fg} ^{3fh} ^{3fi} ^{3fj} ^{3fk} ^{3fl} ^{3fm} ^{3fn} ^{3fo} ^{3fp} ^{3fq} ^{3fr} ^{3fs} ^{3ft} ^{3fu} ^{3fv} ^{3fw} ^{3fx} ^{3fy} ^{3fz} ^{3ga} ^{3gb} ^{3gc} ^{3gd} ^{3ge} ^{3gf} ^{3gg} ^{3gh} ^{3gi} ^{3gj} ^{3gk} ^{3gl} ^{3gm} ^{3gn} ^{3go} ^{3gp} ^{3gq} ^{3gr} ^{3gs} ^{3gt} ^{3gu} ^{3gv} ^{3gw} ^{3gx} ^{3gy} ^{3gz} ^{3ha} ^{3hb} ^{3hc} ^{3hd} ^{3he} ^{3hf} ^{3hg} ^{3hh} ^{3hi} ^{3hj} ^{3hk} ^{3hl} ^{3hm} ^{3hn} ^{3ho} ^{3hp} ^{3hq} ^{3hr} ^{3hs} ^{3ht} ^{3hu} ^{3hv} ^{3hw} ^{3hx} ^{3hy} ^{3hz} ^{3ia} ^{3ib} ^{3ic} ^{3id} ^{3ie} ^{3if} ^{3ig} ^{3ih} ³ⁱⁱ ^{3ij} ^{3ik} ^{3il} ^{3im} ³ⁱⁿ ^{3io} ^{3ip} ^{3iq} ^{3ir} ^{3is} ^{3it} ^{3iu} ^{3iv} ^{3iw} ^{3ix} ^{3iy} ^{3iz} ^{3ja} ^{3jb} ^{3jc} ^{3jd} ^{3je} ^{3jf} ^{3jg} ^{3jh} ^{3ji} ^{3jj} ^{3jk} ^{3jl} ^{3jm} ^{3jn} ^{3jo} ^{3jp} ^{3jq} ^{3jr} ^{3js} ^{3jt} ^{3ju} ^{3jv} ^{3jw} ^{3jx} ^{3jy} ^{3jz} ^{3ka} ^{3kb} ^{3kc} ^{3kd} ^{3ke} ^{3kf} ^{3kg} ^{3kh} ^{3ki} ^{3kj} ^{3kk} ^{3kl} ^{3km} ^{3kn} ^{3ko} ^{3kp} ^{3kq} ^{3kr} ^{3ks} ^{3kt} ^{3ku} ^{3kv} ^{3kw} ^{3kx} ^{3ky} ^{3kz} ^{3la} ^{3lb} ^{3lc} ^{3ld} ^{3le} ^{3lf} ^{3lg} ^{3lh} ^{3li} ^{3lj} ^{3lk} ^{3ll} ^{3lm} ^{3ln} ^{3lo} ^{3lp} ^{3lq} ^{3lr} ^{3ls} ^{3lt} ^{3lu} ^{3lv} ^{3lw} ^{3lx} ^{3ly} ^{3lz} ^{3ma} ^{3mb} ^{3mc} ^{3md} ^{3me} ^{3mf} ^{3mg} ^{3mh} ^{3mi} ^{3mj} ^{3mk} ^{3ml} ^{3mm} ^{3mn} ^{3mo} ^{3mp} ^{3mq} ^{3mr} ^{3ms} ^{3mt} ^{3mu} ^{3mv} ^{3mw} ^{3mx} ^{3my} ^{3mz} ^{3na} ^{3nb} ^{3nc} ^{3nd} ^{3ne} ^{3nf} ^{3ng} ^{3nh} ³ⁿⁱ ^{3nj} ^{3nk} ^{3nl} ^{3nm} ³ⁿⁿ ^{3no} ^{3np} ^{3nq} ^{3nr} ^{3ns} ^{3nt} ^{3nu} ^{3nv} ^{3nw} ^{3nx} ^{3ny} ^{3nz} ^{3oa} ^{3ob} ^{3oc} ^{3od} ^{3oe} ^{3of} ^{3og} ^{3oh} ^{3oi} ^{3oj} ^{3ok} ^{3ol} ^{3om} ^{3on} ^{3oo} ^{3op} ^{3oq} ^{3or} ^{3os} ^{3ot}

	JE P ¹	P ²	P ³	
^o Ex 16 ¹		and pitched in the wilderness of ^g Sin. ¹² And they journeyed from the wilderness of ^g Sin, and pitched in Dophkah. ¹³ And they journeyed from Dophkah, and pitched in Alush. ¹⁴ And they journeyed from Alush, and pitched in ² Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink. ¹⁵ And they journeyed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of ^h Sinai. ¹⁶ And they journeyed from the wilderness of Sinai, and pitched in ^h Kibroth-hattaavah. ¹⁷ And they journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah, and pitched in ^g Hazereth. ¹⁸ And they journeyed from Hazereth, and pitched in Rithmah. ¹⁹ And they journeyed from Rithmah, and pitched in Rimmon-perez. ²⁰ And they journeyed from Rimmon-perez, and pitched in Libnah. ²¹ And they journeyed from Libnah, and pitched in Rissah. ²² And they journeyed from Rissah, and pitched in Kehelathah. ²³ And they journeyed from Kehelathah, and pitched in mount Shepher. ²⁴ And they journeyed from mount Shepher, and pitched in Haradah. ²⁵ And they journeyed from Haradah, and pitched in Makheloth. ²⁶ And they journeyed from Makheloth, and pitched in Tahath. ²⁷ And they journeyed from Tahath, and pitched in Terah. ²⁸ And they journeyed from Terah, and pitched in Mithkah. ²⁹ And they journeyed from Mithkah, and pitched in Hashmonah. ³⁰ And they journeyed from Hashmonah, and pitched in ^h Moseroth. ³¹ And they journeyed from Moseroth, and pitched in ^h Bene-jaakan. ³² And they journeyed from Bene-jaakan, and pitched in ^h Hor-haggidgad. ³³ And they journeyed from Hor-haggidgad, and pitched in ^h Jotbathah. ³⁴ And they journeyed from Jotbathah, and pitched in Abroah. ³⁵ And they journeyed from Abroah, and pitched in ^h Ezion-geber. ³⁶ And they journeyed from Ezion-geber, and pitched in the wilderness of ^h Zin (the same is ^h Kadesh). ³⁷ And they journeyed from Kadesh, and pitched in mount ^h Hor, in the edge of the ^h land of Edom. ³⁸ And ^h Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor ^o at the commandment of Yahweh, and died there, in the fortieth ^h year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the ^h fifth month, on the ^h first day of the month. ³⁹ And Aaron was an hundred and twenty and three years ^h old when he died in mount Hor. ⁴⁰ And the ^h Canaanite, the king of Arad, which dwelt in the South in the ^h land of Canaan, heard of the coming of the children of Israel. ⁴¹ And they journeyed ^h from mount Hor, and pitched in Zalmonah. ⁴² And they journeyed from Zalmonah, and pitched in Punon. ⁴³ And they journeyed from Punon, and pitched in ^h Oboth. ⁴⁴ And they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched in ^h Iye-abarim, in the border of Moab. ⁴⁵ And they journeyed from Iyim, and pitched in ^h Dibon-gad. ⁴⁶ And they journeyed from Dibon-gad, and pitched in Almon-diblathaim. ⁴⁷ And they journeyed from Almon-diblathaim, and pitched in the mountains of ^h Abarim, before ^h Nebo. ⁴⁸ And they journeyed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the ^h plains of Moab by the Jordan at ^h Jericho. ⁴⁹ And they pitched by Jordan, from Beth-jeshimoth even unto Abel-shittim in the ^h plains of Moab.	^g 8	
² Ex 17 ¹				
⁹ Ex 19 ²				^h 7
⁷ 11 ³⁴				
⁸ 11 ³⁵				
¹ Deut 10 ⁶				
² Deut 10 ⁷				
⁹ Deut 2 ⁸				
¹⁰ Cp 20 ¹				^h 9
²⁰ 20 ²³				^j 4 ^k 12 ¹
³ Gen 7 ¹¹ §				
² Gen 8 ¹³				^l 119
⁴ 21 ¹				
¹ 21 ⁴⁴				
² 21 ¹⁰				
¹ 21 ¹¹				
¹ 21 ³⁰ 32 ³⁴				
¹ 27 ¹²				
⁹ Deut 32 ⁴⁹ 34 ¹				
¹ 22 ¹				^m 2
² 35 ¹⁰ cp P 19 ¹				
² 35 ¹⁰ Ex 34 ²⁴				ⁿ 185 ^a
¹ Deut 9 ³				^o 185 ^c
¹ Deut 11 ⁴ 12 ²				
¹ Piel ^o cp P 86				
¹ Lev 26 ¹				
¹ Cp Ex 34 ¹⁷				
¹ Lev 19 ⁴				
¹ Lev 26 ³⁰ §				
¹ =destroy				
¹ 14 ²⁴				
¹ Lev 20 ²⁴				^p 96 ^b
¹ 14 ¹⁴				^q 106
¹ 26 ⁶⁴				^r 65

33⁶⁰ In 50-56 two distinct subjects are combined, (1) the expulsion of the Canaanite inhabitants and the destruction of their idols and sanctuaries 51b-53 55., and (2) the distribution of the land by lot 54. The first group seems unrelated to P² either in matter or style, though it is not without affinities with earlier documents, and in particular with P³. 54 is apparently introduced from 26⁶⁴ to prepare the way for 34. These considerations

point to the compilation of 50-56 by P³ out of older material as in previous instances.

54 This passage is plainly derived from 26⁶⁴: the first verb 'ye shall give' has been converted into the plural to suit the context, but the second remains unaltered. Sam retains the singular in both verbs, while § has corrected both to the plural.

JE P¹P²P³

inheritance: whosoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; ^a according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye ^a inherit. ⁵⁵ But if ye will ^a drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then shall those which ye let remain of them be as ^a pricks in your eyes, and as ^a thorns in your sides, and they shall ^a vex you in the land wherein ye dwell. ⁵⁶ And it shall come to pass, that as I ^a thought to do unto them, so will I do unto you.

³⁴¹ ^a And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ² ^a Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land ^a of Canaan, ('this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the 'land of Canaan ^a according to the 'borders thereof,) ³ then your south 'quarter shall be from the wilderness of ^a Zin along by the side of Edom, and your ^a south border shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward: ⁴ and your border shall 'turn about southward of the ^a ascent of Akrabbim, and pass along to Zin: and the 'goings out thereof shall be southward of ^a Kadesh-barnea; and it shall go forth to Hazar-addar, and pass along to ^a Azmon: ⁵ and the border shall turn about from Azmon unto the ^a brook of Egypt, and the 'goings out thereof shall be at the sea. ⁶ And for the western border, ye shall have the great sea ^a and the border [thereof]: this shall be your west border. ⁷ And this shall be your north border: from the great sea ye shall 'mark out for you mount Hor: ⁸ from mount Hor ye shall 'mark out unto the ^a entering in of Hamath; and the goings out of the border shall be at ^a Zedad: ⁹ and the border shall go forth to ^a Ziphron, and the goings out thereof shall be at ^a Hazar-enan: this shall be your north border. ¹⁰ And ye shall ^a mark out your east border from Hazar-enan to ^a Shepham: ¹¹ and the border shall go down from Shepham to ^a Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall go down, and shall reach unto the ^a side of the ^a sea of Chinnereth eastward: ¹² and the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be at the Salt Sea: this shall be your land ^a according to the ^a borders thereof round about. ¹³ And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, ^a This is the land which ye shall ^a inherit by 'lot, which Yahweh hath commanded to give unto the nine ^a tribes, and to the half ^a tribe: ¹⁴ for the ^a tribe of the children of Reuben ^a according to their 'fathers' houses, and the ^a tribe of the children of Gad according to their fathers' houses, have received, ^a and the half ^a tribe of Manasseh have received, their inheritance: ¹⁵ the two ^a tribes and the half ^a tribe have received their inheritance ^a beyond the Jordan at Jericho ^a eastward, toward the sunrise^a.

¹⁶ And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁷ ^a These are the names of the men which shall ^a divide the land unto you for inheritance: ¹ Eleazar

^a Josh 23¹⁸ cp Ezek 28²⁴
¹ 25¹⁷
^a Josh 15¹⁴ cp Is 14²⁴
1-29 14u¹⁷
a 28² cp Lev 24²

b 19 32⁵³
c Josh 15⁵ Ezek 47¹⁵ .
d Josh 15² .
e Josh 15⁸ Judg 13⁶
f 32⁶
g Josh 15⁴
h Josh 15⁴⁷ *
i Kings 80⁸ al'
ct Gen 15¹⁸

i 5¹ cp 10
j 13²¹
k Ezek 47¹⁵ t
m Ezek 47¹⁷ 48¹ t
n Ct 11⁴ 34 Deut 3¹⁸ Hithpa^a
o 5¹ ? ct 5¹

p Josh 13²⁷

q Cp Ezek 47²²

r 17, Josh 19⁴⁹

³⁴¹ The preparatory arrangements for the occupation of the land of Canaan are here continued, but they are of such a character as to render it doubtful whether they were included in the original P. The sketch of the boundaries in 1-16 specifies some places unmentioned in the survey in Joshua, two of them being named elsewhere only by Ezekiel. Moreover it is not apparent why such a careful delimitation was necessary for the Western country while the East remains undefined; nor is it clear how Moses should be familiar with localities which he had never seen. The appointment of tribal leaders to supervise the distribution seems to be imitated from the census in 1 (though with a different formula), but unlike other arrangements in P founded on a divine command, it does not seem to have been carried out. For instance, in 13 the exploring mission of twelve tribal representatives is prescribed, but the choice of the individuals to compose it is left to Moses, who immediately proceeds to their selection and dispatch. Here the official distributors are designated by Yahweh, but nothing is said of any consequent appointment by Moses; their future escape from the vicissitudes of conquest is assumed, yet when the time for action arrives they seem to be merged in the general group of 'heads of fathers' houses' cp Josh 14¹ 19⁵¹. Moreover JE supplies an entirely different picture, according to which at Joshua's instance seven tribes elect three deputies each to survey and divide the remaining territory Josh 18² . . . In view

of these circumstances, and of the general character of the group of chapters following the announcement of Moses' death 27¹²⁻²³, it seems likely that these two sections also may be of a secondary character, designed to trace back to Moses every possible provision for the settlement. The reference in Josh 14², however, unless it be a later editorial addition, indicates the presence in P² of some general instructions attributed to Moses which may have been elaborated by P³, as in the case of the first census. The repetitions in 14, and the plural address to Moses in 17, (cp 5³ 35²⁵) seem more in harmony with the manner of the expander; and the designations in 14 'children of the Reubenites' and 'children of the Gadites' are unique, though 'families of the Reubenites' occurs 26⁷.

² 5 implies that the name 'Canaan' is an explanatory gloss. Sam reads פְּנִי for פְּנִי.

⁶ M. Or, for a border.

¹¹ M. 5 shoulder.—Cp Josh 15⁸.

¹⁴ Dillm. in accordance with his theory of the priority of P, supposes the half tribe of Manasseh to be inserted here by R², but P's usual term for 'tribe' is employed, though the tribal designations are not uniform in style.

¹⁷ It should be noted that in P's account of the distribution of the tribal territories Josh 14¹, 19⁵¹ the princes here designated to aid them in the task 18²⁻²⁹ are totally ignored. Is this a later attempt at precision, just as Eusebius could tell the names of the Seventy disciples of Luke 10¹?

	JE	P ^c	P	P ^a	
			the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun. ¹⁸ And ye shall take one ^m prince of every ^b tribe, to ⁷ divide the land for inheritance. ¹⁹ And ^b these are the names of the men: of the tribe of Judah, ^c Caleb the son of Jephunneh. ²⁰ And of the tribe of the children of Simeon, Shemuel the son of Ammihud. ²¹ Of the tribe of Benjamin, Elidad the son of Chislon. ²² And of the tribe of the children of Dan a prince, Bukki the son of Jogli. ²³ Of the children of Joseph: of the tribe of the children of Manasseh a prince, Hanniel the son of Ephod: ²⁴ and of the tribe of the children of Ephraim a prince, Kemuel the son of Shipthan. ²⁵ And of the tribe of the children of Zebulun a prince, Elizaphan the son of Parnach. ²⁶ And of the tribe of the children of Issachar a prince, Paltiel the son of Azzan. ²⁷ And of the tribe of the children of Asher a prince, Ahihud the son of Shelomi. ²⁸ And of the tribe of the children of Naphtali a prince, Pedahel the son of Ammihud. ²⁹ ^b These are they whom Yahweh commanded to ^a divide the inheritance unto the children of Israel in the ^a land of Canaan.	m 131	
¹⁻⁸ ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰	a 185 ^a b 2 ^a c 127 ^b d 155 e 120 ^b f 133 g 19 ^a h 4 ^a i 146 ^a j 27 k 132 ^b l 45 m 144				
¹⁻⁸ ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³					

	JE P'	P'	P'
i 15 ³⁵		of iron, so that he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁷ And if he smote him with a stone in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁸ Or if he smote him with a weapon of wood in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁹ The 'avenger of blood shall himself put the manslayer to death: when he meeteth him, he shall put him to death. ²⁰ And if he thrust him of hatred, or hurled at him, 'lying in wait, so that he died; ²¹ or in enmity smote him with his hand, that he died: he that smote him shall surely be put to death; he is a manslayer: the avenger of blood shall put the manslayer to death, when he meeteth him. ²² But if he thrust him 'suddenly without enmity, or hurled upon him any thing without 'lying in wait, ²³ or with any stone, whereby a man may die, seeing him not, and cast it upon him, so that he died, and he was not his enemy, neither sought his harm: ²⁴ 'then the 'congregation shall judge between the smiter and the 'avenger of blood according to these judgements: ²⁵ and the 'congregation shall deliver the manslayer out of the hand of the 'avenger of blood, and the 'congregation shall restore him to his city of 'refuge, whither he was fled: and he shall dwell therein until the death of the 'high priest, which was 'anointed with the 'holy ^m oil. ²⁶ But if the manslayer shall at any time go beyond the border of his city of 'refuge, whither he fleeth; ²⁷ and the avenger of blood find him without the border of his city of refuge, and the avenger of blood slay the manslayer; 'he shall not be guilty of blood: ²⁸ because he should have remained in his city of refuge until the death of the 'high priest: but after the death of the high priest the manslayer shall return into the land of his 'possession. ²⁹ And these things shall 'be for a 'statute of judgement' unto you 'throughout your generations in all your 'dwellings. ³⁰ 'Whoso killeth any 'person, the manslayer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses: but one witness shall not testify against any 'person that he die. ³¹ Moreover ye shall take no 'ransom for the life of a manslayer, which is guilty of death: but he shall surely be put to death. ³² And ye shall take no 'ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest. ³³ So ye shall not 'pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood, it polluteth the land: and no 'expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. ³⁴ And thou shalt not 'defile the 'land which ye inhabit, in the 'midst of which 'I 'dwell: for 'I Yahweh dwell in the midst of the children of Israel.	n 23 o 89
j 22 5†			
k 69*			
24-28 L4b ^c 11b ^d			
l Lev 21 ¹⁰ Josh 20 ⁶ 2 Kings 20 ⁴ 23 ⁴ 1a Cp Ex 30 ²⁵			
n 27 ¹¹ †			p 76 ^b
30 L4fi			q 55 ^a
o Cp Ex 21 ³⁰			
p 5* Jer 3 ²			r 25 ^a
q Lev 18 ²⁵			s 167 ^a
r Ex 29 ⁴⁵			t 22
1-12 L3g ⁱ			u 94 ^a
a 26 ²⁹			v 54 ^a
b 25 ⁶			a 84
c Ex 34 ³⁴			b 65
d 27 ¹			c 131
e 21 ¹²			d 96 ^c
f 27 ^a			e 106
g Lev 25 ¹⁰			f 165

35²⁷ M. Or, there shall be no blood-guiltiness for him.36¹ The principle which assured inheritance in land to daughters in the absence of a son, exposed the tribe to the danger that marriage might convey the heiress' property to another tribe. The law in 36 provides against this contingency,and is plainly dependent on 27¹⁻¹¹. It therefore belongs to the same secondary group. The phraseology is not without marks of departure from the linguistic standards of P, cp 2 'my lord,' 3 'tribe' שבט (this single occurrence might be accidental but for similar indications elsewhere e.g. 32²⁸), 8 'possess' ירש cp 27¹¹,

	JE P'	P ⁸	P ¹	
<i>h</i> 27 ⁴		⁵ according to the word of Yahweh, saying, The 'tribe of the sons of Joseph speaketh ^h right. ⁶ ^h This is the thing which Yahweh doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them 'marry to whom they think best; only to the ^h family of the 'tribe of their father shall they 'marry. ⁷ So shall no inheritance of the children of Israel remove from 'tribe to tribe: for the children of Israel shall cleave every one to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers. ⁸ And every daughter, that 'possesseth an inheritance in any 'tribe of the children of Israel, shall 'be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may 'possess every man the inheritance of his fathers. ⁹ So shall no inheritance remove from one 'tribe to another tribe; for the tribes of the children of Israel shall cleave every one to his own inheritance. ¹⁰ Even ¹¹ as Yahweh commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad: ¹¹ for Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, 'were married unto their father's brothers' sons. ¹² They 'were married into the families of the sons of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the 'tribe of the family of their father.	<i>g</i> 19 ^c <i>h</i> 188 ^b <i>i</i> 27	
<i>i</i> 27 ¹⁸ 11		¹³ ^h These are the ^j commandments and the judgements, which Yahweh commanded by the ^k hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the 'plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.	<i>j</i> 189 ^c 	

DEUTERONOMY*

	JE D ^c	D	D ^a P	
a Cp 4 ⁴⁴ , 61 121 29 ¹ P188		1 ^{1 na} These be the words which Moses spake unto *all Israel ^b beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the *Arabah over against *Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab. ² It is eleven days ¹		a 2 ^a b 21

36¹³ Addis infers from the resemblance of this verse to Lev 27³⁴ that they were severally added when the present arrangement of the books was adopted, to provide appropriate conclusions.

The book of Deuteronomy is plainly discriminated both in style and contents from the preceding books. Taken as a whole its language shows the most marked differences compared with the laws and other utterances ascribed to Moses after the conquest of the East Jordan territory Num 26-36 'in the plains of Moab' Num 26³ 36¹³ Deut 34¹ (cp *Intro*d VI 2γ i 41). It is also separated by many characteristic features from the narratives of JE and the earlier legislation at Sinai-Horeb (cp *Intro*d IX i 2). Traces of P and also of J and E may, indeed, be discovered in it, for the process of welding the documents together naturally led to the admission of some elements from them into the framework of D's great discourses. Apart from these passages, most of which may be eliminated without serious difficulty, the main contents of D (as now arranged) may be distributed in four unequal divisions: (I) an introductory discourse, chiefly consisting of historical retrospect 1-4⁴⁰; (II) exhortations in illustration of the fundamental principles of the Horeb-covenant (the Ten Words), and of the nature of Yahweh's dealings with Israel 5-11, preceded by a brief preface defining the time and place 4⁴⁴⁻⁴⁹; (III) the Statutes and Judgements constituting the Law to be observed in Canaan 12-26; (IV) final injunctions, promises, and warnings (including two poems, a Song 32, and a Blessing 33), arrangements for the preservation of the Book of the Law and for the succession of Joshua to the leadership of Israel, terminating with the record of Moses' death 37-34. Closer examination, however, will show

that these sections are by no means always homogeneous with each other or with themselves. The critical problems arising out of the attempt to trace the steps by which the materials now combined in D fell into their present locations under the supervision of successive editors, are of unusual intricacy. In almost every case several possibilities seem to be open, and the decision between different alternatives can only reach varying degrees of probability. These difficulties of internal relation, however, rarely (if ever) arise in the comparison of D with JE or P. The marks of the thought and language of the great Deuteronomic school are unmistakable within the limits of the book itself*.

11^a The opening discourse in 1⁶⁻⁴ (5-40) is introduced by a reference to the time and place of the delivery of the exposition of the Law 1-5. The elements of this preface are mixed. The phraseology of 1^a agrees with that of D, but the geographical details that follow cannot be harmonized with other statements. In 2²⁹ 4⁴⁶ the Israelites are in the 'valley' over against Beth-peor. This is not usually included in the 'wilderness' between Horeb, South Canaan, and the Red Sea 1¹⁹ 21, or east of Moab 2²⁹. Moreover some of the places specified are only known elsewhere in connexion with the wanderings in the desert (cp Driver *in loc*), while others are not known at all. The reference in 2 to the length of march from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea, which the Israelites had left thirty-eight years before 2¹⁴, seems unrelated to the context. The passage must be regarded as an item of a lost itinerary, it is not in the style of the stages in Num 21¹², or Deut 10⁸.

16 M That is, the deep valley running North and South of the Dead Sea.

10 M Some ancient versions have, *the Red Sea*.

* The proposals which have been recently made by different scholars to distribute the discourses chiefly on the basis of the use of the singular or the plural in the address to the nation (cp Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums* 1894, *Die Entstehung des Deuteronomischen Gesetzes* 1896, *Das Deuteronomium* (Hilkkomm) 1898, Staerk, *Das Deuteronomium* 1894; Naumann, *Das Deuteronomium* 1897) have not commended themselves to the judgement of the present annotator (whose notes were written before Steuernagel's *Commentary* appeared). The divergence of their results is not in itself a sufficient proof of the inadequacy of their method. Of the three writers just named, Steuernagel has carried the analysis through with the most thoroughness, and the editors are indebted

JE D ^e	D	D ^a P
b 19 214 623 Josh 101 147 c Num 21 21. Deut 32 d Num 21 33. Deut 31. e 27 ⁸ 5 Hab 247 f (p 218) 5a g 23 326 Num 16 ⁹ 7 5 ^a h 40 Num 1425 take your journey = get you 5	[journey] from ^c Horeb by the way of mount Seir unto ^b Kadesh-barnea. ³ ⁸ And it came to pass in the ^d fortieth year, in the ^e eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that Yahweh had given him in commandment unto them; ⁴ after he had smitten ^f Sihon the king of the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon, and ^g Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt in Ashtaroth, at Edrei: ⁵ beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to ^h declare this ⁱ law, saying, ⁶ ⁸ Yahweh ⁹ our God ^j spake unto us in ^k Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt ^l long enough in this mountain: ⁷ ^h turn you, and take your journey ^h , and go to the ⁱ hill country of the Amorites, and unto all the places ^j nigh thereunto, in the ^k Arabah, in the hill country, and in the	c 7 d 183 e 57 f 70 ^a g 113 h 113 i 3 ^b j 6

13 A fragment of P is here traced securely by means of the date and the peculiar expression for 'eleven' (differing from that in 2). Its insertion is due to the editor who united D with the chronological scheme of P (cp *Introd* XVI 3).

The language of 4 harmonizes with that of 3^{1, 2}, and it does not seem necessary to regard it as supplemental (Steuernagel), while 4's law 1⁵ points forward to the Code cp 70.

6 At this point the writer opens the historical review assigned to Moses as the fitting introduction to the great Exposition. This terminates at 3²⁹, and reasons will be subsequently offered for regarding the greater part of the discourse which follows, 4¹⁻⁴⁰, as transposed from another cycle. A number of questions concerning it immediately arise, e.g. (1) Is it complete? (2) What are its sources? (3) Was this its original form? (4) Was it composed by the author of the Code? (5) The first question has been answered in the negative by some recent critics who propose (with Horst, *RHR* xvi 35) to attach to its beginning the recital inserted at 9⁹, or (with Bacon, *Triple Trad* 246) suggest that 10¹⁻¹¹ originally stood there, as portions of a still longer retrospect: on these theories see 10¹²³.

(2) The sources of the retrospect will be found in the narrative of JE now combined with P in Ex Num. The reference to a document itself composite suggests, however, a further inquiry. Did the writer employ J and E separately, or in union? He appears to lean decidedly on E, for he uses the name Horeb for the sacred mountain 15¹⁹; he designates the population of the

highlands of Canaan as Amorites 17¹⁹, 27⁴⁴; he relates the institution of the judges 19⁹, cp Ex 18¹³, and the journey of the spies to Eshcol 12²⁴ cp Num 13²³. The allusions to J are no less clear, cp the oath to the patriarchs 8⁸ cp Gen 15¹⁸, the mention of the fenced cities 12²⁸ cp Num 13²⁸ (with the sons of the Anakim), the promise to Caleb 18⁶ cp Num 14²⁴ (Joshua not being included). Further, the description of Israel as like 'the stars of heaven for multitude' 1¹⁰ rests on the promise related by E¹⁰ in Gen 22¹⁷, showing that even if (with Dillm) we suppose D to have known E still as a separate document, he had also studied the combined form JE. But the diversities of detail, e.g. the omission in 18¹⁸ of all reference to Jethro Ex 18¹⁴ and the combination of passages from Num 11, the popular initiative in the dispatch of the spies 12²² (cf their dependence on Moses Num 13²⁷), the discrepancy between 2⁴⁻⁸ and Num 20¹⁴⁻²¹ (though Driver, but not Dillm, supposes them to refer to different incidents), show that the traditional material was freely handled in the composition of the discourse. If the conjecture of Kuen concerning the original place of the Book of Judgements be allowed, cp Ex 20²²³, it may be further surmised (with Bacon) that the whole idea of the retrospect, and the special affinities which may be traced with E, are due to the prior existence of a similar review prefixed to the older code which stood where Deut 12-26 is now placed, at the end of the wanderings, on the eve of entry into the promised land. A striking analogy to such a farewell on the part of Moses is

to the pioneer essays of Staerk and himself for many valuable suggestions. The process through which Steuernagel conceives D to have come to its present form, is exceedingly complicated, and it is difficult to do justice to it in a brief notice. This complexity is not necessarily an argument against a critical theory, for it is justly observed by Addis (*Hev* ii 18) that simplicity is not always a recommendation. Starting with the homilies 5-11 and the code 12-26, he endeavours to distinguish their sources thus. In 5-11 he finds two documents combined, one employing the singular pronoun in address to Israel (Sg), the other the plural (Pl). Two collections of laws may also be discovered in 12-26 which belong respectively to the two bodies of introductory discourses Sg and Pl. Behind each of these lie numerous smaller groups, Pl being composed partly of fundamental cultus-law, together with an 'elders' collection, an 'abomination' collection, and a collection of cases of war; while Sg is built up on a prior basis of cultus-law, with family and humanitarian legislation, and materials from other independent sources. The fundamental cultus-laws are supposed to have existed in separate drafts from the reign of Hezekiah. They underwent a double redaction, by incorporation into Sg about 650, and Pl about 670. Sg and Pl were then united about 650, the compiler prefixing the retrospect in 1-4: and this product then underwent prolonged expansion at the hand of successive redactors and copyists, who are made responsible for continuous hortatory additions throughout the work, amounting to nearly one-sixth of the whole. So elaborate a theory hardly admits of proof; large portions of it can only rest upon conjecture. That the code in 12-26 has been compiled from various sources may be not only readily conceded but emphatically affirmed cp 12¹⁸. But the distribution into two documents corresponding to Sg and Pl seems somewhat hazardous. (1) It does not rise naturally out of the phenomena of the text. Of the actual plural passages in 12-26 enumerated 12²⁸ Steuernagel allots only 22²⁴ to Pl; 10¹⁹ is corrected to Sg; and the rest are ascribed to the nameless copyists. The laws assigned to Pl in 13-26 are now couched (with the exception of 22²⁴ in the singular, so that the criterion appears to break down; a redaction in favour of Sg being invoked of which the text shows no assignable traces. The view of the present editors concerning the plural passages in the Code will be found in the notes 12² and onwards. (2) The case of the Homilies is somewhat different. The general ascription of 5-11 to the same hands which produced the Code is not inconsistent with the suggestion that they were not all written at once, or simultaneously with the laws (cp *Introd* X 5a i 95). But it is certainly incompatible with the theory that they were combined out of two homiletic groups, a singular and a plural respectively. For this partition no other adequate criteria either of matter or style seem available, for many of the instances cited in Steuernagel's very careful table of words pp xxxiii xli can hardly be said to bear definitely one way or the other. Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that the homilies would exhibit a greater range of variation than the laws; such transitions are characteristic of the preacher's style. Thus Jeremiah 2:4 passes repeatedly from the second to the third person and back again, and uses each in both numbers: yet it would hardly be proposed to divide his discourses on this basis. It may also be asked how far the diversities in (5) throw any doubt on the stability of the Massoretic text. In 5-7 there are more than thirty variations in person and number; the first person changes into the second and the second into the first: the sing in 5 appears as pl in (5), and the pl 5 turns out sing in (5). These differences may be variously explained, but until they have been more carefully examined the distinction hardly supplies a satisfactory basis for distributing the text among Sg and Pl authors, the harmonizing editor, and his train of hortatory followers.—In a series of articles in the *Expositor*, beginning 1898 5th series viii 241 (after the Introduction to this work had been sent to press), Prof G L Robinson has sought to maintain the Mosaic authorship of Deut. Impressed, however, by some of the phenomena which lie at the basis of the critical hypotheses, he suggests that 'the orations contained in the Book of Deuteronomy were spoken twice, once in Moab, and once on the way between Horeb and Kadesh-barnea' (*Expositor* May 1899 358). Thus he is able to explain the implied contrast of 5³ and 21⁴, and the repeated introduction 4¹⁴⁻¹⁹ cp 11⁵. He can even accept Steuernagel's theory of separate addresses in the sing and pl; the pl being suitable to Moses in the wilderness addressing Israel as a prophet might speak to the individual units of his own generation, and the sg when as an old man in Moab sixty years senior to the nation he conceived it as a whole (*ibid* 362). This ingenious combination of traditional apologetics with an advanced critical method is probably unique.

	JE D ^a	D	D ^b P	
i 1 ²⁴ Josh 14 Gen 15 ¹⁸ cf E: 23 ⁸¹		lowland, and in the South, and by the sea shore, ⁸ the land of the Canaanites, and Lebanon, as far as the ⁹ great river, the river Euphrates. ⁸ ⁸ ⁸ Behold, I have ¹ set the land before you: ¹⁰ go in and possess the land ¹¹ which Yahweh swore unto your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give unto them and to their ¹² seed after them. ⁹ ⁹ ⁹ And I spake unto you at that ¹³ time, saying, ¹ I am not able to bear you myself alone: ¹⁰ Yahweh your God ¹¹ hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the ¹² stars of heaven for multitude. ¹¹ ¹¹ Yahweh, the God of your fathers, make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and ¹³ bless you, as he hath ¹⁴ promised you! ¹² ¹² How can I myself alone bear your ¹³ cumbrance, and your ¹⁴ 'burden, and your strife? ¹³ ¹³ Take you ¹⁴ wise men, and understanding ^p , and known, ¹⁵ according to your tribes, and I will make them ¹⁶ 'heads over you. ¹⁴ And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good [for us] to do. ¹⁵ So I took the ¹⁶ 'heads of your tribes, wise men, and known, and ¹⁷ made them ¹⁸ 'heads over you, ¹⁹ 'captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens, and	k 99 l 100 ^a m 107 ^a	
j 10 ¹⁵ 11 ⁹ 9 17 L 4a ^c k Num 12 ¹⁴ l 10 ²² 20 ⁶⁹ op Gen 15 ⁵ 22 ¹⁷			o 110 p 81 q 1 ^b r 22 ^a s 91 t 62	
m Is 14 ⁴ n Num 12 ¹⁷ o Ct Ex 18 ²¹ .. p Ct 4 ⁶ Gen 42 ³³ 39 ^a			u 112 ^b v 57	
q Ex 18 ²⁵ r 5 ^a = rulers Ex 18 ²⁵				

found in the address of Joshua after the completion of the conquest Josh 24, unanimously ascribed to E (apart from the additions of R^d). In that case, the survey in Deut 1^{a-3} was prefixed to the code in imitation of its predecessor, which it not unnaturally largely absorbed into itself. This suggestion offers a plausible reason for the occasional preponderance of E elements.

(3) But from another side it has been suggested by Dillm (NDJ 229) that the recital was not originally cast in the first person; it was part of a larger narrative which has been converted into speech, the compiler finding it resemble too closely the story of JE in Num beside which it was placed before its union with P. The difference between the summary of events in 1-3 and the glowing exhortations of 4¹⁻⁴⁰, the oratorical inappropriateness of the archaeological notes scattered through 2 and 3, and the curious relation between 31^a and 32^a, are offered as grounds for this hypothesis. It might further be supported by the undoubted specimens of similar conversion in 9^a, 10^a.. But the variation between 1-3 and 4¹⁻⁴⁰ can be explained on other considerations (see 4¹⁸): the annotator's additions may be easily sifted out from 2 and 3; and though the proposal provides an intelligible cause for the abrupt beginning of 31^a, it is not necessary to resort to so elaborate a device (cp 31¹⁸).

(4) Lastly, it cannot be affirmed with any confidence that the discourse proceeds from the author (or authors) of the Code. The hortatory element so conspicuous at least in 12-18 26 is almost absent here; yet the mingling of historical retrospect with homiletic address in 5-11 (more closely associated with the Code) shows that if the preacher could employ illustrations from the traditions, the narrator might have been expected in his turn (on the assumption of common authorship) to display a warmer religious glow. The discussion is a difficult one, and turns on delicate shades of difference in thought and expression. Among the most conspicuous phenomena are the following:—(i) Separate titles 1^{a-5} and 4^{a-19} are prefixed to the two groups of discourse 1^{a-3} (4¹⁻⁴⁰) and 5-11. It does not seem likely that the same author would have composed both. The existence of independent prefaces implies that the discourses were also independent, and originally stood as introductions to distinct editions of the Code (Cornill, *Einleitung* § 9 6, designates them as the historic and parenthetic elements of D, symbolized as D^a and D^b). It is conceivable that the compiler of the Code might himself have prefixed one or the other to his collection of laws: it is less probable that he would have attached both of them. Now of the two, 5-11 is much closer both in spirit and form to the legislative core in 12-18 than 1^{a-3}. (ii) A marked difference is believed to exist between the two introductions concerning the persons addressed. In 1^{a-3}, the wanderings are represented as a punishment on the generation of the Exodus for their refusal to march up and take possession of the country at once; and according to 24¹⁻¹⁸ all the fighting men (and the contemporary women must be included) perished in the wilderness. But in 5^a it is declared that the covenant at Horeb was not made with the dead, but with those then alive and listening, and the identity of the people in Moab with the bondmen in Egypt forty years before appears to be asserted in the most

express terms 11^{a-7} 'Your eyes have seen all the great work of Yahweh.' On the other hand the constant address to Israel as 'thou' implies a moral continuity in the nation which seems to many critics a sufficient explanation of the confusion of the generations. (iii) With this difference is associated another. According to 1-2 the wanderings are a punishment for a specific act of disobedience. In 5^a they are a part of the divine discipline for proving whether Israel would obey or not; they have, in other words, a far-reaching educational design. These two aspects may be capable of reconciliation, but they are at least presented with striking variations of emphasis. (iv) A difficulty arises concerning the behaviour of Ammon. In 23^a the Ammonites are reproached for not having aided Israel with food and drink. But in 25^a it is expressly stated that the Israelites never went near them. What opportunity had they, then, of showing their unfriendliness? The author of 23^a can hardly have written the historic survey in 1^{a-3} (on the authenticity of 23¹⁻⁸ cp 23¹⁸). (v) Some linguistic phenomena may also be named. The word 'possession' (יָרַשׁ) occurs in 2^a 9 12 19 32^a, but not in 5-26, though the corresponding verb is employed repeatedly; it reappears in D^a in Josh 1^a 12^a. In 1^a 19. 27⁴⁴ (3^a) the name Amorite is applied to the inhabitants of the central highlands of Canaan without reference to the 'seven nations' of 7^a cp 20¹⁷. The phrase 'at that time' recurs ten times in 1-3 (three times in possibly cognate passages 9^a 10¹⁸), elsewhere only in 5^a; 'declare' 1^a 5^a cp 27²⁸; 'fear not, neither be dismayed' 1^a 21 31^a Josh 1^a 8^a 10^a 25^a; 'contend' 2^a 9 19 24^a; 'this Jordan' 3^a 32^a Josh 2^a 11 4^a 22^a cp Gen 32¹⁰; 'children of Esau which dwell in Seir' 2^a 8 22 29 et 23^a. On the other hand it may be argued that some of these expressions would not naturally be repeated, though it is surprising that 'besought' 3^a 23^a, 'mighty acts' 3^a 24^a, 'was wroth' 3^a 25^a, 'for your sakes' (לְפָנֶיךָ) with pronom suff 3^a 26^a, should not have occasion to appear again. But besides a large portion of the vocabulary of D tabulated in vol I, the margins certainly show a considerable amount of phraseology of less frequent use common to 1-3 and 5-26 (see the parallels to 12 17 19 27-29 31 43 25 37 3^a 24^a). The evidence will be differently estimated according to varieties of antecedent expectation. Those who have been convinced of the highly composite character of other portions of the great documentary collections, e.g the Levitical legislation, will have less difficulty in admitting a similar possibility in the case of D. Driver, after full discussion (*Deut* lxxvii-lxxiii), decides in favour of unity of authorship.

17 Interpreters differ whether the 'land of the Canaanites' sums up all the items previously named, or applies only to the strip of coast. In the former case it seems in conflict with the location of the Amorites in the central highlands. Under any interpretation the definite instruction to the Israelites to occupy the entire country from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates is not quite on the same plane with the prophetic promises of 11^a 24 Gen 15¹⁸ Josh 14. The passage may well be due to later expansion.

8 The imperative 'see' is in the singular as always in this formula 99 except in Josh 23^a. Sam (9) plural.

* A somewhat similar retrospect may be found in 1 Sam 12 (E², Budde); and another in Judg 11^{a-27} (R^b, Moore).

JE D^s

D

D^s P

16 12a¹
 s 16¹⁸
 t 16¹⁹ Prov 24²³
 23¹⁴
 u Cp Ex 18²²
 v 18²² cp 32²⁷
 Num 22³⁴
 w Ex 18²⁶
 z Cp Num 13^{20b}
 y Josh 2²
 z Num 13^{20b}
 a¹ Num 13²
 b¹ Num 13^{17c}
 c¹ Num 13²³
 d¹ Josh 14⁴⁷ cp
 JE 12¹²
 e¹ Num 13^{20 23}
 f¹ Ps 106²⁵ cp
 Is 29²⁴ ct
 Num 14²
 g¹ 9²⁸ cp 44^a
 h¹ 20⁸ Josh 21¹ 5¹
 i¹ 21¹⁰ 31⁶ 2²
 j¹ Num 13²⁸
 k¹ 9¹⁴ cp 35^{28 32}
 Num 13²⁸ Josh
 14^{12 25}
 l¹ Cp Num 13²⁸
 m¹ 33^{20 4} 31⁶ Ex
 13²¹ Num 14¹⁴
 n¹ Cp Ex 18²⁴
 Num 11¹²
 o¹ Cp 8⁵
 p¹ 8² Josh 24¹⁷
 q¹ 9⁷ 11⁵ cp 26⁹
 29⁷
 r¹ Num 14¹¹
 s¹ Num 10⁸³
 t¹ Num 14²⁵
 u¹ 4¹² Josh 11¹³^a
 v¹ Josh 14^{8 14}
 Num 14²⁴
 29¹¹^a
 w¹ Cp 10⁸ 17¹²
 - ct Ex 24¹³

"officers, "according to your tribes. ¹⁶ ^LAnd I charged your ^xjudges at that ^ttime, saying, Hear [the causes] between your ^ybrethren, and judge ^rrighteously between a man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. ¹⁷ Ye shall not ^rrespect persons in judgement; ye shall hear the ^u"small and the great" alike; ye shall not be ^v"afraid of the face of man; for the judgement is God's: and the cause that is too ^w"hard for you ye shall bring unto me, and I will hear it. ¹⁸ And I commanded you at that ^otime all the things which ye should do.

¹⁹ And we journeyed from ^oHoreb, and went through all that ^rgreat and terrible wilderness which ye saw, by the way to the ^u'hill country of the ^u'Amorites, ^v'as Yahweh our God commanded us; and we came to ^xKadesh-barnea. ²⁰ And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the ^u'hill country of the Amorites, ^v'which Yahweh our God giveth unto us. ²¹ ^{nk}Behold, Yahweh thy God hath ^u'set the land before thee: ^v'go up, take possession, as ^u'Yahweh, the God of thy fathers, hath ^v'spoken ^o'unto thee; ^r'fear not, neither be dismayed. ²² And ye came near unto me every one of you, and said, Let us send men before us, that they may ^v'search the land for us, and ^r'bring us word again of the way by which we must go up, and the cities unto which we shall come. ²³ And the thing pleased me well: and I took ^u'twelve men of you, one man for every ^r'tribe: ²⁴ and they ^u'turned and ^v'went up into the mountain, and came unto the valley of ^o'Eshcol, and ^v'spied it out. ²⁵ And they took of the ^r'fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down unto us, and ^v'brought us word again, and said, It is a ^u'good land ^v'which Yahweh our God giveth unto us. ²⁶ Yet ye ^v'would not go up, but ^r'rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh your God: ²⁷ and ye ^r'murmured in your tents, and said, Because Yahweh ^v'hated us, he hath ^v'brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, ^r'to deliver us into the hand of the ^m'Amorites, ⁿ'to destroy us. ²⁸ Whither are we going up? our brethren have made our ^u'heart to ^u'melt, saying, The people is ^r'greater and taller than we; the cities are ^r'great and ^r'fenced up to heaven^u, and moreover we have ^r'seen the sons of the ^o'Anakim there. ²⁹ Then I said unto you, ^v'Dread not, neither be afraid of them. ³⁰ Yahweh your God who ^m'goeth before you, he shall ^r'fight for you, according to ^v'all that he did for you in Egypt ^v'before your eyes; ³¹ ^u'and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that Yahweh thy God ^v'bare thee, as a man doth bear his ^o'son, in all the ^v'way that ye went, ^r'until ye came unto this place. ³² Yet ^u'in this thing ye did not ^v'believe Yahweh your God, ³³ who ^m'went before you in the way, to ^v'seek you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to shew you by what way ye should go, and in the cloud by day. ³⁴ And Yahweh heard the voice of your words, and was wroth, and sware, saying, ³⁵ ^v'Surely there shall not one of these men ⁿ'of this evil generation see the ^u'good land, which I ^v'swore to give unto ⁿ'your fathers, ³⁶ ^u'save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, he shall see it; and to him will I give the land that he hath ^v'trodden upon, and to his children: because he hath ^v'wholly followed Yahweh. ³⁷ ^NAlso Yahweh was ^v'angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither: ³⁸ Joshua the son of Nun, which ^v'standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: ^v'encourage thou him; for he shall ^v'cause Israel to inherit it. ³⁹ ^NMoreover your little ones, which ye said should

w 83
 x 67
 y 25
 z 55^a
 a¹ 29^a
 b¹ 69^c
 o¹ 54
 d¹ 91
 e¹ 64
 f¹ 44^c
 g¹ 112^a
 h¹ 69^b
 i¹ 117
 j¹ 94
 k¹ 28^b
 l¹ 52
 m¹ 34
 n¹ 3^a
 o¹ 4¹
 p¹ 45
 q¹ 44
 r¹ 12
 s¹ 43^a
 t¹ 111
 u¹ 18
 v¹ 106^c
 w¹ 65

¹²¹ As the main body of this discourse is conceived in the second person plural, the unexpected entrance of the singular here indicates to Steurnagel the activity of an annotator. The plurals in (8) are no doubt harmonistic. It may be added that the formulae differ slightly from those in 8: cp especially ⁸ 'go in and possess the land' with ²¹ 'go up, possess.'

³¹ The loose connexion here suggests that the text may have been expanded by another hand (or possibly by the same hand at another time), incorporating a reference to the divine care manifested in the subsequent wanderings, 'this place' meaning the Trans-jordanic encampment as in ⁹ 11⁵ 29⁷ cp 26⁹. For the figure cp Ex 19⁴ Deut 32¹¹. In ³³ the phrase 'who went before you' seems to be caught up from ³⁰ 'he goeth before you': for the word 'to seek out' cp Num 10³³; the reading of (8) 'to lead you' instead of 'to pitch your tents in' (involving the trans-

position of a letter) perhaps indicates further dependence on Ex 13²¹.

³² ^M Or, for all this thing. ^{36a} Probably a gloss; the words are omitted in (8), and are not represented in Num 14²⁹, on which the passage is founded; they sound like a reminiscence of such passages as Num 14^{27 30 32 18}.

^{36b} (8) 'their fathers.' ³⁷ Another explanatory addition, cp 32²⁸, breaking the connexion resumed in ^{36b} with 'but your children.' Nothing is said of this in Num 14. It would seem that the death of Moses before the passage of the Jordan came to be regarded as the penalty for some offence, and there was great difficulty in connecting it with any specific occasion. The matter is not cleared up even by P Num 20¹².

³⁹ These words do not occur in (8) and have probably been incorporated by a late editor from Num 14³¹ (cp ³).

	JE	D ^s	D	D ^s	P
			be a prey, and your children, which this day have no knowledge of good or evil, they shall ⁴⁰ go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it. ⁴¹ But as for you, ⁴² turn you, and ⁴³ take your journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea. ⁴⁴ Then ye answered and said unto me, We have ⁴⁵ sinned against Yahweh, we will go up and fight, according to all that Yahweh our God ⁴⁶ commanded us. And ye girded on every man his weapons of war, and ⁴⁷ were forward to go up into the mountain. ⁴⁸ And Yahweh said unto me, Say unto them, ⁴⁹ Go not up, neither fight; for I am not ⁵⁰ among you; lest ye be smitten before your enemies. ⁵¹ So I spake unto you, and ye hearkened not; but ye ⁵² rebelled against the ⁵³ commandment of Yahweh, and were ⁵⁴ presumptuous, and went up into the mountain. ⁵⁵ And the ⁵⁶ Amorites, which dwell in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and ⁵⁷ beat you down in Seir, even unto Hormah. ⁵⁸ And ye returned and wept before Yahweh; but Yahweh ⁵⁹ hearkened not to your voice, nor ⁶⁰ d ^s gave ear unto you. ⁶¹ So ye abode in ⁶² e ^s Kadesh many days, ⁶³ f ^r according unto the days that ye abode [there].		
			² Then we ³ turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the ⁴ way to the Red Sea, as Yahweh spake unto me: and we compassed mount Seir many days. ⁵ And Yahweh spake unto me, saying, ⁶ Ye have compassed this mountain ⁷ long enough: "turn you northward. ⁸ And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to ⁹ pass through the border of your brethren the ¹⁰ children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you: ¹¹ take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore: ¹² contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as for the ¹³ sole of the foot to tread on: because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a ¹⁴ possession. ¹⁵ Ye shall ¹⁶ purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. ¹⁷ For "Yahweh thy God hath ¹⁸ blessed thee in all the ¹⁹ work of thy hand: he hath known thy walking through this great wilderness: ²⁰ these forty years Yahweh thy God hath been with thee; thou hast ²¹ lacked nothing. ²² So we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, from the way of the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber.		
			And we ²³ turned and passed by the way of the ²⁴ wilderness of Moab. ²⁵ And Yahweh said unto me, ²⁶ N ^k Vex not Moab, neither ²⁷ contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee of his land for a ²⁸ possession; because I have given ²⁹ Ar unto the children of ³⁰ M ^t Lot for a ³¹ possession. ³² (The ³³ Emim dwell therein aforetime, a people ³⁴ great, and many, and tall, as the ³⁵ Anakim: ³⁶ these also are accounted ³⁷ R ^e phaim, as the ³⁸ Anakim; but the Moabites call them ³⁹ Emim. ⁴⁰ The ⁴¹ Horites also dwell in Seir aforetime, but the children of Esau ⁴² succeeded them; and they ⁴³ destroyed them from before them, and dwell in their stead; as Israel did unto the ⁴⁴ land of his ⁴⁵ possession, which Yahweh gave unto them.) ⁴⁶ Now ⁴⁷ rise up, and get you over the ⁴⁸ brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered. ⁴⁹ And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the ⁵⁰ men of war were ⁵¹ consumed from the midst of the camp, as Yahweh ⁵² sware unto them. ⁵³ Moreover the		

¹⁴⁰ This verse has been sometimes regarded as a subsequent insertion derived from Num 14²⁶. The derivation is unmistakable, but the verse may be needed at this point to explain 21.

⁴¹ **M** Or, *deemed it a light thing.*—**H**†.

⁴⁸ On the chronological difficulty see Dillm and Driver *in loc.* The statement seems to be an attempt at harmonizing different traditions of the sojourn at Kadesh. The parallel in 9²⁵ where the peculiar phrase stands at a junction of earlier and later materials, points to a similar view concerning the present passage.

27 This verse is perhaps due to an annotator who desires to explain the ability of the Israelites to purchase the necessary food and drink from the children of Esau. It represents their wealth as due to the successful prosecution of agriculture (cp 14:²⁹ 16:¹⁵ 24:¹⁹ 28:¹²); but it forgets that the wanderings with their diet of manna were intended as a season of humiliation and

trial 8², not of accumulation and thrift. The sudden change from the plural to the singular, and the return to the plural in 8 should be noted.

⁹ The command here addressed to Moses is really as the parallels show ⁵ 18, 24, designed for Israel and not for Moses personally. The use of the singular here and in 18, 24b 25 is in unexpected contrast with the plurals in 18 24a, but in view of the language of 27, it seems perfectly natural, and it does not appear necessary to attribute these passages to another hand.

¹⁰ The antiquarian notes in this and succeeding passages 20-23
³⁹ ¹¹ are evidently not parts of the original narrative. Whether
they were inserted by the author or by a later hand is doubtful.
¹¹ M. See Gen 14⁶.

¹³ Sam (S) add 'and take your journey' as in ²⁴

¹⁵ An explanatory addition (marked by the frequent particle of insertion וְ) to emphasize the cause of the complete destruc-

	JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
t $\S$ = <i>discomfit</i> 7 ²⁸ Ex 14 ²⁴		hand of Yahweh was against them, to 'destroy them from the midst of the camp, until they were 'consumed.	
u $\S$ 1 st cp 11 ³¹ v 3 ²⁹ 4 ⁶ 11 ³⁰ 34 ⁶		16 So it came to pass, when all the 'men of war were 'consumed and dead from among the people, 17 that Yahweh spake unto me, saying, 18 "Thou art this day to pass over Ar, the border of Moab: 19 "and when thou comest nigh 'over against the children of Ammon, 'vex them not, nor 'contend with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon for a 'possession: because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a 'possession. (20 That also is accounted a land of 'hRephaim: 'hRephaim dwelt therein aforetime; but the Ammonites call them 'Zamzummin; 21 a people 'great, and many, and tall, as the 'Anakim; but Yahweh 'destroyed them before them; and they 'succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead: 22 as he did for the 'children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, when he 'destroyed the Horites from before them; and they 'succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this 'day: 23 and the 'Avvim which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of 'Caphtor, 'destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.) 24 'Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the valley of 'Arnon: 'behold, I have 'given unto thine hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land: 'begin to 'possess it, and 'contend with him in battle. 25 This day will I 'begin to put the 'dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the 'peoples that are under the whole heaven', who shall 'hear the report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.	n 99 o 52
w 3 ¹⁴ cp 33 ^b x Josh 13 ³¹ † y Am 9 ⁷ z Num 21 ¹³		26 And I 'sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, 27 'Let me pass through thy land: I will go 'along by the high way, I will neither 'turn unto the right hand nor to the left. 28 Thou shalt sell me food for 'money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: 'only let me pass through on my 'feet; 29 as the 'children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over Jordan into the 'land which Yahweh our God giveth us. 30 But Sihon king of Heshbon 'would not 'let us pass by him: for Yahweh thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart 'obstinate, that he might 'deliver him into thy hand, 'as at this day. 31 And Yahweh said unto me, 'Behold, I have 'begun to 'deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: 'begin to 'possess, that thou mayest 'inherit his land. 32 Then Sihon came out against us, 'he and all his people, unto battle at 'Jahaz. 33 And Yahweh our God 'delivered him up before us; and we 'smote 'him, and his 'sons, and all his people. 34 And we 'took all his cities at that 'time, and 'devoted every 'inhabited city, with the 'women and the little ones; we 'left none remaining: 35 'only the cattle we took for a 'prey unto ourselves, with the 'spoil of the cities which we had taken. 36 From Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of 'Arnon, and [from] the 'city that is in the valley, even unto Gilead, there was not a city too 'high for us: Yahweh our God 'delivered up all before us: 37 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	p 114 ^b q 84 r 69 ^c s 117
a' Cp 31b b' 31 324 Josh 3 ⁷ c' 11 ²⁶ d' 419*		38 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	t 33 ^a u 100 ^a
e' Cp Ex 15 ¹⁴ $\S$ f' Num 14 ¹⁶ g' Num 21 ²¹ h' Num 21 ²²		39 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	v 56
i' Cp 6 j' Num 20 ^{10b}		40 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	w 110 x 35 y 118 z 89 a' 103
j' C6 Num 21 ²³ $\S$		41 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	b' 10
k' Num 21 ²³ l' Num 21 ²⁵ m' Num 21 ²⁶		42 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	a 113
n' 3 ³ Num 21 ²⁵ Josh 8 ²² cp Deut 20 ¹⁶ .		43 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	
o' Num 21 ²⁴ p' Josh 13 ⁹ q' $\S$ * r' 19 cp Num 21 ²⁴		44 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	
a Num 21 ²⁵ .		45 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'b' all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	

3¹ Then we 'turned, and 'went up the way to Bashan: and Og the

tion of the whole generation. Dillm brackets the entire passage 14b-16. Cp Num 14³³ 35 3213.

210 The reference in 29 suggests that the narrative may here have been curtailed cp 4-8. It is remarkable, also, later on, that there is no reference to Balaam.

20 Cp Gen 14⁵, Sayce, *Higher Criticism* 160, and Driver, *Deut* 40.

27 M $\S$ by the way, by the way.

30 M $\S$ strong.—In the bad sense 15^{7*}, in the good 32^{8*}, cp 1106.

33 M Or, son. 34b So M. T utterly destroyed. Cp 135.

34b M $\S$ city of men.—3⁶ cp Judg 20⁸⁴.

31 The narrative in 1-17 can hardly have proceeded continuously from one hand, as it bears numerous marks of supplementation, see 8N 14N 10N. The story of the conquest of Og does

not seem to have been part of the original traditions. (1) The only reference to it in Num 21³³⁻³⁵ is generally accepted as an abstract from Deut 3¹⁻⁷. If JE had contained it, why should the narrative have been suppressed in favour of a secondary version? (2) The account in Deut 3¹⁻⁷ has little or no independence; it follows step by step the story of the reduction of Sihon and the Amorites, employing parallel phrases, with slightly heightened detail in 6. But neither Og nor his kingdom is designated as of Amorite origin, and this title is significant in view of the title of Sihon 'king of the Amorites' 3³. (3) It may be fairly urged that the summary in Josh 24⁸ does not include the capture of Bashan; and this inference is confirmed by the more detailed retrospect in Judg 11¹⁹⁻²², where the overthrow of Sihon is mentioned with the statement that 'Israel

JE	D ^a	D	D ^b	P
b 23 ²		king of Bashan ^b came out against us, ^b he and all his people, unto battle at ^c Edrei. ² And Yahweh said unto me, ^a Fear him not: for I have ^c delivered ^b him, and all his people, and his land, into thy hand; and thou shalt do unto him as thou didst unto ^c Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon. ³ So Yahweh ^d our God ^c delivered into our hand Og also, the king of Bashan, and ^b all his people: and we ^c smote him until none was ^c left to him remaining. ⁴ And we ^c took all his cities at that ^c time; there was not a city which we took not from them; threescore cities, ^f all the ^b region of Argob ^h , the kingdom of Og in Bashan. ⁵ All these were cities ^c fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside the ^b unwalled towns a great many. ⁶ And we ^c devoted them, as we did unto Sihon king of Heshbon, ^c devoting every ^b inhabited city, with the ^b women and the little ones. ⁷ But all the cattle, and the ^c spoil of the cities, we took for a ^b prey unto ourselves. ⁸ ^a And we took the land at that ^c time out of the hand of the ^b two kings of the Amorites that were ^{beyond} Jordan, ^f from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon; ⁹ (([which] Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the ^a Amorites call it Senir;)) ¹⁰ all the cities of the ^a plain, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salecah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. ¹¹ (For only Og king of Bashan remained of the ^b remnant of the ^a Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.) ¹² And this land we took in possession at that ^c time: ^f from ^a Arroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, and half the hill country of Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites: ¹³ and the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half ^a tribe of Manasseh; ^f all the ^b region of Argob. (All that Bashan is called the land of ^a Rephaim.) ¹⁴ ^a Nair the son of Manasseh took all the ^b region of Argob, unto the border of the ^a Geshurites and the Maacathites; and called them, even Bashan, ^a after his own name, Havvoth-jair, unto this day. ¹⁵ ^a And I gave Gilead unto Machir.	b 56 c 52 d 18 e 110 f 10 g 35 h 118 i 103 j 89 k 3 ^a l 21 ^a m 3 ^a n 5 o 112 ^a p 33 ^b	
j Josh 12 ^{1b}				
k Josh 12 ^a 13 ¹²				
l 2 ³⁰				
m Josh 12 ⁵ 13 ¹¹				
		16 ^a And unto the Reubenites and unto the Gadites I gave from Gilead even unto the valley of Arnon, the middle of the valley, ^a and the border		

possessed all the lands of the Amorites' ²¹ but Og and his territory are unnamed. D^a is thus the first to relate this extension of the conquest, and to bestow on the half tribe of Manasseh half Gilead and the kingdom of Og. The distribution specified in ¹² 13^a includes the new area, in contrast with ¹⁶ which seems to follow straight on ²⁰. It was at a still later stage that Sihon and Og were grouped together as the 'two kings of the Amorites' cp ⁸ 4⁴⁷ et ¹⁴.

³ M Or, country towns.—Cp ⁵ 1 Sam 6¹⁸ Esth 9¹⁹ (Q^{ri}).

^{6a} So M. T utterly destroyed. Cp ²⁴.

⁶ M ⁵ city of men.—Cp ²⁴.

¹⁰ The narrative in ⁸⁻¹⁷ evidently results from the amalgamation of different statements (see notes on ¹² 14 ¹⁶). After the detailed recital of the conquests of the territories of Sihon and Og, it is not obvious why a fresh summary of the victories over the 'two kings of the Amorites' ⁸⁻¹¹ should be appended. This expression seems a later generalization (cp ¹⁶); in the preceding text Og is not (like Sihon) designated as an Amorite cp ³ 2²⁴ ¹⁴. The kings are described as 'beyond Jordan', i.e. on the East, implying that the narrator was on the West side. But the phrase is used in ²⁰ 2²⁵ in its proper dramatic appropriateness in the person of Moses. These verses, therefore, can hardly be from the same hand (but cp Driver, *Deut* xlii¹). The other passages in which the word occurs in the same meaning cp ²¹, as well as the description of the 'two kings' cp ²⁵, all belong to the later editorial redaction. It may be also noted that 'took' in ⁸ 14 represents a different ⁵ compared with ⁴ 2²⁴. Whether the archaeological notes in ⁹ 11 are of the same date is not clear cp ²¹ 12 ²⁰⁻²³.

¹⁰ M Or, table land.—Cp ⁴ 4⁴³ Josh 13¹⁵ 15, 21 26⁸.

¹² The allotment of the Trans-jordanic territories to Reuben and Gad is first described in the narrative at the base of Num 32, which has been reproduced under the influence of P. The data in the present passage are conflicting. According to ¹², Gilead is divided. Half of it is included in the territory assigned to Reuben and Gad, and half is handed over to the half tribe of Manasseh. But in ¹⁶ Moses is represented as giving Gilead to Machir cp Num 32⁴⁰, the children of Machir being afterwards

known as a clan of the tribe of Manasseh. (Num 32³⁹ actually credits them with the conquest over the Amorites, as though the settlement took place from the West of Jordan in the age following Moses. As the half tribe of Manasseh is not mentioned in Num 32¹⁻³², it is probable that the original story contained no allusion to the settlement of the Manassite clans.) The same story can hardly have written both ¹² and ¹⁶.

¹³ So M. T all the region of Argob, even (M or, with) all Bashan. (The same is called &c.)

^{14a} A further difficulty is raised by ¹⁴, which affirms that the region of Argob, handed over to the half tribe of Manasseh in ¹³, was taken by Jair-ben-Manasseh, who named 'them' Havvoth-Jair. This name, however, according to Num 32⁴¹ belonged to a group of villages in Gilead; while Judg 10¹, deriving their designation from a later hero, also places them in Gilead. ¹⁴, therefore, proceeds from an attempt ¹ to harmonize ¹³ (which mentions Bashan) with Num 32³⁹ ⁴¹ (which is silent as to Bashan) by the assumption that the district stated in Num 32⁴¹ to have been conquered by Jair, was in Bashan' (Driver, *Deut* 55).

^{14b} M See Num 32⁴¹.

¹⁵ Derived editorially from Num 32¹⁰, see ¹².

^{16a} The description of the gift to the Reubenites and Gadites seems superfluous after ¹², and most critics therefore regard it as supplemental. The language of ¹⁶, however, is harmonious with that of ²⁰, and it is possible that this sequence represents the older form of the narrative, before the incorporation of the account of Og, for there seems no reason why an editorial expander should thus imperfectly reproduce statements already made. The gift of ¹⁶ is simply confined to the limits of Sihon's kingdom: these limits, however, are extended in ¹⁷, apparently by an annotator in conformity with Josh 12²⁻³. On the other hand, however, the emphasis conferred on the Reubenites and Gadites by their position at the opening of the verse implies some preceding mention of them: JE must have contained some narrative similar to that which lies at the base of Num 32, which stood between the conquest described in ²¹ 31-37 and the gift specified in ¹⁶.

^{16b} M Or, for a border.

JE | D¹

D

D¹ | Pn 237 Josh 12²o Cp Josh 12³p Num 32¹⁷·q 5 sons of Ex
1821 'able'r Gen 42^{21*}s 926 cp Josh 7⁷t Gen 15^{2 8*}

u 225

v Cp Ex 15¹¹

w 5*

x 186

z 16 23 5

3 34¹ cp Num21²⁰ 23¹⁴z Gen 13¹⁴a' 31² Josh 12 11b' 32¹⁰ cp GenU 31⁹c' 446 34⁶d' Cp 4³ Num 25⁵

a 1232*

[thereof]; even unto the river "Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon; ¹⁷ the "Arabah also, and Jordan "and the border [thereof], from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, under the "slopes of Pisgah "eastward.

¹⁸ And I commanded "you at that "time, saying, Yahweh your God hath "given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over "armed before your brethren the children of Israel, 'all the "men of valour. ¹⁹ 'But "your wives and your little ones, and your cattle, (I know that ye have much cattle,) shall abide in your cities which I have given you; ²⁰ until Yahweh give "rest unto your brethren, as unto you, and they also possess the "land which Yahweh your God giveth them "beyond Jordan: then shall ye return every man unto his "possession, which I have given you.

²¹ "And I commanded Joshua at that "time, saying, 'Thine eyes have seen "all that Yahweh your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall Yahweh do unto all the kingdoms whither thou goest over. ²² Ye shall not "fear them: for Yahweh your God, he it is that "fighteth for you.

²³ And I "besought Yahweh at that "time, saying, ²⁴ O "Lord Yahweh, thou hast "begun to shew thy servant thy "greatness, and thy "strong hand: for "what god is there in heaven or in earth, that can do according to thy works, and according to thy "mighty acts"? ²⁵ Let me go over, I pray thee, and "see the good land that is "beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon. ²⁶ But Yahweh was "wroth with me for your sakes, and hearkened not unto me: and Yahweh said unto me, Let it "suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter. ²⁷ Get thee up into the "top of Pisgah, and "lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold with thine eyes: for thou shalt not go over "this Jordan. ²⁸ But "command Joshua, and "encourage him, and strengthen him: for "he shall go over before this people, and he shall "cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see. ²⁹ So we abode in the "valley over against "Beth-peor.

⁴ "And now, "O Israel, hearken unto the "statutes and unto the judgements, which "I "teach you, for to do them; that ye may "live, and go in and possess the "land which "Yahweh, the God of your fathers, giveth you. ² Ye shall not "add unto the word" which I "command you, neither shall ye "diminish from it, that ye may "keep the commandments

q 6*

r 8

s 69*

t 84

u 98

v 69*

w 21^bx 88^dy 43^d

z 12

a' 45

b' 55^cc' 86^bd' 106^c

e' 65

a 2^bb 104^ac 63^ad 71^be 72^af 53^ag 69^ch 71^bi 29^bj 82^c

317* M Or, for a border.

17b M Or, springs.

¹⁸ This appears to refer to an address to the tribes desiring to settle on the east of the Jordan cp Num 32. The circumstances leading to it are not here named. Is this another of the independent elements wrought into the narrative by D, or has his text been curtailed by omission in consequence of editorial manipulations of the previous passage?

²¹ Another of the passages marked by the vague phrase 'at that time.' Its position here has occasioned some perplexity, as there is no previous mention of such a command (eg in Num 32), and it appears to anticipate the instruction in ²⁸ 'command Joshua' cp 138 and 318 7 28. Moreover, it is certain that the exhortation in ^{21b} 22 was intended for Joshua? The plural in ²² implies an address to the people: in ²¹ (5) reads 'your eyes,' and 'the Lord our God,' while Sam omits 'your God': in ²² 2 renders 'thou shalt not fear them.'

²⁸ 5 as in ²¹. T charge. Ct Num 27¹⁰.

⁴ The position of the great discourse in 4¹⁻⁴⁰ has been much discussed (cp Driver, *Deut* lxiix ff) and is not easy to determine. It depends in part on the view which may be taken of the character of 1-3, Dillm's theory of the original narrative-form of the Retrospect (cp 1⁶⁸) involving as its consequence another situation for the exhortation in 4¹⁻⁴⁰. Even when this view is rejected, there are still peculiar phenomena requiring attention. (i) The tone of historical reminiscence is abandoned (save in 21^a) for that of special warning 2. 16^a. Two themes receive forcible illustration, (i) the duty of Israel to cleave to Yahweh alone, and (ii) the divine unity and spirituality. The necessity of allegiance to Yahweh alone is emphasized by a reference to the incident

'in' (rather than 'because of' cp Driver *in loc*) Baal-peor³ supplying a link of attachment to 3²⁹ (did the text of 4³ originally run 'in Beth-peor,' and was it attracted afterwards to 'Baal-peor' by the following clause?). In 1^{a-4}, therefore, it is natural to see the hortatory sequel of 1^{a-329}, and the summons to obey the statutes and judgements which are about to be announced¹ seems to point directly to 12¹. But (2) ⁵ affirms that 'statutes and judgements' to be observed in the land which Israel is about to enter (cp 1) *have been already taught*. Is the same situation implied in these passages? Is not ⁵ more appropriate to a concluding than to an introductory address? It is, indeed, proposed to explain the perfect by reference to previous statutes and judgements which Moses 'had, as occasion arose, impressed upon his people' (Driver, *in loc*). But they are apparently identified in ⁶ and ⁸ with 'all this law,' which elsewhere refers to the whole corpus of D's legislation. It is true that in ⁸ the phrase 'which I set before you this day' may again place the speaker before rather than after the main recital 12-26 cp 1. 40. But the phrase 'which I command you' 2 40 is employed with equal ease in the closing scenes in reference to the law which has been already enjoined eg 27¹⁰ 28¹ 13-16 30^{2 8} 11 16; it therefore carries with it no precise implication of priority to the actual exposition. Dillm's conjecture that some of the participles in the discourse were originally perfects, which were editorially changed when it was transferred to its present place, seems therefore unnecessary: and the tenses throw no difficulty in the way of the possibility that the main section 5-40 originally stood among the final exhortations. Reasons will be offered hereafter (see 31²⁴) for connecting it with 31²⁴⁻²⁹.

	JE D ^e	D	D ^e P	
		of Yahweh ^k your God which I ^l command you. ³ ¹ Your eyes have seen what Yahweh ^m did because of ^b Baal-peor: for all the men that ⁿ followed Baal-peor, Yahweh thy God hath ⁿ destroyed them ⁿ from the midst of thee. ⁴ But ye that did ^a cleave unto Yahweh your God are ^a alive every one of you this day.		k 7 ¹ l 43 ¹ m 85 ¹ n 34 ² p 78 ² q 27
b Num 25 ¹⁻⁵		... ⁵ ⁿ Behold, I have ^a taught you ^b statutes and judgements, even ^a as Yahweh my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the midst of the land whither ye go in to ^a possess it. ⁶ ⁿ Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your ^a understanding in the ^a sight of the peoples, which shall hear all these ⁿ statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a ^a wise and understanding people. ⁷ For what great nation is there, that hath ^a a god so ^a nigh unto them, as Yahweh our God is ^a whensoever we call upon him? ⁸ And what great nation is there, that hath ^a statutes and judgements so righteous as all ^a this law, which ^a I ^a set before you this day? ⁹ ⁿ Only ^a take heed to thyself, and ^a keep thy soul ^d diligently, lest thou ^b forget the things ^a which thine eyes saw, and lest they ^b depart from thy heart ^a all the days of thy life; but ^a make them known unto thy children and thy children's children; ¹⁰ the day that thou stoodest before Yahweh thy God in ^a Horeb, when Yahweh said unto me, ^a Assemble me the people, and I will make them hear my words, ^a that they may ^a learn to ^a fear me ^a all the days that they live upon the earth ^k , and that they may ^a teach their children. ¹¹ And ^a ye came near and stood under the mountain; and the ^a mountain burned with fire unto the ^a heart of heaven, with darkness, ^a cloud, and thick darkness. ¹² And Yahweh spake unto you ^a out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no ^a form; ^a only [ye heard] a voice. ¹³ And he declared unto you his ^a covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even the ten ^a commandments; and he ^a wrote them upon two tables of stone. ¹⁴ And Yahweh commanded me ^a at that time to ^a teach	r 99 s 29 ² t 88 ¹ u 82 ¹ v 43 ² w 104 ¹ x 70 ² y 100 ¹ z 84 a 108 ² b 48 c 43 ² d 13 ² e 7 f 71 ² g 44 ² h 79 i 31 j 110	
c Cp 5 ³				
d 5 ² cp 6 ²				
e 1 ¹⁸				
f Ps 145 ¹⁸				
g Cp 1 Kings 8:52				
h Cp 114 ¹				
i 31 ¹² cp 20 ²				
j 5 cp 40 68 324 ⁶				
k Josh 37				
l 121 31 ¹³ cp 13 ²				
m 52 ³ 915				
n 52 ³				
o 16, 23 25 58 11 Ex 20 ⁴ Num 12 ⁸ Ps 17 ¹⁵ Job 41 ¹¹ o 138 p 52 ²				

4⁵ Stress has been already laid on indications of diversity of conception between 1-3 and 5-11. If the exhortation in 4⁵⁻⁴⁰ is not to be associated with 16⁴⁻⁴, can it be attached to the second group of discourses? (1) It is probable that the author was acquainted with the narrative in 5; but he can hardly have been the same writer. He takes the same view 4¹⁰, concerning the identity of the assembly at Horeb with people whom Moses now addresses cp 5³. But the language of 11, adds fresh detail ('burned . . . to the heart of heaven') and emphasizes the main lesson 'ye saw no form.' The stress laid on the subsequent prohibition of any kind of idolatry implies that the command in 6 proved an insufficient safeguard: and it is difficult to suppose that the author of 5 would have himself prefixed to it a description of the same scene, and a series of injunctions so elaborate and detailed as those in 4¹⁵⁻¹⁸. These must, therefore, be regarded as supplemental. The apparent recognition of the legitimacy of the worship of the heavenly bodies for other nations 19, finds no counterpart in 5-26. It shows affinity with the ideas of 32³ (3), and suggests an effort to deal with the problem of the validity of other national worships which probably only forced itself on the mind of Israel when it was no longer on its own land. In that case this discourse may be regarded as an early utterance of the exilic polemic against participation in the Babylonian idolatries. The emphatic assertion of the sole deity of Yahweh 35 39 harmonizes with this view (see the parallels below) which is further supported by 27-31. Driver has already treated 29-31 as an interpolation by D^e cp Deut lxxvi. It may be doubted whether the loose use of 'for' in 32 can bear the whole weight of this inference; the connexion does not seem improved by a reference back to 28 (for other instances of defective precision cp 1122 30¹¹ 31²⁰). But this passage resembles others which there is reason to regard as secondary cp 30¹⁻¹⁰, and thus the general conclusion as to the probable date of the whole is strengthened. König, *Eintl* 213, suggests that 25-31 may be an insertion. Steuernagel treats 5-40 as pl. 29-40 as sing. (2) The linguistic indications in 5-40 are of two kinds: (1) as the margins show the discourse is steeped in the characteristic phraseology of the Deuteronomic school; (ii) it contains a number of words and phrases found elsewhere in

D only in the concluding chapters, or belonging usually to P, or corresponding to the later religious vocabulary. Among these the following may be enumerated in their verse order: ^a understanding cp 27¹ אֲנִי בְּרִיתִי 32²⁸; ⁷ what great nation is there cp 2 Sam 7²³: 1 a god so nigh cp Ps 145¹⁸; ⁷ whensoever we call upon him cp 1 Kings 8:52; ⁹ keep thy soul* cp Prov 13¹⁶ 10³; ⁹ make them know* אֲנִי בְּרִיתִי at with accus 83 Josh 4:22; ¹⁸ figure Ezek 8⁹ 5 2 Chron 33⁷ 124⁴ cp Schrader, *COT* i 146 = Assyrian samulluv; ¹⁸ likeness Ex 25⁴⁰ 40 Josh 22²⁸ 'pattern' P cp 2 Kings 16¹⁰ Ezek 83 10 10³ Is 44¹³ Ps 106²⁰ 144¹² 1 Chron 28:11. 18¹: male and female cp 17¹⁷; ¹⁷ winged fowl Gen 7¹⁴ cp Ezek 17²³ 39¹⁷ Ps 148¹⁰; ¹⁸ anything that creepeth cp 49: ¹⁸ hath divided cp 29²⁸; ²⁰ the iron furnace Jer 17⁴ 1 Kings 8:14; ²⁰ a people of inheritance* cp 7¹⁴ 26¹⁸ Jer 10¹⁶ 51¹⁸; ²⁵ beget 28¹¹ cp 30: ²⁵ shall have been long = 'become old' cp Lev 13¹¹ 26¹⁰; ²⁸ call heaven and earth to witness 30¹⁹ 31²⁸; ²⁷ scatter 28²⁴ cp Jer 51⁶ 30¹¹ Ezek 22¹⁵; ²⁷ few Gen 34³⁰* cp Dent 28²² 5; ²⁷ lead you away 28²⁴; ²⁸ wood and stone 28³⁰ 64 29¹⁷ cp Is 37¹⁹; ²⁸ Kings 10¹⁸ Ezek 20²⁴; ²⁹ seek cp Jer 29¹³; ³⁰ tribulation 5²; ³⁰ come upon thee = 'find thee' 31¹⁷ 21 cp 28²; ³⁰ latter days 31¹⁹ cp Num 24¹⁴ Gen 49¹⁸ Hos 3⁵ 12 &c; ³⁰ return 30²; ³¹ fail 31⁶ 8 Josh 15⁸; ³² create cp 24⁸; ³² end of heaven 30⁴ cp Is 13¹⁵ Ps 10¹ Neh 1⁹; ³² assayed cp 28²⁶ 5 in different application 8¹⁶ 13³; ³⁸ unto thee it was showed 5¹ only in Ex 25⁴⁰ 26³⁰ Lev 13¹⁶ P; ³⁵ there is none else cp 32³⁹* Is 45⁵ 22 46⁹ 2 Sam 7²³; ³⁷ with his presence cp 51⁶ 62¹ 78⁹ 26⁹ cp Is 63⁹; ³⁹ lay it to thine heart 5 = 'call them to mind' 30¹ cp 1 Kings 8⁴⁷ Is 44¹⁹ 46⁸ Lam 3³¹. The general effect may be said to support the view of the unity of the discourse from 5 to 40 (Cornill, *Einteilung* 38, divides into 1-8 and 9-40); but further to suggest its affinity with subsequent additions to D, and its occasional contact with the school which produced F.

7 M Or, God.

11^a Ct 52³⁷, where the people only come near to Moses, and desire him to approach the mountain.

11^b A peculiar addition to 5²⁸. For the form 21 cp 28⁵⁰ 29⁴ 19 (against 21² 59).

13 M 5 words.—Cp 10⁴.

JE D^s

D

D^s P15-28 15b_j9 25 31²⁹ 5r Ex 25⁹ 40 Josh22²⁸s Cp 1¹⁰⁷t Gen 7¹⁴u Cl 1⁴⁹v s⁸19 15a₁₁₁w 17³ op Gen 21¹x Cp 29²⁰y 22⁶z 32²a' 9⁵ op Ex 24¹⁷ 5b' Ex 20⁶ || Deut5⁹c' Cp 23⁰d' 5 Lev 13¹¹26¹⁰†e' 5¹⁸ 31²⁹ op32¹⁶ 21^{*}f' 30¹⁹ 31²⁸† cp81⁹ Jer 17⁷ 42¹⁹g' 25⁸⁴ 30³h' Gen 34³⁰*i' 25⁷j' 27¹⁶ 31²⁹ op11⁹bk' 28³⁸ 64 29¹⁷*cp 6⁸l' 31¹⁷ 21m' 30²n' Ex 34⁶o' 31⁶ 8 Josh 15^{*}p' 9²⁶ 10¹⁰ cp20¹⁹*q' 9⁷ 5r' Cp 24⁸

s' 5 Niph Ex

11⁶ Deut 27⁹t' 5²⁶u' 2 Sam 7²³v' 26⁸ 34¹²*w' Ex 25⁴⁰ 26⁸⁰Lev 13⁴⁸†x' 5 82 13⁸y' 39 7⁹ op 10¹⁷

you ^bstatutes and judgements, that ye might do them in the land whither ye ^kgo over to ^tpossess it. ¹⁵ ²¹Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of ^wform on the day that Yahweh spake unto you in ^eHoreb ^hout of the midst of the fire: ¹⁶lest ye ^qcorrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image in the ^wform of any ^dfigure, ¹⁷the ^l'likeness of ^s'male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any ^w'winged fowl that flieth in the heaven, ¹⁸the ^l'likeness of any thing that ^w'creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the ^vwater under the earth: ¹⁹ ²and lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even ^mall the ^w'host of heaven, thou be ^d'drawn away and ^w'worship them, and serve them, which Yahweh thy God hath ^d'divided unto ^v'all the ^w'peoples under the whole heaven". ²⁰ But Yahweh hath taken you, and ^h'brought you forth out of the ^l'iron furnace, out of Egypt, to be unto him a ^q'people of inheritance, ^v'as at this day. ²¹ Furthermore Yahweh was ^s'angry with me for your sakes, and sware that I should not ^g'go over Jordan, and that I should not go in unto that ^v'good land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance: ²² but ⁱ'I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan: but ye shall ^w'go over, and possess that ^v'good land. ²³ ^a'Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye ^v'forget the ^c'covenant of Yahweh your God, which he made with you, and make you a graven image in the ^w'form of any thing which Yahweh thy God hath forbidden thee. ²⁴ For Yahweh thy God is a ^v'devouring fire, a ^b'jealous God.

²⁵ When thou shalt ^v'beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have been ^d'long in the land, and shall ^q'corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image in the ^w'form of any thing, and shall ^w'do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh thy God, to ^v'provoke him to anger: ²⁶ I ^j'call heaven and earth to witness against you this day^v, that ye shall soon utterly ^v'perish from off the land whereunto ye ^kgo over Jordan to ^t'possess it; ye shall not ^v'prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly ^v'be destroyed. ²⁷ And Yahweh shall ^v'scatter you among the peoples, and ye shall be left ^h'few in number among the nations, whither Yahweh shall ⁱ'lead you away. ²⁸ And there ye shall serve gods, the ^j'work of men's hands, ^w'wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell. ²⁹ But if from thence ye shall seek Yahweh thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou search after him with all thy ^v'heart and with all thy soul. ³⁰ When thou art in ^t'tribulation, and all these things are ^v'come upon thee, ^v'in the latter days thou shalt ^m'return to Yahweh thy God, and ^v'harken unto his voice: ³¹ for Yahweh thy God is a ^w'merciful God; he will not ^v'fail thee, neither ^v'destroy thee, nor forget the ^c'covenant of thy fathers ^v'which he sware unto them. ³² For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, ^v'since the day that God ^v'created man upon the earth, and from the one end of heaven unto the other, whether ^v'there hath been ^v'any such thing^v as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? ³³ Did ever people ^v'hear the voice of God speaking ^h'out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live? ³⁴ Or hath God assayed to ^w'go and take him a nation from the midst of [another nation, by ^v'temptations, by ^v'signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a ^v'mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by ^v'great terrors, according to ^v'all that Yahweh your God did for you in Egypt ^v'before your eyes? ³⁵ Unto thee it ^w'was shewed, that thou ^v'mightest know that Yahweh ^v'he is God; ^a'there is none else beside him. ³⁶ Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might ^h'instruct thee: and upon earth he made thee to see his great fire; and

k' 54^bl' 108^b

m' 10

n' 38

o' 23^a

p' 14

q' 28^br' 33^a

s' 18

t' 69^{bd}u' 54^av' 69^bw' 37^bx' 86^by' 73^bz' 34^b

a'' 59

b'' 58

c'' 107^ad'' 101^ae'' 80^b

f'' 12

g'' 43^a

h'' 66

430 M Or, if in the latter days thou return.—Cp 31²⁹.84 M Or, trials. Or, evidences.—Cp 7¹⁰ 29³⁸. Same root as 'assayed': with divine subject 82¹⁶ 13⁸.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

this day, that ye may ¹learn them, and ²observe to do them. ² Yahweh ³our God made a ⁴covenant with us in ⁵Horeb. ³ Yahweh made not this ⁶covenant with our fathers, but with ⁷us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day. ⁴ Yahweh spake with you ⁵face to face in the mount ⁶out of the midst of the fire, ⁷as ⁸(I ⁹stood between Yahweh and you ¹⁰at that time, to shew you the word of Yahweh: for ye were afraid because of the fire, and went not up into the mount;) saying,

⁶ "I am Yahweh thy God, which ⁷brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the ⁸house of ⁹bondage.

⁷ ¹Thou shalt have none ²other gods ³before me.

⁸ ¹Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, [the likeness of] ²any ³form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: ⁴thou shalt not ⁵bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I Yahweh thy God am a ⁶jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; ⁷and shewing mercy unto ⁸thousands, of them that ⁹love me and ¹⁰keep my commandments.

¹¹ ¹Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God ²in vain: for Yahweh will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name ³in vain.

¹² ¹Observe the sabbath day, to keep it holy, ²as Yahweh thy God commanded thee. ³Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: ⁴but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God: [in it] thou shalt not do any work, ⁵thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy ⁶manservant, nor thy ⁷maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, ⁸nor thy ⁹stranger that is ¹⁰within thy gates; that thy ¹¹manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. ¹²And thou shalt ¹³remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God ¹⁴brought thee out thence by a ¹⁵mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore Yahweh thy God commanded thee to ¹⁶keep the sabbath day.

¹⁶ ¹Honour thy father and thy mother, ²as Yahweh thy God ³commanded thee: that thy days may be ⁴long, and that it may ⁵go well with thee, upon the ⁶land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.

¹⁷ ¹Thou shalt do no murder.

¹⁸ ¹Neither shalt thou commit adultery.

¹⁹ ¹Neither shalt thou steal.

²⁰ ¹Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.

²¹ ¹Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife; neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's house, his field, or his ²manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.

²² These words Yahweh spake unto all your ³assembly in the mount ⁴out of the midst of the fire, of the ⁵cloud, and of the ⁶thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more. ⁷And he wrote them upon two

d 71^a
e 52^a
f 1^a
g 31^a
h 79^a
i 79^a
j 63
k 110

l 28^b
m 61

n 10
o 23^a

p 82^c

q 29^b

r 109^b

s 75

t 51^a

u 80^b

v 72^a

w 116^a

x 69^c

y 20^a

b Cp 41 23 11-2-7
1816. ct 135
214-16
c 34¹⁰ Ex 33¹¹ cp
Gen 32³⁰ other-
wise Num 12⁸
14¹⁴
d Cp Ex 19¹⁶⁻¹⁸

7 L5aⁿ
e Cp 23 85
8-10 L5b^e
f 412 16.

g 42^a

h Cp 74^b

11 L5c

12-15 L9b^d
4 Ct Ex 20⁸

14 L2a^c
j Cp 105^e

k Cp 97 ct Ex
20¹¹

l 5 = do 14 cp 16¹

Ex 31¹⁸

16 L1a^c

m Ex 20¹²

17 L2h^f

18 L1i^f

19 L3a^c

20 L4f^e

21 L2j^b

21 [18 in 5]

n Ex 19¹⁶
o Ex 20²¹ cp 41¹

tions Israel is a peculiar people ⁷14² 26¹⁸ cp Ex 19²⁴, already consecrated by Yahweh's choice ⁷14² 21 cp 26¹⁸, a religious conception of great importance: in both sections this divine election imposes on Israel a relentless severity to idolaters, 'thine eye shall not pity' &c ⁷16¹³ 9¹³ 21 25¹². If the preacher sometimes drops into the form of command & g ⁷16¹³, ⁷16¹³ [12³⁰ the legislator in his turn enforces his statutes with exhortations & g 12²⁸ 13¹⁸ 14² 15¹⁶ 20²⁰ cp 17¹⁷ 20²⁰ [g13, warning his hearers that the divine education began in the wilderness & ²will be continued under new circumstances 13³. (2) A large number of expressions will be found common to 5-11 and 12-26 which nowhere appear in 1-4, cp 2^b 9 13^a 20 23^c 29⁹ 30 37^a 41^b 42^b 43^b 50 51 60 61 68^a 69^a 76 95 105^a 115^a cp 'say in thine heart' 7¹⁷ 8¹⁷ 9¹⁸ 18¹, 'from under heaven' 7¹⁴ 9¹⁴ 25¹⁴. These coincidences of thought and phrase seem best explicable on the hypothesis of unity of authorship; and the homilies of 5-11 may therefore be regarded as the production of the compiler of the main portion of the Code, prefixed by him at a later literary stage than the first collection of the Laws (cp *Introd* X 4a i 92) and connected with the tradi-

tional scheme by the title in 4⁴⁶. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that they were all written at one time, or originally designed for their present order. Peculiar phenomena noticeable in 7 and in 9-10 will be discussed as they appear.

5⁵ This verse has been regarded as a later parenthetical insertion, for in 22, 10⁴ cp 4¹² the divine Words are spoken to the whole people. In Ex 19³ Moses alone is designated to receive them, and it is possible that the Deuteronomic representation has been thus combined and harmonized with the earlier passage.

^{6a} M See Ex 20². ^{6b} M. 5 *bondmen*.

⁷ M Or, *beside me*.

¹⁰ M See Ex 20⁸.

¹¹ M Or, *for vanity or falsehood*.

¹⁴ D's use of this term follows E, cp 12⁹⁹: so in 21 12¹² 18 15¹⁷

16¹¹ 14 ct 28⁶⁸.

²² These words leap forward to the result of the first forty days' sojourn in the mount cp 9⁹. They have no place in the corresponding narrative Ex 20¹⁸⁻²¹, and may be due to an annotator who desires to complete the narrative, and thus anticipates the statement in 9⁹.

JE D^r

D

D' P

p 4¹¹ 9¹⁵q Ct 4¹¹r Ex 33¹⁸ 22Num 14²²s 4³⁸t 18¹⁸ Ex 20¹⁹u Ct P^{21b}v 1³⁴w 18¹⁷a 8¹ 30¹⁶ 54. 15²⁰b 2 Kings 23²⁵†c 11¹⁸ cp 4⁹d 5¹† cp 11¹⁹e 11¹⁹8 L^{uma}f 11¹⁸ cp Ex 13¹⁶g 11²⁰h 7¹ 12²⁹ cp Ex 13⁵i 9¹

tables of stone, and gave them unto me. ²³ And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, while the ²mountain did burn with fire, that ye ⁹came near unto me, even all the ⁷heads of your ^atribes, and your ^belders; ²⁴ and ye said, Behold, Yahweh our God hath shewed us his ⁷glory and his ^cgreatness, and we have heard his voice ¹out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this day that ⁶God doth speak with man, and he liveth. ²⁵ Now therefore why should we ⁴die? for this great fire will consume us: if we hear the voice of Yahweh our God any more, then we shall die. ²⁶ For who is there of ⁴all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking ¹out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived? ²⁷ Go thou near, and hear all that Yahweh our God shall say: and speak thou unto us all that Yahweh our God shall speak unto thee; and we will hear it, and do it. ²⁸ And Yahweh ⁹heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me; and Yahweh said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee: they have ⁹well said all that they have spoken. ²⁹ ⁹Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would ^dfear me, and ^hkeep all my commandments always, that it might be ⁹well with them, and with their children ¹for ever! ³⁰ Go say to them, Return ye to your tents. ³¹ But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the ⁸commandment, and the ¹statutes, and the judgements, which thou shalt ^hteach them, that they may do them in the ¹land which ¹I give them to ¹possess it. ³² Ye shall ⁹observe to do therefore ⁹as Yahweh your God hath commanded you: ye shall not ^hturn aside to the right hand or to the left. ³³ Ye shall ¹walk in all the way ⁹which Yahweh your God hath commanded you, that ye may ^hlive, and that it may be ⁹well with you, and that ye may ^hprolong your days in the land which ye shall possess.

⁶ ¹Now this is the ¹commandment, the ¹statutes, and the judgements, ⁹which Yahweh ⁹your God commanded to ⁹teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye ⁹go over to possess it: ² that thou mightest ⁹fear Yahweh thy God, to ^hkeep all his ¹statutes and his commandments, ¹which ¹I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, ^hall the days of thy life; and that thy days may be ¹prolonged. ³ ^hHear therefore, O Israel, and ^hobserve to do it; that it may be ⁹well with thee, and that ye may ^hincrease mightily, as Yahweh, the ⁹God of thy fathers, hath ⁹promised unto thee, ¹in a ¹land flowing with milk and honey.

⁴ ^hL^{um} Hear, O Israel: ^hYahweh our God is one Yahweh: ⁵ and thou shalt ⁹love Yahweh thy God ^hwith all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and ^hwith all thy might. ⁶ ^hAnd these words, ¹which ¹I command thee this day, shall be upon thine ^hheart: ⁷ and thou shalt ⁹teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt ⁹talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. ⁸ ^hAnd thou shalt ⁹bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. ⁹ And thou shalt ⁹write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon ⁹thy gates.

¹⁰ And it shall be, ^hwhen Yahweh thy God shall ⁹bring thee into the land which he ^hswore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee; great and goodly ⁹cities, which thou buildedst not,

z 57

a' 112^ab' 43^bc' 55^cd' 44^ae' 116^af' 13^ag' 29^dh' 71^bi' 69^aj' 88^ak' 114^bl' 115^b

m' 72

n' 73^ba 29^cb 104^ac 29^ad 1^ae 71^b

f 54

g 44^bh 85^ci 29^b

j 63

k 13^cl 73^am 9^bn 82^ao 116^ap 1^b

q 91

r 69^as 74^b

t 59

u 51

v 24

w 107^a

⁵²⁰ M. Or, *Oh that they had such an heart as this alway, to fear me, and keep all my commandments, that &c.*

⁶¹ This passage seems designed to lead direct to the announcement of the commandments communicated to Moses on the mount ⁵²¹. It closely resembles the title in 12¹ prefixed to the actual code. It may be surmised, therefore, that it once stood much nearer to the legislation, before the addition of the homilies 64-11. In that case ⁸ may be an editorial connexion, preparing the way for 4..

⁵ ^h has no preposition, and the rendering of the text is 'illegitimate' (Driver). Dillm supposes the words to have

strayed from the end of 1: Driver suggests that a preceding clause has been omitted, such as 'in the land which Yahweh thy God is giving thee' cp 27³; (5) adds 'to give thee.'

^{4a} (5) inserts here a special title, 'These are the statutes and judgements which Yahweh commanded the children of Israel when they came forth out of the land of Egypt;' cp 4⁴⁵. This indicates the feeling that 5-6³ is really distinct from the two homilies 64-80-11.

^{4b} M. Or, *Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one.* Or, *Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one.* Or, *Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone.*

JE	D ^o	D	D ^o	P
		11 and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and cisterns hewn out, which thou hewedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not, and thou shalt ^a eat and be full; ¹² then ¹ beware lest thou forget Yahweh, which ^a brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the ^b house of bondage. ¹³ Thou shalt ^a fear Yahweh thy God; and him shalt thou ^c serve, and shalt ^k swear by his name. ¹⁴ Ye shall not ^a go after other gods, of the gods of the peoples ¹ which are round about you; ¹⁵ for Yahweh thy God in the ^a midst of thee is a ^m jealous God; lest the ^r anger of Yahweh thy God be kindled against thee, and he ^e destroy thee from off the face of the earth.		x 41 ^b y 108 ^a z 48 a' 28 ^b b' 61 c' 23 ^c d' 78 ^a e' 78 ^a f' 17 g' 34 ^a
12-15 L5a ^p J 811 k 102 ^o l 137 17 ¹⁴ m 5 ^o n Ex 17 27 ^b 7 Num 14 22 o 92 ^o cp 33 ^o p 20 44 ^o		¹⁶ Ye shall not ^a tempt Yahweh your God, as ye tempted him in ^o Massah. ¹⁷ Ye shall diligently ^b keep the commandments of Yahweh your God, and his ^p testimonies, and his ^b statutes, ^c which he hath commanded thee. ¹⁸ And thou shalt ^b do that which is right and good in the sight of Yahweh: that it may be ^o well with thee, and that thou mayest ¹ go in and possess the ⁱ good land which Yahweh ^a sware unto thy fathers, ¹⁹ to ^q thrust out all thine enemies from before thee, as Yahweh hath ^a spoken.		h' 37 ^a i' 53 j' 69 ^b
q 94 Josh 23 ^o ct Num 35 20 22 ^a r 20-25 L10b s Ex 13 14 Sam t add and it shall be u 84 71 ^o 11 ^o 29 ^o 34 ¹¹		²⁰ ¹ When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the ^p testimonies, and the ^b statutes, and the judgements, ^c which Yahweh our God hath commanded you? ²¹ then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; and Yahweh ^a brought us out of Egypt with a ^b mighty hand: ²² and Yahweh shewed ⁱ signs and wonders, great and sore, upon ^a Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his house, ^m before our eyes: ²³ and he ^a brought us out from thence, that he might ¹ bring us in, to give us the land which he ^a sware unto our fathers. ²⁴ And Yahweh commanded us to do all these ^a statutes, to ^o fear Yahweh our God, for our ^v good ^a always, that he might ¹ preserve us alive, ^a as at this day. ²⁵ And it ¹ shall be righteousness unto us, if we ^a observe to do all this ^a commandment before Yahweh our God, ^a as he hath commanded us.		k' 80 ^b l' 101 ^a m' 3 ^a n' 104 ^b o' 44 ^a p' 116 ^b q' 13 ^a r' 72 s' 33 ^a
t 24 13 ct Gen 15 ^o u 1-4 L5d ^l v a Josh 3 10 24 11 ⁺ cp Ex 3 ^o w 15 f ^u x Ex 23 22 cp 34 12 y L19e z Josh 23 12 cp Gen 24 9 ^a a Cp Ex 34 16a b L5e f ^g c L23 Ex 34 18 f 123 Ex 23 24 34 13 g 123 ^a h 25 12 ^o i L11 h j 14 ²		²⁶ ¹ When Yahweh ^a thy God shall ^b bring thee into the land whither thou ^o goest to ^a possess it, and shall ^a cast out many nations before thee, the ^o Hittite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite ^a , seven nations ^a greater and mightier than thou; ² and when Yahweh thy God shall ¹ deliver them up before thee, and thou shalt smite them; then thou shalt ^a devote them; thou shalt ^b make no ^b covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them: ³ ¹ neither shalt thou make ^a marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his ^a daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. ⁴ For he will turn away thy son from following ^a me, that they may ^a serve other gods: so will the ^a anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and he will ^b destroy thee ¹ quickly. ⁵ ¹ But ^a thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall ^a break down their altars, and ¹ dash in pieces their ^a pillars, and ^a hew down their ^a Asherim, and ^a burn their graven images with fire. ⁶ ¹ For ¹ thou art an ^a holy people unto Yahweh thy God: Yahweh thy God hath ^a chosen thee to be a ^a peculiar people		a 1 ^a b 24 c 53 d 83 ^a e 55 ^b f 100 ^a g 35 h 31 ^b i 23 ^b j 17 k 34 ^a l 93 m 60 ^a n 26 ^a o 60 ^b

71^a Some parts of this chapter bear a very close resemblance to Ex 23²³⁻³⁸ as the following table of parallels (sometimes in phraseology, sometimes in thought) will show:—

Ex 23 ²³ Deut 7 ¹	
24	4.
25	15
26	14
27	23
28	20
29	22
31b	28.
32	2
33b	16b

These correspondences suggest that 7 is an expansion of an earlier discourse in Ex 23²³⁻³⁸, standing at the close of E's Covenant-Words. It is possible that 7 originally occupied a similar position as the conclusion of a short code of religious law cp 12²⁹⁻³¹ appended to 12¹³⁻²⁸, and was afterwards transferred to the collection of introductory homilies.

another form 2 Kings 16²⁴. Elsewhere *nashal* Deut 19⁶ 'slip,' 24⁴⁰ 'cast,' is a different word (Driver, Deut 96).

² So M. T utterly destroy.

⁴ The address of Moses passes into the word of Yahweh cp 11¹⁴, 17² 28²⁰ 29⁵.

^{5a} Cp 12³ Ex 34¹³. The verse appears to interrupt the context. The 'devotion' of the entire population has been ordained in ², but the command 'thus shall ye do unto them' seems to assume their continued existence, and only requires the destruction of their sacred objects. It may be noticed further that while ^{4a} and ⁶ are cast in the singular, ⁵ breaks suddenly into the plural (cp Staerk, Deut 66): ^{4a} seems the Deuteronomic equivalent of Ex 34^{13b}, and ^{4b} may be an editorial expansion.

^{5b} M Or, obelisks.

^{6c} M See Ex 34¹³.

JE D ^a	D	D ^a P
j 10 ¹⁵ 27 ¹¹ 5 Gen 34 ^{8*}	unto himself, "above "all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. 7 Yahweh did not "set his love unto you, nor "choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of "all peoples: 8 but because Yahweh "loveth you, and because he would "keep the oath which he "sware unto your fathers, hath Yahweh "brought you out with a "mighty hand, and "redeemed you out of the "house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. 9 "Know therefore that Yahweh thy God, "he is God; the faithful God, which "keepeth "covenant and "mercy with them that "love him and "keep his commandments to a "thousand generations; 10 and "repayeth them that "hate him to their face, to "destroy them: he will not be "slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face. 11 Thou shalt therefore "keep the "commandment, and the "statutes, and the judgements, "which I command thee this day, to do them.	p 14 q 74 ^a r 82 ^{ac} s 107 ^a t 28 ^b u 80 ^b v 95 w 61 x 68 ^a y 86 ^d z 29 ^d a' 104 ^a b' 29 ^b c' 82 ^b d' 22 ^a e' 81 f' 50 g' 30 h' 64 i' 68 ^b j' 43 ^b k' 62 l' 39 ^b m' 12 n' 101 ^a o' 80 ^a p' 86 ^c q' 44 ^d r' 78 ^a s' 75 t' 76 u' 34 ^b v' 86 ^a w' 9 ^a x' 9 ^b
k 4 ⁵⁵ l 12 5 ¹⁰ m 5 ¹⁰ n 32 ¹¹ 5 o 5 ⁹ p 23 ²¹	12 And it shall come to pass, because ye hearken to these judgements, and "keep, and do them, that Yahweh thy God shall "keep with thee the "covenant and the "mercy which he "sware unto thy fathers: 13 and he will "love thee, and "bless thee, and "multiply thee: he will also bless the "fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground, thy "corn and thy wine and thine oil, the "increase of thy kine and the young of thy flock, in the land which he "sware unto thy fathers to give thee. 14 Thou shalt be blessed above "all peoples: there shall not be male or "female barren "among you, or among your cattle. 15 And Yahweh will "take away from thee all sickness; and he will "put none of the evil "diseases of Egypt, "which thou knowest, upon thee, but will lay them upon all them that hate thee. 16 17 And thou shalt consume "all the peoples which Yahweh thy God shall "deliver unto thee; "thine eye shall not pity them: neither shalt thou "serve "their gods; for that will be a "snare unto thee. 17 If thou shalt "say in thine heart, These nations are more than I; "how can I "dispossess them? 18 thou shalt not be afraid of them: thou shalt well "remember what Yahweh thy God "did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt; 19 the great "temptations "which thine eyes saw, and the "signs, and the wonders, and the "mighty hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby Yahweh thy God "brought thee out: so shall Yahweh thy God do unto "all the peoples of whom thou art afraid. 20 Moreover Yahweh thy God will send the "hornet among them, "until they that are left, and "hide themselves, "perish from before thee. 21 Thou shalt not be "affrighted at them: for Yahweh thy God is "in the midst of thee, a "great God and a terrible. 22 23 And Yahweh thy God will cast out those nations before thee by "little and little: thou "mayest not "consume them "quickly, lest the "beasts of the field increase upon thee. 23 But Yahweh thy God shall "deliver them up before thee, and shall "discomfit them with a great discomfiture, until they be "destroyed. 24 And he shall "deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt make their name to "perish "from under heaven: there shall no man be "able to "stand before thee, until thou have "destroyed them. 25 26 The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire: thou shalt not "covet the silver or the gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be "snared therein: for it is an "abomination to Yahweh thy God: 20 27 and thou shalt not bring an "abomination into thine house, and become a "devoted thing like unto it: thou shalt utterly "detest it, and thou shalt utterly "abhor it; for it is a devoted thing.	
q 284 18 51+ cp Ex 13 ¹²		
r Ex 23 ²⁶ s Ex 23 ²⁵ t Ex 15 ²⁶ u 2880 ⁺ v 15 ⁵⁰		
w Ex 23 ²⁴ 83 x Ex 23 ³⁸ y 377 9 ⁴ 1821 z Cp 97		
a 4 ⁴³		
a' Ex 23 ²⁸ b' 2820 22 Josh 23 ¹³		
22-24 L5f c' Ex 23 ³⁰ d' 2821 e' Ex 23 ²⁹ f' 2820 5 ⁹ cp 215 Ex 23 ²⁷		
g' 514 25 ¹⁹ 29 ²⁰ h' 1125 Josh 15 cp Deut 9 ² i' 25ed 8ha j' 521 k' 5 ⁹ cp 16 1230 l' 5b7 m' 1217 Josh 617. n' 7 ¹ cp 35 o' Lev 11 ¹¹ p' 237 ^a		

7⁶ M Or, out of.—Cp 14.19 M Or, trials. See 43^a 29^b.

20 M Or, hide themselves from thee, perish.

22 So M. T at once.—The apparent contradiction with 9⁸ has given rise to the suggestion that this verse is due to another hand. It is probable that the writer here founds himself on his earlier model Ex 23²⁰. The difficulty rather lies in the languageof 9⁸, 'quickly, as Yahweh hath spoken unto thee.' To what divine promise does this refer? No such expectation is encouraged in Ex 23²⁰⁻²¹. Must it not be concluded that the preacher does not always remain at exactly the same point of view? Or may we suppose that other exhortations now lost once justified the hope?24 A different Hebrew word for 'stand' is used in the corresponding formula Josh 10⁶ 21¹² 23³⁷.

JE D ⁸	D	D ⁷ P
a ⁵ <i>incresas</i> 6 ⁸	⁸ All the commandment ^a which I command thee this day shall ye ^b observe to do, that ye may ^c live, and ^d multiply, and ^e go in and possess the land which Yahweh ^f swore unto your fathers. ² And thou shalt ^g remember all the way which Yahweh ^h thy God hath ⁱ bled thee ^j these forty years in the wilderness, that he might ^k humble thee, to ^l prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldst ^m keep his commandments, or no. ³ And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and ⁿ fed thee with manna, ^o which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing that ^p proceedeth out of the mouth of Yahweh doth man live. ⁴ Thy ^q raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, ^r these forty years. ⁵ And thou shalt ^s consider in thine heart, that, as a man ^t chasteneth his son, so Yahweh thy God chasteneth thee. ⁶ And thou shalt ^u keep the commandments of Yahweh thy God, to ^v walk in his ways, and to ^w fear him. ⁷ For Yahweh thy God ^x bringeth thee into a ^y good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, springing forth in valleys and hills; ⁸ a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil olives and honey; ⁹ a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without ^z scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. ¹⁰ And thou shalt ^{aa} eat and be full, and thou shalt bless Yahweh thy God for the ^{ab} good land which he hath given thee. ¹¹ ^{ac} Beware, ^{ad} lest thou ^{ae} forget Yahweh thy God, in not ^{af} keeping his commandments, and his judge-ments, and his ^{ag} statutes, ^{ah} which I command thee this day: ^{ai} lest when thou hast ^{aj} eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein; ^{ak} and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; ^{al} then ^{am} thine heart be lifted up ^e , and thou ^{an} forget Yahweh thy God, which ^{ao} brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the ^{ap} house of bondage; ^{aq} who ^{ar} bled thee through the ^{as} great and terrible ^{at} wilderness, [wherein were] ^{au} fiery serpents and scorpions, and ^{av} thirsty ground where was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the ^{aw} rock of ^{ax} flint; ^{ay} who ^{az} fed thee in the wilderness with manna, ^{ba} which thy fathers knew not; that he might ^{bb} humble thee, and that he might ^{bc} prove thee, to ^{bd} do thee good at thy ^{be} latter end: ^{bf} and thou ^{bg} say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. ¹⁸ But thou shalt ^{bh} remember Yahweh thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth; that he may ^{bi} establish his ^{bj} covenant which he swore unto thy fathers, ^{bk} as at this day. ¹⁹ ^{bl} And it shall be, if thou shalt ^{bm} forget Yahweh thy God, and ^{bn} walk after other gods, and ^{bo} serve them, and worship them, I ^{bp} testify against you this day that ye shall surely ^{bq} perish. ²⁰ As the nations which Yahweh ^{br} maketh to perish before you, so shall ye ^{bs} perish; ^{bt} because ye would not ^{bu} hearken unto the voice of Yahweh your God.	a 29 ^b b 82 ^a c 72 d 53 e 107 f 97 g 1 ^a h 82 ^c i 68 ^c j 68 ^a k 66 l 115 ^a m 44 ^a n 24 o 69 ^b p 41 ^b q 108 ^a r 48 s 104 ^a t 28 ^b u 61 v 55 ^a w 31 x 33 ^a y 85 z 23 ^b aa 86 ^b ab 86 ^a ac 58 ^a ad 2 ^b ae 53 ^b af 55 ^b ag 4 ah 68 ^b ai 68 ^a aj 1 ^a ak 34 ^a al 39 ^b am 86 ^a an 93 ao 91 ap 24 aq 88 ^a
i ⁵ †		
j 61 ²		
k 17 ²⁰		
l 1 ³		
m Num 21 ⁶		
n Ex 17 ⁶ Num 20 ⁸ o 32 ¹³ *		
p 28 ⁶³ 30 ⁵ ⁵ *		
q Cp 4 ³⁰ r 7 ¹²		
s ⁵ cp 16 ^o t 5 ^a 1		
u 26 ⁵		
v 7 ¹²		
w 21 ⁸		
x 61 ^o		
y 28		
z 7 ²⁴		
aa 31 ⁸ ab 4 ²⁴ ac ⁵ *		
ad ⁵ = say 17 ⁷		
ae 61 ⁹		

9⁴ These words are omitted by G, and are probably an accidental anticipation of the phrase in 5.

	JE D ^a	D	D ^a P
j 25 ² et Gen 15 ¹⁶		from before thee. ⁵ Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou 'go in to possess their land: but for the 'wickedness of these nations Yahweh thy God doth 'drive them out from before thee, and that he may 'establish the word which Yahweh 'sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. ⁶ 'Know therefore, that Yahweh thy God 'giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a 'stiffnecked people. ⁷ 'Remember, 'forget thou not, how thou 'provokedst Yahweh thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou wentest forth out of the land of Egypt, 'until ye came unto this place, ye 'have been 'rebellious against Yahweh. ⁸ Also in Horeb ye 'provoked Yahweh to wrath, and Yahweh was 'angry with you to have 'destroyed you. ⁹ 'When I was 'gone up into the mount to receive the 'tables of stone, even the 'tables of the 'covenant which Yahweh made with you, then I abode in the mount 'forty days and forty nights; I did neither 'eat bread nor drink	
k 818 cp 27 ²⁶ j			o 1C7 ^a
l 13 Ex 32 ⁹ 33 ¹ 6 34 ⁹ cp Deut 31 ²⁷			p 52
m 7 ¹⁸			q 97 ^b
n 8 22 Hiph*			r 94
o 31			s 18
p 5 24 31 ²⁷			t 31
q Ex 24 ^{12a} r 4 ¹³ Ex 24 ¹² s 11 15 ^a cp 19 t 11 18 25 Ex 24 ^{18b} u 18 Ex 34 ^{28a}			

⁹ The retrospect in 9⁹-10¹¹ is now involved in so much confusion as to render its analysis very difficult. It is obviously founded on the combined narrative in Ex 32-34, but the earlier materials are treated with remarkable freedom, (1) in respect of language, and (2) in the unexpected combination of different passages. The dependence of D on JE and the fresh phraseology with which he has enriched the story, may be indicated by the following parallels, where the common matter is printed in italics.

Deut 9¹⁸⁻¹⁹

¹⁸ And Yahweh said unto me, saying, *I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people;* ¹⁴ desist from me, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: *and I will make of thee a nation mightier and greater than they.* ¹⁵ And I turned and came down from the mount, and the mount burned with fire: *and the two tables of the covenant [were] on my two hands.*

Op further the parallels to ¹⁵ 21 27 cp ¹⁸ observe 'your sin' נַעַמְתָּ as in Ex 32³⁰, elsewhere in D only 10¹⁶, otherwise usually הֵפֵץ 15⁹ 19¹⁵ 21²² 22²¹ 23²² 24¹⁵. A further illustration of the amalgamation of literary or traditional material from widely sundered sources, may be seen in the parallels to 25-29.

Deut 9²⁶⁻²⁹

²⁶ And I prayed unto Yahweh, and said, O Lord Yahweh, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand. ²⁷ Remember thy servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin: ²⁸ lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, *Because Yahweh was not able to bring them in to the land which he promised unto them, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out to kill them in the wilderness.* ²⁹ Yet are they thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast brought forth with thy great power and with thy stretched out arm.

It may, however, be doubted whether the homiletic address in 9²⁹ has not received additional illustrations from an annotator.

Ex 32⁹ 10 15

⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, *I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people.* ¹⁰ Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: *and I will make of thee a great nation.* ¹⁵ And Moses turned and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony [were] in his hand.

Ex 32¹¹ 13

¹¹ And Moses besought Yahweh his God, and said, Yahweh, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand? . . . ¹³ Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants. . . .

Num 14¹⁶ 16¹³

. . . *Because Yahweh was not able to bring this people in to the land which he swore unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.*

¹⁶ . . . *to kill us in the wilderness.*

Ex 32¹¹

which thou hast brought forth with great power and with a mighty hand.

Such seems to be the source of the references in 22. . . which break the continuity of 21 26 (p 25), and are related with a brevity compared with which the lengthy recital of the great apostasy seems quite disproportionate. It is possible that the passage 18-20 may owe its position to a similar cause, the antecedents of 17 21 in Ex 32¹⁸, being continuous:—

Deut 9¹⁷ 21

¹⁷ And I took hold of the two tables, and I cast them from on my two hands, and I brake them before your eyes. . . . ²¹ And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and I burned it with fire and stamped it, grinding it very small, until it was crushed fine as dust: and I cast the dust into the brook thereof that descended out of the mount.

The dislocations of order in 9²⁹, however, compared with Ex 32 suggest that the recital has been rearranged. According to the sequence of JE the retrospect would have more nearly assumed the following form: ⁹ 9 (J Ex 32³⁰) 10 (Ex 31¹⁸) 11-14 26-29 15-17 21 18-20. But 20 finds its sequel in 10^{10b}, and 26-29 10b 11 seem to have been deliberately removed to the end of the story, to exhibit the instructions for departure in immediate sequence on the divine condescension to the prayer of Moses. The question is in this case complicated by the reference to the period of forty days cp 9⁹ 18 25 10¹⁰. How many such mountain-sojourns are intended? In Ex 24 32-34 only two are named 24^{18b} and 34^{28a} on occasion of the first and second gift of the tables bearing the Ten Words. There is no mention of any third period corresponding to that of intercession in 9¹⁸ where the allusion to fasting seems dependent on 9⁹, which in its turn appears to rest on Ex 34^{28a}, and to be transferred as a complementary detail from the second sojourn to the first. Ex 32³², however, does contain a reference to an intervening ascent for purposes of prayer and abatement, and this has been sometimes reckoned at the same length of forty days. This was the interpretation of the Rabbis; so Reuss among moderns; Dillmann, Montet, Oettli, Driver, and Steuernagel, however, only recognize two periods and identify 18 25 with Ex 34²⁸. But the freedom with which D handled the older traditions may well have led him to allot the same duration for the great intercession; and it is still possible that 9¹⁸⁻²⁰ with its strong Deuteronomistic phraseology may be founded on this incident. Addis inclines to the view of Koster that 'as the words stand they seem to indicate a fast not mentioned elsewhere, viz one at the foot of the Mount.' The allusion in 20 to the divine anger with Aaron implies the presence in the older traditions of elements which have been since eliminated. (On the apparent return to the forty days of intercession in 10¹⁰ cp 10^{18a}.) There remains the insertion 22-26, which reads like an addition from the same hand in further illustration of 9⁷. If this was an afterthought, interpolated at a later stage, it may have been in part the cause of the redistribution of the elements of the narrative, and have called into existence 25 to resume the main story.

Ex 32^{19b} 20

^{19b} And Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables from his hand, and he brake them under the mount. And he took the calf which they had made, and he burned it with fire, and ground it until it was crushed fine, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.

JE	D ^s	D	D ^r	P
v 5 = gave 11		water. ¹⁰ And Yahweh ^v delivered unto me the two tables of stone		
w Ex 31 ^{18b}		^w written with the finger of God; and on them [was written] according		
x 5 ⁴ 10 ⁴		to all the words, which Yahweh ^w spake with you in the mount ^u out	u 79	
y 10 ⁴ 18 ¹⁸		of the midst of the fire in the ^v day of the ^v assembly. ¹¹ ^v And it came	v 20 ^a	
12-21 Lge/		to pass at the end of ^v forty days and forty nights, that Yahweh gave me		
s Ex 32 ⁷		the two tables of stone, even the ^v tables of the covenant. ¹² ^v And		
		Yahweh said unto me, ^v Arise, get thee down ^k quickly from hence; for		
		thy people which thou hast ^v brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted	w 28 ^b	
		themselves; they are ^k quickly ^v turned aside out of the way ^v which	x 114 ^a	
		I commanded them; they have made them a molten image. ¹³ ^v Further-	y 29 ^b	
a' Ex 32 ⁹		more Yahweh spake unto me, saying, ^v I have seen this people, and,		
b' Ct Ex 32 ¹⁰ 5		behold, it is a ^v stiffnecked people: ¹⁴ ^v let me alone, that I may ^v destroy		
c' 29 ²⁰ cp 25 ¹⁹		them, and ^v blot out their name from under heaven: and I will ^v make		
Ex 17 ¹⁴ Ct Ex		of thee a nation ^v mightier and greater than they. ¹⁵ So I ^v turned and	z 113	
32 ¹⁰		came down from the mount, and the ^v mount burned with fire: and the		
d' Cp Ex 32 ¹⁰		two ^v tables of the covenant were in my two hands. ¹⁶ And I ^v looked,		
e' 5 ²³		and, behold, ye had sinned against Yahweh your God; ye had made		
f' 5 = saw Ex		you a ^v molten calf: ye ^v had ^v turned aside ^k quickly out of the way which		
32 ¹⁹		Yahweh had commanded you". ¹⁷ And I took hold of the two tables,		
g' Ex 32 ⁸		and ^v cast them out of my two hands, and brake them ^v before your	u' 43 ^a	
h' Ex 32 ^{19b}		eyes.		
i' 10 ¹⁰		¹⁸ ^v And I fell down before Yahweh, ^v as at the first, ^v forty days and		
j' 21 cp 9 ⁹		forty nights; I did neither ^v eat bread nor drink water; because of all	b' 37 ^b	
		your ^v sin which ye sinned, in ^v doing that which was evil in the sight		
		of Yahweh, to provoke him to anger. ¹⁹ For I was afraid of the anger		
		and hot displeasure, wherewith Yahweh was wroth against you to		
		^v destroy you. But Yahweh hearkened unto me that time also. ²⁰ And		
k' 26 cp Gen		Yahweh was very ^v angry with Aaron to have ^v destroyed him: and	c' 110	
20 ¹⁷ 17		I ^v prayed for Aaron also the ^v same ^v time.		
l' Ct 19 5		²¹ And I ^v took your ^v sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with	d' 116	
m' Ex 32 ²⁰		fire, and stamped it, grinding it ^v very small, until it was as fine as dust:		
		and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the		
		mount.		
n' Num 11 ¹⁻³		²² ^v And at ^v Taberah, and at ^v Massah, and at ^v Kibroth-hattaavah, ye		
o' 6 ¹⁶ Ex 17 ¹⁻⁷		^v provoked Yahweh to wrath. ²³ And when Yahweh sent you from		
p' Num 11 ⁴⁻³⁴		^v Kadesh-barnea, saying, ^v Go up and possess the ^v land which I have	e' 54	
q' 19b 21		given you; then ye ^v rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh	f' 69 ^c	
		your God, and ye ^v believed him not, nor ^v hearkened to his voice. ²⁴ Ye	g' 53 ^a	
r' 182		^v have been ^v rebellious against Yahweh from the day that I knew you.		
s' Cp 146		²⁵ So I fell down before Yahweh the ^v forty days and forty nights ^v that		
t' 324		I fell down; because Yahweh had said he would ^v destroy you.		
u' 431		²⁶ And I ^v prayed unto Yahweh, and said, O ^v Lord Yahweh, ^v destroy		
v' 29 cp 1 Kings		not thy ^v people and thine inheritance", which thou hast ^v redeemed	h' 95	
851 ⁴ 1 Inherit-		through thy ^v greatness, ^v which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt	i' 55 ^c	
ance' cp Ex		with a ^v mighty hand. ²⁷ ^v Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac,	j' 80 ^b	
34 ⁹		and Jacob; look not unto the ^v stubbornness of this people, nor to their		
w' Ex 32 ¹¹		^v wickedness, nor to their sin: ²⁸ lest the ^v land whence thou broughtest		
x' Ex 32 ¹⁸				
y' 5 ⁷				
z' 5 ⁷ cp 6				
a'' Cp Ex 32 ¹²				

⁹¹ This verse has been sometimes treated as a doublet of ¹⁰, Dillm and Driver, however, see in it an addition to the statement in ¹⁰, viz that the gift of the tables took place at the end of the forty days. Horst, on the other hand, RHR xvi 32, joins ^{9a} with ¹⁰ and ^{9b} with ¹¹.

¹² 5 = And Yahweh said unto me saying. The opening words are identical with those of ¹²: cp Ex 32⁷ ⁹. Steuerneragel supposes the harmonist to have added ¹² to Deut from Ex 32⁷, and to have incorporated Deut 9¹³ by a reverse process in Ex 32⁹. Cf has a curious addition, ¹ And the Lord said unto me, I have spoken unto thee once and twice saying, I have seen &c.

¹⁵ Cp ^{9a}. The reference to Aaron in ²⁰ is probably founded on material not now preserved in JE, where the expostulation of Moses with Aaron Ex 32²⁰, is followed by the massacre of three

thousand of the idolaters at the hands of the sons of Levi ²⁵⁻²⁹, and the guilty Aaron unexpectedly disappears from the scene.

²² Cp ^{9a}. The further reminiscences of Israel's rebellious temper (here marked as a possible addition by a later hand, though they may be due simply to the expansive manner of D) are brought back to the Horeb scenes by a second reference to the forty days' intercession. It may be noted that the English 'so' ²⁵, like 'also' ⁸, 'furthermore' ¹³, and 'so' ¹⁶, only represents the Hebrew particle usually translated 'and' ¹⁸ ¹⁰ ⁹. It is possible that ²⁵ originally belonged to D's retrospect of Israel's offence, and that only the words 'the forty days and forty nights that I fell down' were added by the annotator for purposes of identification.

JE D^s

D

D^s P

k 21⁶ et Num 62⁹
 l 121⁶ k 14
 l 121⁶ b 14 27⁶ r 181
 Josh 187
 m 182 Josh 1314
 n 33
 o 19 ep Ex 3214
 p Ct Ex 3234 331

12-16 L111i

q 41
 r Cp Mic 68

s 1 Kings 827 ||
 2 Chron 26 618
 Ps 6833 1484
 Neh 964

t 77
 u 18
 v 308
 w Jer 44
 x Ps 1362-4
 y Ps 243 Is 1021 al
 z 2850 et 117 1619

ā ā = g/f/t 1619
 25 Ex 233*

18. L2a
 b' Cp 2417

c' 613
 d' Cp Jer 1714

e' Gen 4627 Ex 15

f' 110

a Gen 265 Josh
 223 cp 239b

b 622 718

c Ex 144.

d 5*

e 131b

f Num 161

g Num 1632a

h Gen 74 231

i Ex 1181

j Judg 27

him, and to ^hbless in his name, ^hunto this day. ⁹ ^hWherefore Levi hath no ^hportion nor inheritance with his brethren; Yahweh is his ^minheritance, ^haccording as ^hYahweh thy God spake unto him.

¹⁰ And I stayed in the mount, as at the first time, ^hforty days and forty nights: and Yahweh ^hhearkened unto me that time also; Yahweh ^hwould not destroy thee. ¹¹ And Yahweh said unto me, ^hArise, take thy journey before the people; and they shall ^hgo in and possess the land, which I ^hsware unto their fathers to give unto them*.

¹² ^hAnd now, Israel, ^hwhat doth Yahweh thy God require of thee, but to ^hfear Yahweh thy God, to ^hwalk in all his ways, and to ^hlove him, and to ^hserve Yahweh thy God with all thy ^hheart and with all thy soul, ¹³ to ^hkeep the commandments of Yahweh, and his ^hstatutes, ^hwhich I command thee this day for thy ^hgood? ¹⁴ Behold, unto Yahweh thy God belongeth the heaven, and the ^hheaven of heavens, the earth, with all that therein is. ¹⁵ ^hOnly Yahweh had a ^h'delight in thy fathers to ^h'love them, and he ^h'chose their ^h'seed after them, even you ^h'above ^h'all peoples, as ^h'at this day. ¹⁶ ^hCircumcise therefore the ^h'foreskin of your heart^o, and be no more stiffnecked. ¹⁷ For Yahweh your God, he is ^h'God of gods, and Lord of lords^x, the ^h'great God, the ^h'mighty, and the terrible, which ^h'regardeth not persons, nor taketh ^h'reward. ¹⁸ ^hHe doth execute the ^h'judgement of the ^h'fatherless and widow, and ^h'loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. ¹⁹ ^hLove ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. ²⁰ Thou shalt ^h'fear Yahweh thy God; him shalt thou ^h'serve; and to him shalt thou ^h'cleave, and by his ^h'name shalt thou swear. ²¹ He is thy ^h'praise, and he is thy God, that hath done for thee these ^h'great and terrible things, which thine ^h'eyes have seen. ²² Thy fathers went down into Egypt with ^h'threescore and ten persons; and now Yahweh thy God hath made thee as the ^h'stars of heaven for multitude. ¹¹ Therefore thou shalt ^h'love Yahweh ^h'thy God, and ^h'keep his ^h'charge, and his ^h'statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments, ^h'always. ² And ^h'know ye this day: for [I speak] not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the ^h'chastisement of Yahweh your God, his ^h'greatness, his ^h'mighty hand, and his stretched out arm, ³ and his ^h'signs, and his works, which he ^h'did in the midst of ^h'Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land; ⁴ and what he did unto the ^h'army of Egypt, unto their horses, and to their chariots; how he made the water of the Red Sea to ^h'overflow them as they pursued after you, and how Yahweh hath ^h'destroyed them ^h'unto this day; ⁵ and what he ^h'did unto you in the wilderness, ^h'until ye came unto this place; ⁶ and what he did unto ^h'Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben; how the ^h'earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, and their tents, and every ^h'living thing that ^h'followed them, in the midst of ^h'all Israel: ⁷ but ^h'your eyes have seen all the great ^h'work of Yahweh which he ^h'did. ⁸ Therefore shall ye ^h'keep all the ^h'commandment ^h'which I command thee this day, that ye may be ^h'strong, and ^h'go in and possess the land, whither ye ^h'go over to ^h'possess it; ⁹ and that ye may ^h'prolong your days upon the land, which Yahweh ^h'sware

h 33^b

i 91

j 117

k 53

l 107¹m 44^an 115^ao 74^ap 23^a

q 59

r 82^as 104^at 26^bu 116^b

v 84

w 74^ax 26^a

y 14

z 33^aā' 55^ab' 105^a

c' 44

d' 27

e' 55^af' 43^aa 74^bb 1^ac 82^ad 104^ae 13^af 68^ag 55^ah 80^ai 101^a

j 12

k 86^dl 33^bm 23^an 43¹o 29¹p 29¹q 106^b

r 53

s 54

t 88

u 73^bv 107^a

¹⁰ ^hAccording as he spake, omitting ^h'Yahweh thy God.'

¹¹ The proposal of Bacon (*Triple Trad* 258) to detach 10¹⁻¹¹ and place it before 1⁹, overlooks the fact that 5²⁷⁻²⁸ would then be broken off abruptly without any close; 10¹⁰ would then be obviously out of place; while 10¹ would be unintelligible without some previous explanation to lead up to it and fix the occasion. It would be therefore necessary to suppose that the beginning of the retrospect was lost. The view of Horst, *RHR* xvi 31 f, overcomes the immediate difficulty of separating 10¹⁻¹¹ from its context, by transporting the whole series of reminiscences to the opening of the introductory survey 1-3. This involves, however, other perplexities, for what preceded the story of the Golden Calf in its altered position? The

announcement of the Ten Words would be the only possible prelude, and this is already described in 5. Is that also severed from its natural sequel? The group of recollections is surely more in harmony with its surroundings where it stands. In spite of some misproportion in detail it forms a suitable arraignment against Israel which is fitting in its context. But there would be no appropriateness in opening the great address with such a series of charges, as though this was the chief issue of the wanderings. ¹⁵ ^hM Or, out of.

¹⁹ On the ^h'stranger' ('sojourner,' or *gēr*) see Driver's note in *loc.* This verse appears to be derived from Lev 19³⁴, and has been regarded as a later insertion here. Cp Ex 22²¹ 23⁹.

¹¹ ^hM Or, instruction.—Cp 4³⁶.

JE D ^e	D	D ¹ P
k 1 ⁸	unto your fathers to give unto them and to their ^k seed, a land ^w flowing with milk and honey. ¹⁰ For the land, whither thou ^g goest in to ^l 'possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowdest thy seed, and ^l 'wateredst it with thy foot ^l , as a ^w 'garden of herbs: ¹¹ but the land, whither ye ^g go over to ^l 'possess it, is a land of hills and ^w 'valleys, [and] drinketh water of the rain of heaven: ¹² a land which Yahweh thy God ^c 'careth for; the ^e 'eyes of Yahweh thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.	w 69 ⁹
l 5 [†] m x Kings 21 ²⁴ n 8 ⁷ o Ps 33 ¹⁸ 34 ¹³	¹³ And it shall come to pass, if ye shall ^h 'hearken diligently unto my ^c 'commandments ^w 'which I command you this day, to ^l 'love Yahweh your God, and to ^s 'serve him with all your ^h 'heart and with all your soul, ¹⁴ that ^l 'I will ^g 'give the rain of your land in its season ^a , the ^w 'former rain and the latter rain ^r , that thou mayest gather in thy ^w 'corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. ¹⁵ And I will give grass in thy fields for thy cattle, and thou shalt ^b 'eat and be full. ¹⁶ ¹⁶ ¹⁶ Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be ^d 'deceived, and ye turn aside, and ^s 'serve other gods, and ^w 'worship them; ¹⁷ and the ^c 'anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and he ^s 'shut up the heaven ^t , that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her ^w 'fruit; and ye ^w 'perish ^q 'quickly from off the ^w 'good land which Yahweh giveth you. ¹⁸ ^{NL} Therefore shall ye lay up ^w 'these my words in your heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. ¹⁹ ¹⁹ And ye shall ^h 'teach them your children, talking of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. ²⁰ And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy ^w 'gates: ²¹ that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which Yahweh ^s 'swore unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the ^w 'heavens above the earth. ²² For if ye shall diligently ^l 'keep all this ^c 'commandment ^w 'which I command you, to do it; to ^l 'love Yahweh your God, to ^k 'walk in all his ways, and to ^l 'cleave unto him; ²³ then will Yahweh ^m 'drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall ^g 'possess nations ^w 'greater and mightier than yourselves. ²⁴ Every place whereon the ^s 'sole of your foot shall ^o 'tread shall be yours: from the ^w 'wilderness, and ^b 'Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the ^w 'hinder sea shall be your border. ²⁵ There ^o 'shall no man be able to stand before you: Yahweh your God shall ^d 'lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall ^o 'tread upon, as he hath ^p 'spoken unto you.	x 29 ¹ y 23 ¹ z 59 a' 30 b' 41 ^b c' 108 ^a d' 23 ^a e' 17 f' 93 g' 69 ^b
p 15 ⁵ 281 cp Ex 15 ²⁶ 19 ⁵ 23 ²²		
q 28 ¹² r Jer 5 ²⁴ †		
16. 15a ^r s Job 31 ²⁷ cp Ex 22 ¹⁶ t Cp x Kings 28 ⁵⁵ 2 Chron 6 ²⁴ † u 5 = increase 32 ²² Lev 26 ⁴ 20 ^a v 28 Josh 23 ¹⁶ w 18 L ¹ im ¹ x 66-9 y 19-21 L ¹ io ^c		
x Ps 89 ²⁰		
y Cp 88 ¹ z 26 a' Josh 14 b' 17 c' 724 d' 5 = put 2 ^b		
28-28 15a ^s	²⁶ ^{NL} Behold, ^l 'I ^s 'set before you this day a ^v 'blessing and a ^w 'curse; ²⁷ the blessing, if ye shall hearken unto the ^c 'commandments of Yahweh your God, ^w 'which I command you this day: ²⁸ and the ^w 'curse, if ye shall not hearken unto the ^c 'commandments of Yahweh your God, but ^v 'turn aside out of the way ^w 'which I command you this day, to ^w 'go after other gods, ^w 'which ye have not known. ²⁹ ²⁹ And ^e 'it shall come to pass, when Yahweh thy God shall ^r 'bring	h' 71 ^b i' 51 j' 82 ^a k' 115 ^a l' 27 m' 39 ^b n' 55 ^b o' 111 p' 91 q' 99 r' 63 s' 106 ^b t' 22 ^b u' 32 v' 114 w' 85 x' 68 ^c y' 24
e' 610		

11¹² M 5 seeketh after.—Jer 30¹⁷ Ezek 34⁶.

14 Cp a similar transition to the divine speaker 7⁴.

18 5 = and. The passage thus introduced closely resembles one in 68-9, which in its turn shows affinity with Ex 13¹⁶. But whereas 68-9 is expressed throughout in the sing, this passage runs chiefly in the pl. The variations in 19b 20 may be due to reminiscence, or to spontaneous alternation of number. The repetition is suggestive of the manner in which common materials may have been worked up at different times, in similar but not identical forms.

24 M That is, western.—34² Zech 14⁸ Joel 2²⁰†.

28 Cp an anticipatory allusion to the blessings and curses in 28 cp 30¹ 15. Cp 29¹.

29 A similar allusion to the ceremony enjoined in 27¹¹. Are the 'blessing' and the 'curse' in 29 to be identified with those named in 28-29? It is no more certain here than in the case of

27¹² and 28. The connexion seems to be verbal, rather than material. Dillm (with Valeton) regards the passage as imported from some other connexion, perhaps after 27¹⁻³. It may be doubted, however, whether it really fits the subsequent context any better; and it has rather the air of an addition suggested to a later scribe by the associated ideas of 'blessing' and 'curse.' Kautzsch and Steuernagel treat 31. also as secondary. But a conclusion to the homilies seems needed after 28-29 (cp Addis), and 32 leads up to the opening of the code in 12¹. The interrogative form in 30 cp 31¹ implies the archaeological annotator rather than the speaker; or it may have grown out of the hint of the passage of the Jordan 31. (It is somewhat curious that at 29 the plural 'ye' should give way to 'thou,' to be resumed in 31.) Dillm, having once proposed to remove 29¹, applies his suggestion further to 29-28. But the participle in 28 is not so definite as the perfects in 30¹ 15 (cp 4⁹), and like the phrases in

JE D ^s	D	D ^s P
f' 27 ¹²	thee into the land whither thou 'goest to 'possess it, that thou shalt set the 'blessing upon mount ^s Gerizim, and the 'curse upon mount Ebal.	
g' 7 Num 13 ²⁰ h' 21 ⁹ i' Gen 12 ⁶	³⁰ Are they not ² beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun, in the land of the ^o Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah, ^h over against Gilgal, beside the 'oaks of ^o Moreh?	z' 21 ^b
	³¹ For ye are to 'pass over Jordan to 'go in to possess the land ^o which Yahweh your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein.	a'' 69 ^c
	³² And ye shall ^b 'observe to do all the ^o 'statutes and the judgements which ^o 'I 'set before you this day.	b'' 82 ^a c'' 104 ^a
α Cp 4 ⁴⁵ 5 ¹ 6 ¹	12 ¹ ^o These ^a are the ^a statutes and the judgements, which ye shall	a 104 ^a

⁷¹¹ 8¹ 11³² may point forwards as well as backwards. The transposition of 26-28, therefore, seems to be unnecessary. It seems the more needless (with Horst) to reject the whole of 26-32.

³⁰ M. Or, *terebinths*.

12^{1a} The essential elements of the Deuteronomic legislation are usually discovered in 12-26. This is the proper 'law' 1²: it bears its own title 12¹: and to this the homilies in 5-11 continually point. It may be asked (1) does the Code present itself as a complete and homogeneous whole? Or (2) does it show traces of the aggregation of dissimilar materials, or (3) exhibit signs of the combination or juxtaposition of different legal drafts embodying the same principles? A few observations are here offered on these points: a discussion of the special affinities of the laws of D with those of JE and P with an examination of their historical relations will be found in the *Introd* IX. (1) The code in its present form is bound together by a number of recurring phrases, ascribing its several parts to a common situation, the approaching entrance of Israel into the land given to their fathers e.g. 12¹ 9²⁰ 20²⁰ 15⁴ 17¹⁴ 18⁹ 19¹⁴ 20¹⁶ 21¹ 23²⁰ 24⁴ 25¹⁵ 19²⁶¹. Allusions to the Egyptian bondage cp 9⁷, promises of long life and prosperity as the result of obedience 73, 116, and references to the place which Yahweh shall choose 73, further indicate a pervading unity of thought and style. Similarly the laws exhibit various common terms and formulae, such as 'abomination' 9, 'thine eye shall not pity' 43^b, 'if there be found' 49, 'and it be sin unto thee' 102, 'the stranger, the fatherless and the widow' 105, 'hear and fear' 13¹¹ 17¹³ 19²⁰ 21²¹.

But (2) the unity thus implied includes beneath it great diversity both of contents and expression. The first half of the code deals with the fundamental theocratic obligations of the holy people, and the great civil and religious powers instituted for its guidance, judge, priest, king, and prophet 12-18. The second portion, however, especially 20-25, is of a very miscellaneous character. On the one hand it contains groups of regulations, such as those for the conduct of war 20¹⁰-23⁹, which are highly elaborated: on the other, it inserts a brief solitary precept such as 22³⁰ which forms but a single case in a whole list of similar prohibitions elsewhere; or as in 25¹⁶ enunciates a general prophetic principle in the midst of a set of specific rules for social justice. One series is distinguished by the regular appearance of the 'elders' 10¹⁵ 21²² 19²² 25⁷: another is concerned with humanity to animals 21⁴-6, and kindness to slaves, debtors, and the poor 23¹⁵, 19, 24⁶, 10, 14, 19, 24; a third deals with family difficulties and the relations of the sexes 21¹⁶, 18, 21¹⁵-29 24¹⁻⁶ 25⁶; a fourth lays down rules of exclusion from the holy community 23¹⁻⁶. These groups sometimes exhibit points of contact, as in the case of the 'elders' who have their place in the family incidents as well as in more elaborate judicial arrangements; or, again, in the exemption of the newly married from military service 24⁶. But it does not appear possible to discriminate them clearly from one another on grounds either of contents or form. The laws are cast in various types of command and prohibition (e.g. 2d and 3d masc sing, positive 22¹⁵, negative 22¹ 4⁹⁻¹¹; conditional 21¹⁰ 28²³ 23⁶ &c: 3rd masc sing or pl negative 23¹⁻³ 24⁶ 16, conditional 21¹⁵ 22¹³ 22²⁴ 25¹ 6¹¹). The technical terms and expressions do not seem restricted to special classes; thus 'abomination' covers offences as far apart as idolatry and magic, unchastity, and the use of false weights and measures. A literary analysis of these chapters, therefore, appears highly artificial and precarious, if not absolutely impossible. But it

may be doubted whether the entire collection was really included in Josiah's law-book. The materials in 12-18 are on the whole closely connected with each other (see, however, 14¹⁸) in spite of occasional indications of doubling or misplacement. In 17⁴ 18⁹ a formula enters which does not recur again until 26¹. Is it possible that the paragraphs thus introduced were originally closer to each other? The main contents of 19 (apart from 14 which is quite isolated) are not incongruous with the preceding group and touch it at many points cp 19¹ 12²⁹, and parallels with 10⁴ 7¹³ and 15-21. But such indications are rarer in 20-25. May it not be conjectured that in its earliest form the Code was considerably shorter, and only received into itself much of the material in 20-25 by later processes of incorporation which can no longer be traced in detail?*

(3) The probability that the Deuteronomic legislation contains elements from various sources is increased by the evidence of the coexistence of different forms of the same law side by side, and the occasional blending of separate regulations into one. Apart from signs of later redactional activity (cp 13³⁰⁻⁴ 15⁴⁻⁶ 17¹⁶ 18, 18¹⁵ 19⁶, 17²⁰⁻⁴ 17²¹ 2²²), it appears plain, for example, that the fundamental principle of the unity of the sanctuary is embodied in at least two different drafts cp 12²⁸. The law directed against the worship of other gods in 13 has a counterpart in 17²⁻⁷. The annual tithe 14²²⁻²⁷ applied to agricultural produce passes without recognition in 26, which provides liturgical treatment for the firstfruits of the ground 1-11 cp 18⁴, and the triennial tithe 12-15 cp 14²⁸. Two tests of false prophecy are offered 13¹⁻⁵ and 18²⁰⁻²²: but the criterion which is disallowed in 13² (the actual verification of a prediction) is made the basis of discrimination in 18²². Not only are there separate laws on the same subject which are not conceived quite in the same mould, but it is probable that varying details have been sometimes wrought into one combined text. In some cases the editorial process has apparently been limited to simple explanation or addition cp 15⁴⁻⁶ and 4-6 17¹⁸, 19⁶, 17²⁰⁻⁴ 21⁶ 26¹: in others, the harmonist's activity has welded diverse materials into complete union cp 16¹⁻⁸ 17²⁻⁷ 8-19 18¹⁻⁶. It is probably to the derivation of the laws from various shorter collections that the occasional separation of precepts on related subjects is to be ascribed e.g. blotted animals 15²¹ and 17¹, loans 15³⁻⁵ 23¹⁹, pledges 24⁶ and 10-18, rectitude in the administration of justice 16¹⁹ 24¹⁷, the release of the newly married from military service 20⁷ 24⁶. On the other hand 23¹⁷ and 18, though conjoined, appear to treat the temple-prostitute from different points of view (the forms of the prohibitions, also, vary, and 'the house of Yahweh thy God' 1¹⁸ occurs nowhere else in Deut cp Ex 23¹⁹ || 34²⁰).

(4) If the Deuteronomic Code 12-26 may thus be regarded as bearing on its face signs of compilation from different sources, is it possible to determine their general character? Many laws are plainly related to regulations in JE and P^h (cp the margins and *Introd* IX i 2a) i.e. the Code includes materials from the collections of both Judah and Ephraim. But many more have no parallel elsewhere (cp *Introd* i 73^o). Some, like those dealing with a supreme court of appeal 17⁹⁻¹³, the monarchy 17¹⁴⁻²⁰, prophecy 18⁹⁻²², are concerned with great historical institutions, and must be explained in connexion with their age. Others, as in the cases of seduction to idolatry 13, enforce under the form of law and penalty profound religious principles, or, like those dealing with behaviour in war 20²⁹⁻³⁴, attempt to express certain ideas rather than to regulate actual practice. On the other hand, the

* Staerk has attempted, *Deut* 111-119, to reconstruct the original code. Such efforts are not without interest, but are too purely hypothetical to require special notice, still less to command general assent.

JE	D ^e	D	D ^r	P
6. 17b ¹ cp 13		^b observe to do in the land ^c which Yahweh, the ^d God of ^e thy fathers,	b	82 ^a
2-12 110a ¹		hath given thee to ^f possess it, ^g all the days that ye live upon the earth.	c	69 ^a
2. 15b ¹		² ^h Ye shall surely ⁱ destroy all the places, wherein the ^j nations which ye	d	88
c 1814 cp 88 ^b		shall ^k possess ^l served their gods, upon the ^m high mountains, and upon	e	86 ^d
d Jer 36 cp 220		the hills, and under every green tree: ³ ⁿ and ye shall ^o break down their	f	23 ^b
3 158 ¹		altars, and dash in pieces their ^p pillars, and burn their Asherim with	g	
e 76 Ex 34 ¹³		fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods; and ye		
4-14 178 ¹		shall ^q destroy their name out of that place. ⁴ ^r Ye shall not do so unto		
		Yahweh ^s your God. ⁵ But unto the ^t place which Yahweh your God	h	1 ^a
		shall choose out of all your ^u tribes to put his name there, even unto his	i	87
f 5+		^v habitation shall ye seek, ^w and thither thou shalt come: ⁶ ^x and thither	j	112 ^a
6. 17b ¹ cp		ye shall bring your ^y burnt offerings, and your ^z sacrifices, and your		
g Cp 11 13. 27 Ex		^{aa} tithes, and the ^{ab} heave offering of your hand, and your ^{ac} vows, and	k	41 ^a
20 ²⁴		your ^{ad} freewill offerings, and the ^{ae} firstlings of your herd and of your	l	96
h Ex 1025 1812		flock ^m : ⁷ and there ye shall ^{af} eat before Yahweh your God, and ye shall	m	11
i 17 14 ²² .		^{ag} rejoice in ^{ah} all that ye put your hand unto, ^{ai} ye and your households,	n	109 ^b
j 11 17 cp 118 ⁵		wherein Yahweh thy God hath ^{aj} blessed thee.	o	23 ^a
k 11 17 23 ²¹		⁸ <i>Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man</i>		
l 17 1610 23 ²³		<i>whatsoever is "right in his own eyes: " for ye are not as yet come to the "rest</i>	p	69 ^c
m 17 14 ²³ 1519 ¹		<i>and to the inheritance "which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. " 10 But when ye</i>	q	51
n Cp Judg 17 ⁶		<i>"go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which Yahweh your God "causeth you</i>	r	65
o Cp Num 10 ³⁸		<i>"to inherit, and he giveth you "rest "from all your enemies round about, so</i>	s	98
Gen 40 ¹⁸		<i>that ye dwell in safety; " 11 then it shall come to pass that the "place which</i>	t	40
p 2519 Josh 23 ¹		<i>Yahweh your God shall choose to cause his name to "dwell there, thither shall</i>	u	29 ^b
		<i>ye bring all "that I command you; your "burnt offerings, and your sacrifices,</i>		
q Gen 23 ⁶ Ex		<i>your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your "choice vows</i>	v	109 ¹
15 ⁴		<i>which ye vow unto Yahweh: " 12 "and ye shall "rejoice before Yahweh your</i>	w	75
12 118 ¹		<i>God, "ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your "menservants, and</i>	x	51
r Cp 90 ¹		<i>your maidservants, and the "Levite that is within your "gates, forasmuch as</i>	y	108 ¹
s 10 ⁹		<i>he hath no "portion nor inheritance with you.</i>	z	84
13-18 110a: 113 ¹		¹³ ¹ Take heed to thyself that thou ² offer not thy burnt offerings in		
t Cp 1110		every place that thou seest: ³ but in the ⁴ place which Yahweh shall		
		choose in one of thy ⁵ tribes, there thou shalt ⁶ offer thy burnt offerings,		
15 16a ¹		and there thou shalt do all ⁷ that I command thee. ⁸ ⁹ Notwithstanding		
u 21 12 ²²		thou mayest kill and ¹⁰ eat flesh within all thy ¹¹ "gates", ¹² after all the desire		
v 20. 18 ⁶				

ritual enjoined for the expiation of undiscovered murder 21¹⁻⁹ probably rests on very ancient usage; and the group of laws dealing with the family and the sexes 21¹⁵⁻²¹ 22¹⁵⁻²¹ 24¹⁻⁴ 25⁵⁻¹⁰ must embody much antique custom. So doubtless do regulations like 23²⁴, and 25⁴ 11. The section on exclusion from 'Yahweh's assembly' 23¹⁻⁸ seems by its peculiar terminology (cp Num 16³) to be drawn from some corpus of priestly law analogous to that which has supplied the materials of 14⁴⁻²⁰. To a similar source may probably be assigned the laws which bear on different kinds of defilement 21²², 23⁹⁻¹⁴ 17, or the payment of vows 23²¹, and leprosy 24⁸. On the question how far the older nucleus of law can occasionally be disengaged from the homiletic envelopment of the Deuteronomic editors cp *Intro* d 74 and *Table of Laws*.

12^{1b} (*Yahweh your fathers, hath given you*, probably harmonizing. It is possible that ¹ combines two introductions to the different drafts in 2-12 and 13-28 couched in the pl and sing address respectively.

² The first 'statute' regulates the conduct of public worship. All idolatrous sanctuaries are to be abolished, and the sacrifice which constituted the essence of the cultus is to be offered at one centre only. The difficulties introduced into domestic usage by this destruction of all local altars lead to modifications of ancient custom connected with the slaughter of animals from the flock or herd. Such is a summary of 2-23. But the question has been asked by a long succession of critics from Vater and Stähelin whether this law is throughout from the same hand. In outward form it falls at once into two sections 2-12 and 13-28 marked respectively by the prevailing use of the plural and the singular address. In these two divisions the fundamental principle is repeated op 13, and 4, 17, and 6. But further, each

section contains its own repetitions. In 2-12 lie parallel commands 6-7 and 11, and they are introduced by separate prefaces 2-4 and 8-10. Is it likely that the same author would thus reproduce himself? Or if unity of authorship be conceded here, what reason can be alleged why the prohibition and command 4, in the plural should be renewed 13, in the singular? In 13-26 the plural is of rare occurrence [13^{2b-6a} 14¹ 4-21aa 17¹⁶ 18¹⁵ 19¹⁹ 20²⁻⁴ 18 22²⁶ 23⁴ 24⁸. 25¹⁷]: in some cases it may be accidental, in others it enters where there is independent reason for recognizing (or at least suspecting) an interpolating hand. The employment of the plural in an elaborate legislative passage like 2-12 has no parallel elsewhere in the Code (though frequent enough in the homilies) except in 14¹ 4-21, and it suggests that the two main sections of 12 may be regarded as different drafts of the same law. The further appearance of duplicates within 2-12 finds a counterpart in the doublets 16, and 21, and 17, and 26. The probability that these latter at least are independent, is shown by the apparent insertion of 16 in order to bring the first statement up to a level with the second. The concession in 16 needed a warning against possible abuse: this was perhaps added editorially in 16a, and a later copyist may have attached 16b = 24b to complete the parallel with 23. In that case 20-27 may be regarded as a fresh and detailed treatment of a difficulty arising out of 13, inadequately met by 16 (so also, substantially, Addis, who points out that the clause in 21 'as I have commanded thee' refers to 13; Steuern ascribes both the clauses in 21 and 16 to later copyists). The text of these amalgamated laws has probably received many harmonizing touches.

³ M. Or, *obelisks*.—Cp Ex 23²⁴.

^{8a} On the grammatical difficulty see the Commentaries.

^{9b} G omits this clause. T Sam (*Yahweh* ye shall come.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

20 1617
 22 1522
 16 169^a
 3 23 25 1523
 2 24 1523
 19 111^b
 20-22 169^b
 a' Cp 198 Ex
 3424^c
 1714^c
 c' 1426^a
 d' 1424
 23-25 169^b
 e' Lev 1711
 3' 28 440
 26 178^c 8h/
 f' Ct 188
 1' 5 = do 161
 ct.13 cp 117
 2' Ct Lev 15 32 al
 148
 29-31 15d^c
 3' 191 cp Josh
 1121 234
 1' 5^a Cp 716b 25
 2' Cp 4
 m' 162b
 n' Cp Jer 781 195
 2 Kings 163 al
 32 131 in 5]
 o' 42
 1-18 15h^a
 1-5 1111d
 a 3410 cp 815
 b 5 5 cp Jer 2326^a
 c 82
 d 5 = go 2d

of thy soul, ^waccording to the ^a blessing of Yahweh thy God which he hath given thee: the ^uunclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the gazelle, and as of the hart. ¹⁶ ^{15L} Only ye shall not ^veat the blood; ^tthou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. ¹⁷ Thou ^bmayest not eat within thy ^gates the ^ttithe of thy ^ccorn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the ⁿfirstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, nor any of thy ^vvows which thou vowest, nor thy ^ffreewill offerings, nor the ^jheave offering of thine hand: ¹⁸ but thou shalt ^keat them before Yahweh thy God in the ^lplace which Yahweh thy God shall choose, ^tthou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy ^mmanservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy ^gates: and thou shalt ^lrejoice before Yahweh thy God in ^mall that thou puttest thine hand unto. ¹⁹ ¹³ Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite ^das long as thou livest upon thy land.

²⁰ ^L When Yahweh thy God shall ^eenlarge thy border^a, as he hath ^epromised thee, and thou ^bshalt say, I will eat flesh, because ^cthy soul desireth^c to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, ^aafter all the desire of thy soul. ²¹ If the ^lplace which Yahweh thy God shall choose to put his name there be too ^dfar from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which Yahweh hath given thee, ^aas I have commanded thee, and thou shalt ^veat within thy ^gates, ^aafter all the desire of thy soul. ²² Even as the ^gazelle and as the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat thereof: the unclean and the clean shall eat thereof alike. ²³ ¹² Only be sure that thou ^veat not the blood: for the ^eblood is the life; and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh. ²⁴ Thou shalt not eat it; ^tthou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. ²⁵ Thou shalt not eat it; that it may ^ego well with thee, and with thy ^jchildren after thee, when thou shalt ^edo that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh. ²⁶ ¹² Only thy ^choly things which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go unto the ^lplace which Yahweh shall choose: ²⁷ and thou shalt ^voffer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the ^haltar of Yahweh thy God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be ^vpoured out upon the ^haltar of Yahweh thy God, and thou shalt eat the flesh.

²⁸ ¹ Observe and hear all these words ^wwhich I command thee, that it may ^ego well with thee, and with thy ^jchildren after thee for ever, when thou ^edoest that which is good and right in the eyes of Yahweh thy God.

²⁹ ^L When Yahweh thy God shall ^dcut off the nations from before thee, whither thou ^jgoest in to possess them, and thou possessest them, and dwellest in their land; ³⁰ ⁷ take heed to thyself that thou be not ^eensnared ^tto follow them, after that they be ^kdestroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, ¹How do these nations ^eserve their gods? ^veven so will ^mI do likewise. ³¹ ¹ Thou shalt not do so unto Yahweh thy God: for every ⁿabomination to Yahweh, ^mwhich he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their ⁿsons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods.

³² ^o What thing soever I command you, that shall ye ^bobserve to do: thou shalt not ^oadd thereto, nor diminish from it.

¹³ ¹ If there ^aarise in the ^amidst of thee a prophet, or a ^bdreamer of dreams, and he give thee a ^bsign or a wonder, ² and the ^bsign or the wonder come to pass, ^cwhereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us ^ago after other gods, ^cwhich thou hast not known, and let us ^eserve them; ³ thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or unto that dreamer of dreams:

^afor Yahweh ^eyour God ^pproveth you, to know whether ye ^hlove Yahweh your God ^wwith all your heart and with all your soul. ⁴ Ye shall ^awalk after Yahweh your God, and ^ffear him, and ^kkeep his commandments, and ^lobey his voice, and ye shall ^wserve him, and ^ccleave unto him.

¹² ¹⁶ The sudden change to the plural probably implies an editorial addition cp ²⁸. In ^{16b} (5) reads another plural ye shall pour, but cp ²⁴.

^{30b} M Or, that I also may do likewise.

¹³ This explanation, followed by the exhortation in ⁴ cp ⁸² 16

⁶ ¹⁰ ¹², may be a later hortatory insertion. It interrupts the connexion of ^{3a} and ⁵, and breaks suddenly into the plural address. The variations of number in (5) ³ and ⁵ afford curious evidence either of indifference to the exact text, or of fluctuations in different copies of 5.

JE D ^e	D	D ¹ P
e 12 ¹⁶ 11 ²⁸ cp 115	⁵ And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken "rebellion against Yahweh your God, which "brought you out of the land of Egypt, and "redeemed thee out of the "house of bondage, to "draw thee aside out of the "way "which Yahweh thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou "put away the evil from the "midst of thee.	o 28 ^b p 95 q 61 r 38 s 29 ^a t 92 ^a u 78 ^c
f 285 ⁴ cp 56† g Cp Josh 15 ¹⁸ h 27 ¹⁶ 24 2807* i 614 † j 286 ⁴	⁶ If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the "wife of thy bosom ^f , or thy "friend, which is as thine own soul, "entice thee "secretly, saying, Let us go and "serve other gods, "which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers; ⁷ "of the "gods of the peoples which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, "from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth;	v 117 w 43 ^b
k Cp Jer 13 ¹⁴ 15 ⁵ l Ezek 5 ¹¹ 7 ⁴ al m 17 ⁵ 22 ²¹ 24 n Josh 7 ²⁶ JE 216	⁸ thou shalt not "consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shall "thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou "spare, neither shalt thou conceal him: ⁹ but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be "first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people ^l . ¹⁰ And thou shalt "stone him with stones, that he die; because he hath sought to "draw thee away from Yahweh thy God, which "brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the "house of bondage. ¹¹ And "all Israel shall "hear, and fear", and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is in the "midst of thee".	x 2 ^a y 58 ^b
o 17 ⁴ p 5 [*] q Cp 20 ¹³ r (C) omits	¹² If thou shalt hear tell "concerning one of thy cities, "which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to dwell there, saying, ¹³ Certain "base fellows are gone out from the "midst of thee, and have "drawn away the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and "serve other gods, "which ye have not known; ¹⁴ then shalt thou "inquire, and "make search, and ask "diligently; and, "behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such "abomination is wrought ^o in the "midst of thee; ¹⁵ thou shalt surely "smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, "devoting it, and all that is therein "and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword".	z 116 ^c a' 9 ^b b' 35 c' 103
s Cp Num 25 ⁴ t Josh 6 ¹⁷ u 18h/ v Ex 32 ¹² Josh 7 ²⁰ 5 w Gen 43 ¹⁴ * x 30 ⁸ Ex 33 ¹⁰ * y Hos 16 ⁴ al	¹⁶ And thou shalt gather all the "spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the "spoil thereof "every whit, unto Yahweh thy God: and it shall be an "heap for ever; it shall not be built again. ¹⁷ "And there shall cleave nought of the devoted thing to thine hand: that Yahweh may "turn from the fierceness of his anger, and "shew thee mercy", and "have compassion upon thee, and "multiply thee, as he hath "sworn unto thy fathers; ¹⁸ when thou shalt "hearken to the voice of Yahweh thy God, to "keep all his commandments which I "command thee this day, to "do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh thy God.	d' 81 e' 107 ^b f' 29 ^b g' 37 ^a a 1 ^a
1 15ka a Cp Ex 42 ² . b 5 ct Lev 21 ⁵ c Lev 21 ⁵ * d 261 ⁴ e 211j f 7 ^b	¹⁴ ¹ Ye are the "children of Yahweh "your God: ye shall not "cut yourselves, nor make any "baldness between your eyes for the "dead. ² "For "thou art an "holy people unto Yahweh thy God, and Yahweh hath "chosen thee to be a "peculiar people unto himself, "above "all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.	b 60 c 26 ^a d 14

13⁵ M. 5 turning aside.—19¹⁶ cp Jer 28¹⁶ 29³².6 Or, 'neighbour.' Two words are employed in the code 12-26 for fellow-countryman, 'neighbour' and 'brother.' For 'brother' cp 25. 'Neighbour' is found in 15² 19⁵. 11 14 22²⁴ 26 23²⁴. 24¹⁰ 27¹⁷ 28. The differences of usage may possibly point to diversities of original material: but it does not seem possible to found any literary analysis upon them.7 A comparison with 2. and 13. makes it probable that this verse is an editorial expansion: it echoes phrases found elsewhere 6¹⁴ 28⁶⁴, the plural 'you' being in its place in 6¹⁴ though incongruous here, and the reference to the temptations to remote foreign idolatries more appropriate to Israel in exile than in the land of Canaan.11 On the suggestion that 17²⁻⁷ once stood between 13⁶⁻¹¹ and 12-18 cp 17^{2N}.12 M. Or, in. 13 M. 5 sons of worthlessness.—Cp 15⁹ 5^{*}.15 So M. T. destroying it utterly.—Cp Ex 22²⁰.16a M. Or, as a whole burnt offering.—Cp 33¹⁰ Lev 6²².16b M. Or, mound. 5 tel.—Josh 8²⁸†.14¹ In 1-21 different elements seem to have been combined. The phraseology of 1 is peculiar, and the usages which it forbids seem still to have been practised without reproach in the latest days of the monarchy cp Jer 16⁶ Ezek 7¹⁸. Parallels will be found in P^h Lev 19²⁰⁻²⁸ and 21⁵. The sequel in 2 is identical with 7⁵, and may have been editorially reproduced. In 3 the common form of Deuteronomic prohibition in the 2nd sing is resumed. But the catalogue in 4-20 is throughout couched in the plural cp 12^{2N}, and both in form and contents appears alien to the style and matter of the Code. The conclusion of the dietary laws 21a belongs to the same group: but the final injunction against seething a kid in its mother's milk 21b is found in the short codes of both J and E Ex 34²⁶ 23¹⁹. The clause 21ba completes 3, supplying the reason for the prohibition of unallowed food, as in Ex 22³¹. 2 M. Or, out of.

JE D ^s	D	D ^r P
3-20 L6a:	3 ^{NE} Thou shalt not eat any ^a abominable thing,	o 9 ^b
f Lev 11:2-23	4 ^N These are the ^j beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, ^b the ^h hart, and the gazelle ^o , and the ^h roebeuck, and the ^a wild goat, and the ^p pygarg, and the ^j antelope, and the ^h chamois. ⁶ ^a And every beast that ^k parteth the hoof, and hath the hoof cloven in two, [and] ^h cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that ye shall eat. ⁷ ^a Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that have the hoof cloven: the camel, and the hare, and the ^m coney, because they chew the cud but part not the hoof, they are unclean unto you: ⁸ and the swine, because he parteth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you: of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcases ye shall not touch ^l .	
m Lev 11:9-12	9 ^m These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales shall ye eat: ¹⁰ and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat; it is unclean unto you ^m .	
n Lev 11:13-19	11 Of all clean birds ye may eat. ¹² ^a But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the ⁿ eagle, and the gier eagle, and the ospray; ¹³ and the glede, and the falcon, and the kite after its kind; ¹⁴ and every raven after its kind; ¹⁵ and the ostrich, and the night hawk, and the seamew, and the hawk after its kind; ¹⁶ the little owl, and the great owl, and the horned owl; ¹⁷ and the pelican, and the vulture, and the cormorant; ¹⁸ and the stork, and the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat. ¹⁹ ^a And all winged creeping things are unclean unto you: they shall not be eaten. ²⁰ Of all clean fowls ye may eat.	
o Lev 11:20-23	21 ^a ^a Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: thou mayest give it unto the ^r stranger that is within thy ^g ates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto a ^e foreigner.	f 51 g 47
21a L6b 28f	21 ^b ^a For thou art an ^h oly people unto Yahweh thy God. Thou shalt not ^a seethe a kid in its mother's milk.	
p Ct Lev 17:15	22 ^L Thou shalt surely tithe all the ^r increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year. ²³ ^a And thou shalt ^h eat before Yahweh thy God, in the ^l place which he shall choose to cause his name to ^d well there, the tithe of thy ^k corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the ^f firstlings of thy herd and of thy flock; that thou mayest ^l learn to ^f fear Yahweh thy God ^a always. ²⁴ And if the ^l way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, because the ^l place is too ^f far from thee, which Yahweh thy God shall choose to set his name there, when Yahweh thy God shall ^b less thee: ²⁵ ^a then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the ^l place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: ²⁶ and thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul ^d desireth, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee: and thou shalt ^h eat there before Yahweh thy God, and thou shalt ^r rejoice ^a thou and thine household: ²⁷ and the ^l Levite that is within thy	h 41 ^a i 87 j 40 k 30 l 71 ^a m 44 ^a n 13 ^a
21b L6d		
q Ex 23:19 34:26		
22-29 L8d		
r 28 1615 2612 al		
cp Ex 23:10		
23-26 L10a		
s 12d		
t Cp 19g		
u 1221		
25-29 2b a, u, m		o 22 ^a
v 1220		
w 1212		p 96 q 109 ^b

14³ (G) Sam ye shall.

4 The relation of this list 4-20 to that of Lev 11:2-23 has been much discussed, as the facts do not seem to point to any very decisive conclusion. That the style and phraseology belong rather to P than to D is generally recognized cp ^a'kind' 13 15 18 18^k and ^a'creeping things' 19 (= *swarm* S) 157. It is believed, therefore, that the list has been derived by D from the priestly schools, and embodies regulations which had probably been already reduced to writing. The question whether those regulations were then current in the form contained in Lev 11 is less easy to decide. On the one hand Deut 14^a specifies the common lawful animals which Lev does not mention; on the other hand the parallels to 7-10 are much fuller and 14-20 is much briefer than Lev 11:20-23. If the Deuteronomic version is on the whole an abridgement of the Levitical, why should 4-6 supply detail omitted by the prior list; and if, on the other hand, the Deuteronomic list is supplementary, why should it conclude so abruptly? The difficulty points to the view that neither is directly dependent on the other, but that both are derived separately from an

earlier form; D then classes the forbidden foods under the familiar term 'abomination' ³ cp 29, while P prefers the words 'detest' and 'detestation' Lev 11:10-13 20 23 41 43 (S as in Deut 28⁶). On other grounds, however, there is some reason to think Deut 11:3-21 earlier than Lev 11. For the supplement in 21 prohibits the Israelite from eating the flesh of any animal that has died of itself, but allows it to be given to the 'stranger.' In Lev 17:15, the 'stranger' (as elsewhere in P, see *Laws*) is placed on the same footing as the Israelite, and the practice of eating such food is recognized for all persons on condition of subsequent purification from the defilement which it involved 'till the evening.' Now the regulation of Lev 11:39, modifies the stringency of the Deuteronomic precept in the same manner, and presumably, therefore, belongs to a later date. Hommel, *Expos Times* 1897 July p 473, suggests that the substitution of 'stranger' for 'dogs' Ex 22:31 is due to a redactor of the time of Ezra, when aversion to everything foreign had reached its climax.

6 M. S. bringeth up.

12 M. See Lev 11:13 &c.

7 M. See Lev 11:6.

21b The sequel of 3, cp Ex 22:31.

JE D ^s	D	D ¹ P
x 12 ¹⁹ y ¹⁰ = <i>forasmuch</i> as 12 ¹²	'gates, thou shalt not ^a forsake him; ^b for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee.	
z Cp 26 ⁴ 10 ⁵	²⁸ At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine ^a increase in the same year, and shalt ^a lay it up within thy 'gates:	r 105 ^b
	²⁹ and the 'Levite, ^b because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and thee, the 'stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy 'gates, shall come, and shall ^c eat and be satisfied; that Yahweh thy God may ^c bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.	s 41 ^b
1-e 12 ³¹ c g j: a 31 ¹⁰ b 31 ¹⁰ † c 19 ⁴ ⁵ cp Josh d ⁵ † e 24 ¹⁰ ⁵ * f ⁵ = unto Yahweh ⁵ 14 16 ¹ g 7 9 11 24 ¹⁴ Ex 23 ⁶ 11*	¹⁵ ¹ At the ^a end of every seven years thou shalt make a ^b release. ² And this is the 'manner of the ^b release: every ^c creditor shall release that which he hath ^c lent unto his neighbour; he shall not exact it of his neighbour and his ^b brother; because ^a Yahweh's release hath been proclaimed. ³ Of a ^b foreigner thou mayest exact it: but whatsoever of thine is with thy ^a brother thine hand shall ^c release.	a 25 b 47
	⁴ ^a Howbeit there shall be no ^c poor ^a with thee; (for Yahweh will surely ^a bless thee in the 'land which Yahweh ^b thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to ^c possess it;) ⁵ if only thou diligently ^b hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God, to observe to do all this 'commandment which I ^c command thee this day. ⁶ For Yahweh thy God will ^a bless thee, as he ^k promised thee: and thou shalt ^b lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not ^b borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over thee.	c 64 d 22 ^a e 69 ^c f 1 ^a g 28 ¹ h 58 ^a i 29 ¹ j 29 ^b k 91
h 5 ⁵ † cp 28 ¹² i 24 ¹⁰ ⁵ † 7-11 12 ¹⁵ b	⁷ ¹ If there be ^a with thee a ^c poor man, one of thy brethren, within any of thy ¹ gates in thy 'land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not ^a harden thine heart, nor ^k shut thine hand from thy poor ^a brother: ⁸ but thou shalt surely ^c open thine hand unto him, and shalt surely ^b lend him sufficient for his ^k need [in that] which he wanteth. ⁹ ^a Beware that there be not a ^m base thought in thine heart, saying, The seventh year, the ^a year of ^b release, is at hand; and thine ^c eye be evil against thy poor ^a brother, and thou give him nought; and he ^c cry unto Yahweh against thee, and it be ^a sin ^c unto thee. ¹⁰ Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be ^c grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing Yahweh thy God shall ^a bless thee in all thy work, and in ^a all that thou puttest thine hand unto. ¹¹ For the ^c poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I ^c command thee, saying, Thou shalt surely ^c open thine hand unto thy ^a brother, to thy ^a needy, and to thy poor, in thy land.	l 51 m 108 ^a n 102 o 11
j ⁵ = make obstinate 280 k ⁵ * l 11 cp Ps 104 ²⁸ 14 ¹⁵ m Cp 13 ¹³ n 21 ¹⁰ o 28 ⁵⁴ 68† p 24 ¹⁵ q ⁵ = evil cp 90 ^x	¹² ¹ If thy ^a brother, an ^a Hebrew man, ^a or an Hebrew ^c woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. ¹³ And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: ¹⁴ thou shalt ^c furnish him liberally ^d out of thy flock, and out of thy ^a threshing-floor, and out of thy ^a winepress: ^a as Yahweh thy God hath ^c blessed thee thou shalt give unto him. ¹⁵ And thou shalt ^b remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God ^c redeemed thee: therefore I ^c command thee this thing to-day. ¹⁶ And it shall be, if he ^a say unto thee, I will not go out from thee; because he loveth ^a thee and thine house, because he is well with thee; ¹⁷ ^a then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy ^b bondman for ever. And also unto thy ^b bondwoman thou shalt do likewise.	p 97 q 95 r 109 ^b
r 24 ¹² 14- Ex 22 ²⁵ 12-18 12 ¹⁰ d g j d: s Ex 21 ² t Ct Ex 21 ⁷	¹⁸ It shall not seem hard ^a unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from	
u 16 ¹³ v 12 ¹⁵ w Ex 21 ⁵ x Ct Ex 21 ⁶ y ⁵ in thine eyes Josh 25		

15³ M Or, release: save when there &c.

⁴ An additional utterance of enthusiastic piety, in conflict with 7-11 (especially with 11^a) and hardly to be ascribed to the same discourse (Addis, however, urges that the original author describes an ideal distribution of wealth, consequent on ideal obedience). In view of the stylistic resemblances there seems reason in Kuenen's suggestion that the qualification may be an afterthought of the writer's own. With ⁶ cp 12²⁸ 13¹⁸. For further

laws in protection of the poor cp 23¹⁹, 24¹⁰.

¹² Some critics have regarded the extension of manumission to women as an afterthought, not contemplated by the original D who here founds himself on the 'Judgements' of E Ex 21².. Cp the additional clause in favour of the bondwoman in 17^b. It is, however, impossible to determine whether the reference to female slaves was incorporated by D himself, or was a supplement.

17^a So M. ⁵asin 16. T servant. 17^b So M. T maid-servant.—Cp 75.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

thee; for to the double of the hire of an hireling hath he served thee six years: and Yahweh thy God shall ^abless thee in all that thou doest.

¹⁹ ^LAll the ²firstling males that are born of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt ^a'sanctify unto Yahweh thy God: thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear the firstling of thy flock.

²⁰ Thou shalt ^a'eat it before Yahweh thy God year by year in the ¹place which Yahweh shall choose, ^a'thou and thy household. ²¹ ^LAnd if it have any ^b'blemish, [as if it be] lame or blind, ^a'any ill blemish whatsoever, thou shalt not ^a'sacrifice it unto Yahweh thy God. ²² ^LThou shalt ^a'eat it within thy ¹gates: ^a'the unclean and the clean [shall eat it] alike, as the gazelle, and as the hart. ²³ ^NOnly thou shalt not eat the blood thereof; thou shalt pour it out upon the ¹earth as water.

¹⁶ ^NObserve the month of Abib, and ^a'keep the passover unto Yahweh ^a'thy God: ^a'for in the month of Abib Yahweh thy God ^b'brought thee forth out of Egypt ^c'by night. ² And thou shalt ^a'sacrifice the passover unto Yahweh thy God, of the ¹flock and the herd, in the ¹place which Yahweh shall choose to cause his name to ^a'dwell there.

³ ^LThou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; ⁷ seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of ^a'affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in ^b'haste: that thou mayest ^a'remember the day ^a'when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt ^a'all the days of thy life. ⁴ And ^a'there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days; ^a'neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, ^a'remain all night until the morning.

⁵ Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy ¹gates, ^a'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee: ⁶ but at the ¹place which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to ^a'dwell in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, ^a'at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou

s 41^a
t 87

u 10

a 1^a
b 28^b

c 87

d 40

e 26^a
f 13^cg 76
h 51
i 69^c

19. 18b: 10a¹
2 12^a cp Ex 22³⁰
a' Cp 86d

21 161¹U 17¹ cp 35⁵Lev 22³⁰c' Cp 180²22 16a¹d' 121⁵

23 160c

1-17 19a: 10a¹

1. 29dc

a 5=do cp 51⁵12²⁷b Ex 34¹⁸ 13⁴c Ex 34³¹d 15²¹e Ct Ex 12³ 63 190¹f Ex 13⁶ 34¹⁸g Ex 3⁷h Ex 12¹¹ 18i Cp 12¹j Ex 13⁷ 97k Ex 13⁷4b-7 170c 9d^ck Ex 23¹⁸ 34²⁵l 23¹¹ 24¹⁸ Josh

829 r Kings

22³⁰

15²² Possibly an addition from 12^{15b} cp 12²².

23a Another possible supplement cp 12²³.

23b T ground. 5 as in 12²⁴.

¹⁶ The Calendar of feasts ¹⁻¹⁷ rests on the briefer laws in J Ex 34¹⁸, cp El 23¹⁴., with which it agrees in specifying three annual festivals in contrast with the longer series in Lev 23. Some differences of terminology may be observed, e.g. 'weeks' ¹⁰ and 'booths' ¹³; but a more important divergence is noticeable in 1-8. E does not mention the passover at all, and in J the reference to it is probably an editorial adaptation Ex 34²⁵ cp 23¹⁸. But D combines it ¹⁻⁸ with the feast of unleavened bread. Closer examination makes it probable that the entire calendar ¹⁻¹⁷ comprises different elements which have not been perfectly fused together. This is especially manifest in 1-8, which unites two separate sets of instructions, (1) relating to the celebration of unleavened bread in the home, and (2) enjoining the observance of the passover at the central sanctuary. The latter involved an act of sacrifice, and the fundamental law in 12 required therefore that it should be performed only at the temple in Jerusalem. The principal stress falls on this ordinance ^{1, 6-7}; and the analogy of the laws in 12 suggests that these passages were originally consecutive. They conclude with the direction that on the morning after the passover sacrifice the worshipper shall *return home* (cp Driver, *Deut* 104). But with the month Abib was also connected the feast of Mazzoth (or unleavened bread) Ex 13⁴⁻⁷. This feast is now formally combined with the passover in 3. The command seems based on two previous passages, and its affinities may be tabulated thus:—

Deut 16

3a Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it.

3b Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread with it, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste: that thou

Ec

23^{18a} 34^{25a} Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.

13^{6a} Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread.

Deut 16

mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.

4a And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days;

4b neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, remain all night unto (5) the morning.

13^{7b} And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders:

34^{25b} neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover remain unto (5) the morning.

23^{18b} neither shall the fat of my feast remain all night until (5) morning.

The language of Deut 16⁴ 'in all thy borders' shows that the scene of celebration was the home, in contrast with the place of Yahweh's choice ^{2, 6}. That was originally also, it would seem, the locality likewise of the sacrifice which may now no more be slaughtered within the gates or offered at the nearest sanctuary. In uniting the regulations for the two feasts the compiler has added the words 'with it' in 3b: but in 4b the words 'the first day at even' were probably in some older authority. They seem to refer to the first of the seven days of Mazzoth, as if the passover were connected with the beginning of Mazzoth. The transfer of the passover to Jerusalem involved a dislocation, so that D arranges for it to precede the beginning of Mazzoth which was to be kept in the home. This is actually specified in the Levitical calendar Lev 23⁶, no doubt on the basis of prior usage. For other older elements in D's calendar cp 16⁸. In that passage the passover is unnamed. But in the record of Josiah's reformation the new way of celebrating the passover is specially emphasized 2 Kings 23²¹⁻²³, while Mazzoth is naturally ignored, being still observed on the old lines. Whether the incongruous elements in 3, and 16, were incorporated by the author of the code himself, or represent a later effort of amalgamation (Steinert assigns them to R) can hardly be determined, but it seems safest to attribute them to the hand which made so much use of older laws.

JE D ^s	D	D ^r P
	^c camest forth out of Egypt. ⁷ And thou shalt ⁷ seethe and eat it in the ^c place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: and thou shalt ⁷ turn in the morning, and go unto thy ^m tents.	j 113
m Judg 7 ⁸ 15 ⁹ al	⁸ ^{NL} Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on the seventh day shall be ^a sola solemn assembly to Yahweh thy God; thou shalt ⁹ do no work [therein].	
s 19 ⁹ e	⁹ ^L Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the ^c sickle to the ² standing corn shalt thou begin to number seven weeks. ¹⁰ ^L And thou shalt ¹⁰ keep the feast of ^c weeks unto Yahweh thy God ¹¹ with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give, according as Yahweh thy God ^k blesseth thee:	k 22 ^a
o 23 ²⁵ t	¹¹ ^L and thou shalt ¹¹ rejoice before Yahweh thy God, ^m thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the ¹² Levite that is within thy ^h gates, ¹³ and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are in the ¹⁴ midst of thee, in the ^c place which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to ^d dwell there.	l 96 m 109 ^a n 75 o 105 ^b p 78 ^b
p 23 ²⁵ cp Ex 23 ¹⁶	¹² ^N And thou shalt ¹² remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt: and thou shalt ¹³ observe and do these ¹⁴ statutes.	q 82 ^b r 104 ^b
q 23 ²⁵ cp Ex 23 ¹⁶	¹³ ^L Thou shalt ¹³ keep the feast of ¹⁴ booths seven days, after that thou hast ¹⁵ gathered in from thy ¹⁶ threshing-floor and from thy winepress: ¹⁴ and thou shalt ¹⁵ rejoice in thy feast, ^m thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy ¹⁶ manservant, and thy maidservant, and the ¹⁷ Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy ¹⁸ gates.	s 119
r Ex 34 ¹⁶ 34 ²²	¹⁵ Seven days shalt thou ¹⁶ keep a feast unto Yahweh thy God in the ^c place which Yahweh shall choose: ¹⁷ because Yahweh thy God shall ¹⁸ bles thee in all ¹⁹ thine increase, and in all the ²⁰ work of thine hands, and thou shalt be ²¹ altogether joyful. ¹⁶ ^{NL} Three times in a year shall all thy ²² males ²³ appear before Yahweh thy God in the ^c place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of ²⁴ booths: and they shall not appear before Yahweh ²⁵ empty: ¹⁷ every man ²⁶ shall give as he is able, ²⁷ according to the ²⁸ 'blessing of Yahweh thy God which he hath given thee'.	t 22 ^b
s 15 ¹⁴	¹⁸ ^L Judges and ¹⁹ officers shalt thou make thee in all thy ²⁰ gates, ²¹ which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, ²² according to thy tribes: ²³ and they shall judge the people with ²⁴ 'righteous judgement. ¹⁹ Thou shalt not ²⁵ wrest judgement; thou shalt not ²⁶ 'respect persons: neither shalt thou ²⁷ 'take a gift; for a ²⁸ 'gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the ²⁹ 'words of the righteous'. ²⁰ ^{NL} That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest ³⁰ 'live, and inherit the land ³¹ 'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.	u 67 v 83 w 112 ^b
t Ex 23 ¹⁴ 5	²¹ ^{NL} Thou shalt not plant thee an ³² 'Asherah [of] ³³ 'any kind of tree beside the ³⁴ 'altar of Yahweh thy God, which thou shalt make thee. ²² Neither shalt thou set thee up a ³⁵ 'pillar; which Yahweh thy God hateth.	x 72
u 5 = when 14 ²⁴ b		y 10 z 16
v 14 ²¹		
w 5 = only 28 ²⁵		
x 17 ⁹ c		
y 20 ¹³ Ex 23 ¹⁷		
z Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
aa Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ab Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ac Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ad Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ae Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
af Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ag Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ah Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ai Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
aj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ak Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
al Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
am Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
an Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ao Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ap Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
aq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ar Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
as Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
at Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
au Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
av Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
aw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ax Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ay Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
az Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ba Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
be Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bf Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bh Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bi Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bk Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bn Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bo Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bp Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
br Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bs Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bt Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bx Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
by Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
bz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ca Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ce Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cf Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ch Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ci Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ck Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cn Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
co Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cp Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cr Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cs Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ct Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cx Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cy Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
cz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
da Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
db Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
de Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
df Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dh Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
di Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dk Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dn Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
do Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dp Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dr Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ds Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dt Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
du Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dx Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dy Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
dz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ea Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
eb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ec Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ed Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ee Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ef Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
eg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
eh Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ei Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ej Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ek Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
el Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
em Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
en Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
eo Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ep Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
eq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
er Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
es Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
et Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
eu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ev Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ew Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ex Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ey Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ez Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fa Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fe Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ff Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fh Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fi Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fk Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fn Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fo Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fp Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fr Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fs Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ft Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fx Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fy Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
fz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ga Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ge Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gf Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gh Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gi Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gk Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gn Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
go Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gp Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gr Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gs Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gt Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gx Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gy Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
gz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ha Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
he Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hf Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hg Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hh Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hi Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hk Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hn Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ho Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hp Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hr Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hs Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ht Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hx Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hy Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
hz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ia Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ib Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ic Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
id Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ie Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
if Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ig Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ih Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ii Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ij Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ik Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
il Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
im Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
in Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
io Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ip Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
iq Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ir Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
is Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
it Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
iu Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
iv Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
iw Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ix Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
iy Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
iz Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
ja Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jb Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jc Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jd Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
je Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jf Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jj Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jk Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jl Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jm Ex 23 ¹⁷ 34 ²³		
jn Ex		

JE D^s

D

D^s P

1 161-
a 152¹

2-7 158¹
b 21¹ 22²² 24⁷ cp
1810
c 16⁵
d Josh 7¹¹ 15
2316
e 4¹⁹
f 13¹⁴
g 5 = truth 13¹⁴
h 21¹⁹ 22²⁴

i 13¹⁰
g 14^{8d}
j 19¹⁵

k 13⁹

8 13 14b¹ 10a;
l (p 30¹¹ 5 ct
21⁷
9 1mhcy
m 19¹⁷ 26⁹ Josh
20⁹⁷
n 10 5⁵

o 11 24⁸ cp 23¹⁰
5 Ex 24¹²

12 1mh
p 18²² 5⁸ cp 14⁸
q 10⁸
r 13²⁰ 5

17¹ Thou shalt not sacrifice unto Yahweh ^athy God an ox, or a sheep, wherein is a ^bblemish, [or] ^cany evil-favouredness: for that is an ^dabomination unto Yahweh thy God.

2 ^{KL}If ^bthere be ^afound in the ^cmidst of thee, ^ewithin any of thy ^f'gates' which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that doeth that which is ^hevil in the sight of Yahweh thy God, in ⁱ'transgressing his ^jcovenant, ^kand hath gone and ^lserved other gods, and worshipped them, or the ^m'sun, or the moon, or any of the host of heaven', which I have not commanded; ⁿand it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, ^othen shalt thou inquire ^pdiligently, and behold, if it be ^q'true, and the thing certain, that such ^r'abomination is wrought in Israel; ^sthen shalt thou ^t'bring forth that man or that woman, which have done this evil thing, unto thy ^u'gates, even the man or the woman; and thou shalt ^v'stone them with stones, that they die. ^wAt the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is to die be put to death; at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death. ^xThe hand of the witnesses shall be ^yfirst upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people^k. So thou shalt ^z'put away the evil from the ^{aa}midst of thee.

8 ^{NI}If there arise a matter too ^h'hard for thee in judgement, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy ⁱ'gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the ^j'place which Yahweh thy God shall choose; ^kand thou shalt come unto the ^l'priests the Levites, and unto the ^m'judge' that shall be in those days: and thou shalt inquire; and they shall ⁿ'shew thee the sentence of judgement: ^oand thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence, which they shall ^p'shew thee from that ^q'place which Yahweh shall choose; and thou shalt ^r'observe to do according to all that they shall ^s'teach thee: ^taccording to the tenor of the law which they shall ^u'teach thee, and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not ^v'turn aside from the sentence which they shall ^w'shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. ^xAnd the man that doeth ^y'presumptuously, in not hearkening unto the priest that ^z'standeth to minister there ^{aa}unto Yahweh thy God, or unto the ^{ab}'judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt ^{ac}'put away the evil from Israel.

a 1³
b 10
c 9⁸

d 49
e 78^b
f 51
g 69^c
h 37^b
i 31
j 23^b

k 116^c
l 9^b

m 92^a
n 78^b

o 87
p 90
q 67

r 82^a

s 114^b

17² This section has often been regarded as one of the series of cases expounded in 13; as dealing with village apostasy it has been suggested that it would fitly stand between the family ⁶⁻¹¹ and the city ¹²⁻¹⁸. But closer examination of the phraseology does not support this view. The opening formula reappears in 21¹ 22²² 24⁷, passages which are marked by the emphatic recognition of the 'elders,' and by the formula of 'putting away' the evil from the theocratic community cp 21⁹ 22²¹, 24⁷ and 17¹ (also 13⁶). Other terms without parallel in 13 will be seen in 'transgressing his covenant,' 'worshipping' the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven,' 'such abomination is wrought,' 'bring forth unto thy gates' cp 22¹⁵ 21²⁴. No witnesses are required in 13⁶; whereas in 7 they are to take the lead in carrying out the sentence. The formula in 6 is apparently derived from 19¹⁵; and this stress on the importance of judicial testimony further marks this law as belonging to a different cycle from the cases described in 13 (cp Staerk, *Deut* 6, and Steuern, *Deut* 22).

⁶ The arrangements here indicated seem to be the natural sequel of 16¹⁸⁻²⁰. But the passage is probably not quite homogeneous, for the confused text of 9-11 appears due to the combination of different drafts of the same law. Already in 8 (5) has four pairs of terms instead of three (as if separate sources had contained two each). In 9-11 the repetitions are so numerous that they can only be explained on some hypothesis of amalgamation. Two authorities are named, (1) the Levitical priests and (2) the judge. Are these the same? Or was there to be a civil tribunal by the side of the ecclesiastical? And if so, what were to be their relations? On these topics cp. Dillm and

Driver *in loc*, and Nowack, *Hebr Archaeol* i 323. But it will be made probable elsewhere that the priests are editorially associated with the secular functionaries cp 19¹⁷ 20², 21⁵, and a similar union may perhaps be traced here. The doublets in 10 and 11 may then be sorted thus:—

I.

^{9b} And they (so 5) Sam cp 19¹⁸ shall inquire and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgement, ^{10a} and thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence which they shall shew thee from that place which Yahweh shall choose: ^{11b} thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left.

II.

^{10b} And thou shalt observe to do according to all that they shall teach thee: ^{11a} according to the tenor of the teaching which they shall teach thee (R adds and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee) shalt thou do. ¹² And the man that doeth presumptuously in not hearkening unto the priest that standeth to minister there before Yahweh thy God (R adds or unto the judge), even that man shall die.

Here I is based on the 'judgement' of the civil judge, while II rests on the 'teaching' or 'law' (5 *torah*) of the priests. These are set side by side in ^{10a} but in the sources behind the combination they were distinct. 5 apparently endeavoured to simplify the difficulty by omitting unto the priests the Levites and ⁹ (though Steuern suggests a possibility of confusion through the double 5^b) and curtailing ¹¹. (Cp Staerk 14 and Steuern *in loc*.)

¹² 5 as in 10² 21⁵. T before. 5 in the name of, Cp 18⁸ 7.

	JE D ^s	D	D ^s P	
s 143 5		13 And all the people shall 'hear, and fear, and 'do no more presumptuously.		t 58 ^b
14-20 L4k l		14 ¹⁴ When thou art 'come unto the land 'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein; and "shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are "round about me; ¹⁵ thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom Yahweh thy God shall "choose: one from among thy 'brethren shalt thou set king over thee: "thou mayest not put a "foreigner over thee, which is not thy brother. ¹⁶ Only he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: "forasmuch as Yahweh hath 'said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. ¹⁷ Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his 'heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself ^a silver and gold:		u 53
v Cp 26				v 25
x 14 ²¹ 47				w 76
y Cp 288 Ex 13 ¹⁷				
z Jer 17 ⁵⁴				
a 813				
b 44v a nh de		18 ¹⁸ And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of 'this law in a book, out of [that which is] 'before the 'priests the Levites: ¹⁹ and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to 'afear Yahweh his God, to keep 'all the words of 'this law and these statutes, to do them.		x 70 ^a
y 31 ⁹				y 13 ^c
z 31 ¹²				z 71 ^a
				a' 44 ^a
				b' 15
				c' 104 ^c
d' 814		20 that his ^d heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may ^d prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the 'midst of Israel.		d' 73 ^b
1-8 L11a i j d		18 ¹ ¹⁸ The priests the Levites, "even ¹ 'b ¹ all the 'tribe of Levi, shall have no 'portion nor inheritance with Israel: they shall eat the 'offerings of Yahweh made by fire, and his inheritance. ² And they shall have no inheritance among their brethren: Yahweh "is their inheritance, as he hath 'spoken unto them. ³ ³ And this shall be the priests' due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep, that they shall give unto the priest the 'shoulder, and the two cheeks, and the maw. ⁴ ⁴ The 'firstfruits of thy 'corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the ^d first of the fleece of thy sheep, shalt thou give him. ⁵ For Yahweh 'thy God hath 'chosen him out of all thy 'tribes, to 'stand to minister in the name of Yahweh, him and his sons ^b for ever.		a 90
a 10 ⁹				b 10
b Cp 211 ⁸				c 112 ^a
s 17p d				d 91
c Ct Ex 29 ²⁷				
Lev 7 ³¹ 34				
4a L80c				e 30
d 26 ²				
d L7f				
e 108 cp 90b				
f 8 L10a b				f 1 ^a
g 12 ¹⁵				g 26 ^a
h 15d f				h 13 ^a
y Cp 17 ¹⁴				i 51
10a L51a				j 2 ^a
k 2 Kings 16 ⁹				k 87
17 ¹⁷ 21 ⁵ 22 ¹⁰				
Ezek 20 ³⁴ cp				
Lev 18 ²¹				
10b-22 L51c				
i Josh 13 ²²				
j Lev 19 ²⁶				
k Gen 44 ⁵ Lev 19 ²⁰				
l Ex 7 ¹¹ 22 ¹⁸				
m Ps 58 ¹⁴				
		19 ¹⁹ When 'thou art come into the 'land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not "learn to do after the "abominations of those nations. ²⁰ There shall not be 'found 'with thee any one that maketh his son or his daughter to ^h pass through the fire ^h , ² one that 'useth divination, one that 'practiseth augury, or an ^k enchanter, or a 'sorcerer, ¹¹ or a "charmer,		l 69 ^c
				m 71 ^a
				n 9 ^b
				o 49
				p 64

17¹⁸ Probably a gloss cp 288 Ex 13¹⁷.

18 The allusion to the book of the law under the guardianship of the Levitical priests plainly presupposes one of the accounts in 31^b, or in 31²⁴, . . . It is not, however, necessary to regard the whole section 14-20 as a later addition to the Code on this ground. The reference in 18, may have been inserted into the older law. The context in 19-20 is not quite satisfactory, for it is not clear why the king's hear is should be 'lifted up above his brethren': if, however, 18-19 be removed, the missing connexion is restored, 'neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold, that his heart be not lifted up' & cp 812-14 'lest . . . when thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, . . . then thine heart be lifted up.'

18^a The text as it stands identifies 'the priests the Levites' with 'the whole tribe of Levi.' No doubt this is historically justifiable, but it is possible that it results in this passage from

the juxtaposition of two laws regulating the Levitical revenues. An examination of the text of 18 'the offerings of Yahweh made by fire and his inheritance shall they eat' reveals some confusion, for to whom does the pronoun his refer? The phrase 'and his inheritance' can hardly be applied to Yahweh. (3 omits *and*, rendering 'the offerings of Yahweh [are] their inheritance, they shall eat them.' In 2 5 runs 'and he shall have no inheritance among his brethren, Yahweh is his inheritance, as he spake unto him' cp 10, the subject here being 'the whole tribe of Levi.' 1, therefore, in its original form without the words 'all the tribe of Levi,' is parallel to 2, to which 'all the tribe of Levi' was probably the antecedent. The reference to 'the priests' in 3 connects it with 1, while the singular 'him' in 4, carries on the same pronoun in 2 (Steuern attributes 1 to R, and 2-6 to his 'singular' author; cp Staerk, *Deut* 10). 11 M Or [and].

JE D^c

D

D^c P

n Cp Lev 20²⁷
o Lev 20²⁷ 19³¹
p Cp 1s 8¹⁰ 5[†]
q 22⁵ 25¹⁶
r 9⁵

s 12²

t Cp 2¹⁸
15-22 1¹¹
u 1s cp 13¹

v 9¹⁰w 5²⁵x 5²⁸

y Cp Ex 4¹⁵
Jer 1⁹

z 23²¹ cp 22²
20 15^h
a^c 14³ 5[†]
b Cp 17¹² 5[†]
c 7¹⁷

d^c 17¹² 5[†]e 1¹⁷f 1-13 12^h

a 12²⁹
b = possession
12²⁹ cp 88⁶
c Cp 44¹ Num
35¹¹

d 44² cp Ex
21¹²⁻¹⁴
e 13⁶
f Ct Num 35¹¹

g 28⁴⁰ 5[†]
h 4⁴²
i 12 cp Num 35¹¹

j 14²⁴
k 11 cp 22²⁸ 5[†]
l 21²² Jer 26¹¹ 10
5[†]
m 15¹¹
n 12³⁰

o 11²²p Josh 82² *

or a ¹consulter with a familiar spirit, or a ²wizard, or a ³necromancer.
12 For ⁴whosoever doeth these things is an ⁵abomination unto Yahweh:
and because of these abominations Yahweh thy God ⁶doth ⁷drive them
out from before thee. 13 Thou shalt be perfect with Yahweh thy God.
14 For these nations, ⁸which thou shalt possess, hearken unto them that
⁹practise augury, and unto ¹⁰diviners: but as for thee, Yahweh thy God
hath not ¹¹suffered thee so to do. 15 ¹²Yahweh thy God will ¹³raise up
unto thee a prophet from the ¹⁴midst ¹⁵of thee, of thy brethren, like unto
me; unto him ye shall hearken; 16 according to all that thou desiredst
of Yahweh thy God in ¹⁷Horeb in the ¹⁸day of the ¹⁹assembly, saying, Let
me not ²⁰hear again the voice of Yahweh my God, neither let me see
this great fire any more, that I die not. 17 And Yahweh said unto me,
They have ²¹well said that which they have spoken. 18 I will ²²raise
them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and
I will ²³put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all
that I shall command him. 19 And it shall come to pass, that whosoever
will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name,
I will ²⁴require it of him. 20 ²⁵But the prophet, which shall speak a word
²⁶presumptuously in my name, which I have not commanded him to
speak, or that shall speak in the name of ²⁷other gods, ²⁸that same prophet
shall die. 21 And ²⁹if thou say in thine heart, ³⁰How shall we know the
word which Yahweh hath not spoken? 22 When a prophet speaketh
in the name of Yahweh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that
is the thing which Yahweh hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken
it ³¹presumptuously, thou shalt not be ³²afraid of himⁿ.

19¹ ¹When Yahweh ²thy God shall ³cut off the nations, whose ⁴land
Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and thou ⁵succeedest them, and dwellest
in their cities, and in their houses; ⁶thou shalt ⁷separate three cities for
thee in the midst of thy ⁸land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to
⁹possess it. ¹⁰Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders
of thy land, which Yahweh thy God causeth thee to ¹¹inherit, into three
parts, that every manslayer may flee thither. ¹²And ¹³this is the case of
the ¹⁴manslayer, which shall flee thither and live: whose killeth his
¹⁵neighbour ¹⁶unawares, and hated him not in time past; ¹⁷as when a man
goeth into the forest with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand
¹⁸felleth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the ¹⁹head
²⁰slippeth from ²¹the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die;
he shall ²²flee unto one of these cities and live: ²³lest the ²⁴avenger of
blood pursue the manslayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him,
because the way is ²⁵long, and smite him ²⁶mortally; whereas he was not
²⁷worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in time past. ²⁸Where-
fore I ²⁹command thee, saying, Thou shalt separate three cities for thee:
³⁰And if Yahweh thy God ³¹enlarge thy border, ³²as he hath sworn unto
thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give
unto thy fathers; ³³if thou shalt ³⁴keep all this ³⁵commandment to do it,
which I ³⁶command thee this day, to ³⁷love Yahweh thy God, and to ³⁸walk
³⁹ever in his ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee,
beside these three.

10 that ¹innocent blood be not shed in the midst of thy ²land, which
Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon
thee. 11 But if any man hate his neighbour, and ³lie in wait for him,

18^{15b} Sam (M read 'from the midst of (among) thy brethren'
as in 18 17¹⁶. The last clause seems to break the connexion with
the following verse, and its plural form is unexpected in the
midst of the singular address cp 12²⁸.

22 At this point the treatment of the theocratic powers of the
state, monarchy, priesthood, and prophecy, is concluded. The
collection of laws in 19-25 has a miscellaneous character, and may
have been expanded later. With 26¹ cp 18⁹.

19⁴ Cp 15². The formula sounds like the introduction of
a citation from a legal source.

6a M 5 iron.

5b M Or, the tree.

8 The expansive hortatory manner of 8, contrasted with the
simpler style of 1-7 10-13 makes it probable that this is a system-
atizer's addition, to bring up the number of cities to the
Levitical six. Cp 44¹⁻⁴³.

10 M Or, the blood of an innocent man.—Cp 13 21⁸ 27²⁵ *.

JE D ^e	D	D ^e P
q Cp 10, 22 ²⁶	and ⁹ rise up against him, and smite him ^k mortally that he die; and he flee into one of these cities: ¹² then the ⁿ elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and ^v deliver him into the hand of the ^l avenger of blood, that he may die. ¹³ Thine ^e eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt ^p ut away ⁿ the innocent blood from Israel, that it may ^g o well with thee ⁿ .	n 42 ^a
r Cp 52		o 43 ^b
14 L3b ^a s 27 ¹⁷ t ^g =ancestors Lev 264 ^b	¹⁴ ^L Thou shalt not ^a remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they ^o f old time have set, in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee to ^o possess it.	p 92 ¹ q 116 ^b
15-20 L4 ^e	¹⁵ ^L One witness shall not ^q rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the ^u mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall a matter be ^o established.	r 67
u 17 ⁶	¹⁶ ^L If an ^u nrighteous witness rise up against any man to testify against him of ^u wrong doing; ¹⁷ then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before Yahweh, ⁿ before the priests and the ^j udges which shall be in those days; ¹⁸ and the ^j udges shall ^u make ^s diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be a ^u false witness, and hath ^u testified falsely against his ^u brother; ¹⁹ then shall ^u ye do unto him, as he had ^a thought to do unto his ^u brother: so shalt thou ^u put away the evil from the ^u midst of thee. ²⁰ And those which remain shall ^u hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil in the midst of thee. ²¹ ^L And thine ^e eye shall not pity; ^u life [shall go] for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.	s 116 ^c
v ^g =stand Num 305 ^a 16-14b ^c nhe v Ex 23 ¹	²⁰ ^L When thou ^g oest forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, [and] a people ^u more than thou, ^u thou shalt not be afraid of them: for Yahweh ^u thy God is with thee, which ^u brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. ^{2a} ^L And it shall be, when ^u ye draw nigh unto the battle,	t 25 u 92 ¹ v 78 ^b w 58 ^b
x ^g =inquire diligently 13 ¹⁴ 17 ⁴ Cp 9	^{2b} ^L And the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, ^s and shall say unto them, ^b Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your heart ^u faint; ^u fear not, nor ^u tremble, neither be ye ^u affrighted at them; ⁴ for Yahweh your God is he that ^u goeth with you, to ^u fight for you against your enemies, to save you.	a 1 ^a
y Ex 23 ¹⁸ z Ct 5 ²⁰ ^g a Gen 11 ⁶	⁵ ^L that the ^o fficers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not ^u dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. ⁶ And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not ^u used the fruit thereof? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man use the fruit thereof. ⁷ And what man is there that hath ^u betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her. ⁸ And the ^o fficers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? let him go and return unto his house, ⁿ lest his brethren's heart melt as his heart. ⁹ And it shall be, when the ^o fficers have ^u made an end of speaking unto the people, that they shall appoint ^u captains of hosts ^l at the head of the people.	b 2 ^b c 44 ^c
21 L40 ^b b' Ex 21 ²⁴ Lev 24 ¹⁸⁻²⁰ 1-20 L4m ^a a 21 ¹⁰ 23 ⁹ b Cp 7 ¹ 17 c 7 ¹⁸ d Josh 24 ¹⁷ Cp 21 ³⁶ 2 L4h ^f		d 45 e 83
c Cp 8 Is 7 ⁴ Jer 51 ⁴⁶		
f ^g = Cp haste ^g 16 ³		
g ^g =dread 12 ²⁰ 44 ^d h Cp 1 ³⁰ i 1 Kings 86 ³ 2 Chron 76 ⁵ Cp Prov 22 ⁶ ^g †		
j 28 ³⁰ Cp 24 ⁵		
k 2612 3124 Josh 824 1020 l 1 Kings 25 1 Chron 27 ³ ^g †		

19^{18a} M Or, the blood of the innocent.

19^{18b} The section on expiation for a murder when the murderer is unknown 21¹⁻⁹, which now interrupts a series of regulations of military affairs, may possibly have once been connected with 11-13: Cp 'the elders' 19¹² 21² 4⁸, 'put away the innocent blood' 19¹³ 21⁹.

17 Probably a gloss in explanation of the phrase 'stand before Yahweh,' founded on the combined document in 17⁹.. In 18, however, only the judges are recognized. Are these civil officers or priests? Cp 21² 5.

19 An unexpected plural Cp 12²⁸; 19¹⁸ suggests 'so shalt thou do unto him.'

20¹ On some features in this portion of the Code 20-25 Cp 12¹⁸⁽²⁾⁻⁽³⁾.

2a ^g 'thou drawest nigh' Cp 10: the plural in ^s is here anticipated.

2b T that. The construction of 2a is continued in 5. The exhortation here assigned to the priest recalls phrases of the Introduction 1⁶⁻³, and has been often regarded as supplemental, its character being quite different from the subsequent concessions. The grammatical sequence runs on quite easily at 5 which may be rendered 'that the officers' &c. For a similar unexpected reference to the priest Cp 21⁹. The sudden change to the plural confirms the ascription to another hand Cp 12²⁸.

^g continuous with 2a. T and.

^g M See 28³⁰ and Lev 19²³⁻²⁵.

^g Sam (S) ^ulest he cause his brethren's heart to melt. Cp 1²⁸.

JE D^e

D

D' P

¹⁰ When thou drawest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. ¹¹ And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall become tributary unto thee, and shall serve thee. ¹² And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: ¹³ and when Yahweh thy God delivereth it into thine hand, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: ¹⁴ but the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take for a prey unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies which Yahweh thy God hath given thee. ¹⁵ Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. ¹⁶ But of the cities of these peoples, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: ¹⁷ but thou shalt devote them; the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; as Yahweh thy God hath commanded thee.

¹⁸ That they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against Yahweh your God. ¹⁹ When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by wielding an axe against them; for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down; for is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee? ²⁰ Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it fall.

²¹ If one be found slain in the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to possess it, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath smitten him: ² then thy elders and thy judges shall come forth, and they shall measure unto the cities which are round about him that is slain: ³ and it shall be, that the city which is nearest unto the slain man, even the elders of that city shall take an heifer of the herd, which hath not been wrought with, and which hath not drawn in the yoke; ⁴ and the elders of that city shall bring down the heifer unto a valley with running water, which is neither plowed nor sown, and shall break the heifer's neck there in the valley:

⁵ And the priests the sons of Levi shall come near; for them Yahweh thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of Yahweh; and according to their word shall every controversy and every stroke be.

⁶ and all the elders of that city, who are nearest unto the slain man, shall wash their hands over the heifer whose neck was broken in the valley: ⁷ and they shall answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it. ⁸ Forgive, O Yahweh, thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and suffer not innocent blood to remain in the midst of thy people Israel. And the blood shall be

f 52
g 84
h 118
i 10
j 103
k 89
l 69

m 29^a

n 71^b
o 9^b

p 38

a 49
b 69^c
c 8
d 84^a
e 42^b
f 67

g 42^a

h 90
i 26^a

j 43^a
k 95

m 19 29

n 13¹⁵

16-18 15^f

o Josh 10⁴⁰ 11¹¹
14 1 Kings 15²⁹
Ps 150^{6†}

19 13^d

p 5=many
days 146 21 &c
q 4³¹

r 2 Kings 24¹⁰
25² Jer 52⁶
5†

s 5=come down
28⁵²
1-9 12^{hi}

a Cp 15¹⁹ 5 Pu
16 14^{3†}
b Am 5^{24†} cp Ps
74¹⁶
c Cp 34 5 Niph
d Cp Ex 13¹⁵
34 20⁸
e 11^{hi} 4b i
c 10⁸
f Cp 17⁸⁻¹⁰

g 27¹⁴

h Ct P 25

i 19¹⁰

²⁰ 11 M. Or. subject to task-work.—Cp Josh 16¹⁰ 17¹³ Judg 13⁸..
17a So M. G. T utterly destroy.—Cp 35.
17b The introduction of the list of the doomed peoples cp 7¹ after the command to 'devote' them, may be due to an annotator: cp Josh 24¹¹ Ex 3⁵.

¹⁸ This verse has a supplemental air after the close in 17^b; the plural pronoun perhaps indicates the presence of the expander cp 12³¹. In the last clause of the formula 'and it be sin in thee' 10a.

²¹ The sequence of the regulations concerning war ²⁰ 21¹⁰ is broken by 21¹⁻⁹ which is closely connected in subject with 19¹⁻¹³, though not allied by any special phraseological peculiarities.

² The 'judges' are not named again, unless this be an

anticipatory reference to the judicial functions of the priests ^{5b} cp 19¹⁷. The word may be a harmonistic addition (cp Staerk, *Deut* 17, Steuern *in loc*), or possibly a trace of the amalgamation of two forms of the same law; cp in ³ 'which hath not been wrought with' and 'which hath not drawn in the yoke,' which also look like doublets from separate sources.

⁵ With the entrance of the priests here cp 20². They are not mentioned before (unless 'judges' ² points to them), and they have no part in the expiatory rite described in ⁴ 8-9; for what purpose, then, do they 'come near'? The reference to them may rest on ancient usage, but it has the air here of an afterthought. With the designation 'sons of Levi' cp 31⁹, and ct 17⁹ 18 18¹ 24⁸.

J E D	D	D P
	^hforgiven them. ⁹ So shalt thou ¹put away the ^hinnocent blood from the ^mmidst of thee, when thou shalt ^{do} that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh. ¹⁰ ^{NL}When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Yahweh thy God ^odelivereth them into thine hands, and thou carriest them away captive, ¹¹ and seest among the ^jcaptives a beautiful woman, and thou ^hast a desire unto her, and wouldest take her to thee to wife; ¹² then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her ¹nails; ¹³ and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a ^mfull month^m: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. ¹⁴ And it shall be, if thou have no ^odelight in her, then thou shalt let her go ^owhither she will^o, but thou shalt not sell her at all for money, thou shalt not deal with her ^aas a slave, ²because thou hast humbled her. ¹⁵ ^LIf a man have two wives, the one beloved, and the other hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated; and if the firstborn son be hers that was hated; ¹⁶ then it shall be, in the day that he causeth his sons to ^vinherit that which he hath, that he ^qmay not make the son of the beloved the firstborn ^obefore the son of the hated, which is the firstborn: ¹⁷ but he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the hated, by giving him a ^qdouble portion of all that he hath: for he is the ¹beginning of his strength¹; the right of the firstborn is his. ¹⁸ ^LIf a man have a ^astubborn and rebellious^a son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and though they ^ochasten him, will not hearken unto them; ¹⁹ then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and ¹bring him out unto the ^eelders of his city, and unto the ^ggate of his place; ²⁰ and they shall say unto the ^eelders of his city, This our son is ^astubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a ^ariotous liver, and a drunkard^a. ²¹ And all the ^wmen of his city shall ^ostone him with stones, that he die: so shalt thou ¹put away the evil from the ^mmidst of thee; and ¹all Israel shall ^hear, and fear. ²² ^LAnd if a man have committed a ^vsin ^oworthy of death, and he be ¹put to death, and thou hang him on a tree^o, ²³ his body shall not ^oremain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is ^aaccursed of God; that thou ^odefile not thy land ^owhich Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance. ²² ^LThou shalt not see thy ^obrother's ox or his sheep ^ogo astray, and ^ohide thyself from them: thou shalt ^osurely bring them again unto thy ^obrother. ² And if thy ^obrother be not nigh unto thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it home to thine house, and it shall be with thee until thy ^obrother ^oseek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again. ³ And so shalt thou do with his ass; and so shalt thou do with his garment; and so shalt thou do with every ^olost thing^o of thy ^obrother's, which he hath lost, and thou hast found: thou ^omayest not ^ohide thyself. ⁴ Thou shalt not see thy ^obrother's ass or his ox fallen down by the way, and ^ohide thyself from them: thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again. ⁵ ^LA woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: ^ofor whosoever doeth these things is an ^oabomination unto Yahweh ^othy God. ⁶ ^LIf a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree	l 92^a m 78^b n 37^c o 52^d p 65^e q 76^f r 66^g s 92^h t 23ⁱ u 58^j v 102^k w 69^l x 25^m y 38ⁿ c 76^o d 9^p e 18^q
10-14 L ¹ g ² d ³ 4m ⁴ b		
j 324 ² Jer 484 ⁶ k 5 7 ⁷		
l 5 ⁸ † op Jer 171 sing†		
m 2 Kings 1518† ot Gen 2914 ⁹ 5		
n Cp 25 ⁷ Gen 341 ⁹ o 5 ⁸ =according to her soul op 1215 2415		
p 2229 op 284 ⁷ (62) Num 2513 ⁸		
15-17 L ¹ da 3g ² b		
q 2 Kings 20 ⁹ Zech 138† r Gen 495 ⁸		
18-21 L ¹ bc ² l s 20 Jer 523 Ps 78†		
17 ⁵ u 2215 24 25 ⁷		
v Prov 2321† w 2221		
22. L ¹ 6b ¹ x 10 ⁶ y Josh 102 ⁶ z Cp Josh 829		
a ¹ Num 35 ⁸⁴		
1-4 L ¹ 30 ¹		
a ¹ Is 57 ⁹ Ps 551 ¹ b Ex 23 ⁴		
c 5 ⁸ require it 2321		
d Ex 220 Lev 522 ⁴		
e L ¹ 10 e 1812		
6. L ¹ 2g		

²¹¹⁰ The fourth in a series of cases arising out of war ²⁰¹ ¹⁰ ¹⁹ which were probably originally all continuous.

¹⁴ M Or, as a chattel.—Cp 24⁷†.

¹⁶ **M** Or, *during the life time of.*

21 הַיּוֹם cp פ^{152} ; et ספר 13¹¹ 17⁵ 22²¹ 24 JE₂₁₆.

23 **M** *to the curse of God.*

JE D^e

D

D^s Pf Ps 24³ Job
39³⁰†8 L²ae

9 9†

9-11 L³12h Lev 19¹⁴†i 14²²j Lev 19¹⁰12 L¹ime

k 9=covering

Ex 22²⁷13-21 L¹kl 24³

m 17 9†

n 19 9†

o 18 17 20 Lev

21¹³p 21 24 17⁵q 21¹³r Ex 21²²*

s Cp 29

t 9=truth 13¹⁴17⁴u 21²¹v Cp 16¹⁶w Gen 34⁷ Josh7¹⁵*22-27 L¹gx 17²y Gen 20³⁴ ctLev 20¹⁰z 25. 20⁷ 23³⁰cp Ex 22¹⁶*a' 23⁴ 2 Sam13²² 9†b' 21¹⁴c' Cp 21²²d' 19¹¹e' Cp 19⁶ 9f' 28²⁹ 3128. L¹jcg' Ex 22¹⁶

or on the ground, with ^jyoung ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young; or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young: ⁷ thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, but the young thou mayest take unto thyself; that it may be ⁴well with thee, and that thou mayest ⁶prolong thy days.

⁸ ^LWhen thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a ⁹battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence. ⁹ ^LThou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two ^hkinds of seed: lest the ^uwhole fruit be ⁴forfeited, the seed which thou hast sown, and the ⁴increase of the vineyard.

¹⁰ Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. ¹¹ Thou shalt not wear a ^jmingled stuff, wool and linen together.

¹² ^LThou shalt make thee ^ufringes upon the four borders of thy ^kvesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.

¹³ ^LIf any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her, ¹⁴ and lay ^mshameful things to her charge, and ^ubring up an evil name upon herⁿ, and say, I took this woman, and when I came nigh to her, I found not in her the ^otokens of virginity^o: ¹⁵ then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and ^pbring forth the ^otokens of the damsel's virginity unto the ^helders of the city in the ^qgate: ¹⁶ and the damsel's father shall say unto the ^helders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her; ¹⁷ and, lo, he hath laid ^mshameful things [to her charge], saying, I found not in thy daughter the ^otokens of virginity; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the garment before the ^helders of the city. ¹⁸ And the ^helders of that city shall take the man and ^uchastise him; ¹⁹ and they shall ^ramercie him in an hundred [shekels] of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath ⁿbrought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel: ^sand she shall be his wife; he ^umay not put her away ¹all his days. ²⁰ But if this thing be ^ttrue, that the ^otokens of virginity were not ^kfound in the damsel: ²¹ then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the ^umen of her city shall ^vstone her with stones that she die: because she hath ^uwrought folly in Israel^w, to play the harlot in her father's house: so shalt thou ¹put away the evil from the ^mmidst of thee.

²² ^LIf a man be ^kfound lying with a woman ^vmarried to an husband^v, then they shall both of them die, the man that lay with the woman, and the woman: so shalt thou ¹put away the evil from Israel.

²³ If there be a damsel that is a virgin ^ubetrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her; ²⁴ then ^uye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ^uye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, ^ubecause she cried not, being in the city; and the man, ^ubecause he hath ^uhumiliated his neighbour's wife: so thou shalt ¹put away the evil from the ^mmidst of thee.

²⁵ But if the man find the damsel that is ^ubetrothed in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her; then the man only that lay with her shall die: ²⁶ ^ubut unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin ^uworthy of death: for as when a man ^uriseth against his neighbour, and ^uslayeth him, even so is this matter: ²⁷ for he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried, and ¹there was none to save her.

²⁸ ^LIf a man find a damsel that is a ^uvirgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; ²⁹ then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty [shekels]

f 116^ag 73^bh 42^a

i 66

j 13^b

k 49

l 92^am 78^b22^a M 9 fulness.—Ex 22³⁰ Num 18²⁷†.23^a M 9 consecrated.—9=become holy Lev 6¹⁸ Num 17³⁰ cp86. M Or, twisted threads.—1 Kings 7¹⁷† ct Num 15¹⁸.24^a Perhaps originally singular as in 13¹⁰: cp the sing in the

closing formula of the verse and in 26: 9 educes utrumque. Steuern, on the other hand, regards the plural in these Laws as original, while the singular is part of the editorial formulae.

24^b (9) 'they shall be stoned.'

28 (9) omits but . . . nothing.

JE D^e D^e Pⁱ

h' 21¹⁴

30 [23¹ in 5]
30 Lev⁶
i' 27²⁰ Lev 18⁸
1-8 L⁴¹
1- L¹¹⁶
α 5[†]
b Zech 9^{8†}

8-8 L¹²⁴h 4^{nc}

c 2²⁴
i' Cp 21¹⁰. 29
c 24⁹ 25¹⁷
f Num 22⁵.

g Josh 24¹⁰

h Jer 29⁷ 38⁴
Ezr 9¹²

i 7⁸⁶
i 10¹⁰

9-14 L¹⁴m 6^{ka}
k 20¹
l 10⁶g^e
l 5[†] et Lev 15¹⁶

m Gen 24^{68†} cp
Ex 14²⁷
n 16⁶

o Ezek 41^{2†}

p Num 14⁴⁴ 5[†]
ct Lev 26¹²
q Cp Jer 18 19
15²⁰
r Cp P87^a
s Jer 32⁴⁰

15- L²²d^j

t 15⁷
u Ex 22²¹ Lev
10³³^e
17- L¹m⁶

of silver, and she shall be his wife, ^hbecause he hath humbled her; he
may not put her away ⁱall his days.

³⁰ ^{NL} A man shall not take his father's wife, and shall not ^uuncover his
father's skirt.

²³ ¹ ^{NL} He that is ^awounded in the stones, or hath his privy member
cut off, shall not enter into the ^aassembly of Yahweh.

² A ^bbastard shall not enter into the ^aassembly of Yahweh; even to
the tenth generation shall none of his enter into the assembly of
Yahweh.

³ ^L An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the ^aassembly of
Yahweh; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them
enter into the assembly of Yahweh for ever: ⁴ ^abecause they ^dmet you
not with bread and with water in the ^eway, when ye ^ecame forth out of
Egypt⁶; and because they hired against thee ^fBalaam the son of Beor
from Pethor of ^gMesopotamia, to curse thee. ⁵ Nevertheless Yahweh
^hthy God ^awould not ^hhearken unto Balaam; but Yahweh thy God
turned the ^ecurse into a ⁱblessing unto thee, because Yahweh thy God
^aloved thee. ⁶ Thou shalt not ^hseek their peace nor their prosperity ^hall
thy days for ever.

⁷ Thou shalt not ^aabhor an Edomite; for he is thy ^bbrother: thou
shalt not abhor an Egyptian; ^jbecause thou wast a stranger in his land^d.

⁸ The children of the third generation that are born unto them shall
enter into the ^aassembly of Yahweh.

⁹ ^{NL} When ^kthou goest forth in camp against thine enemies, then thou
shalt keep thee from every evil thing. ¹⁰ ^L If there be ^aamong you any
man, that is not clean by reason of that which ⁱchanceth him by night,
then shall he go abroad out of the camp, he shall not come within the
camp: ¹¹ but it shall be, ^mwhen evening cometh on^m, he shall bathe
himself in water: and ⁿwhen the sun is down, he shall come within
the camp. ¹² Thou shalt have a place also without the camp, whither
thou shalt go forth abroad: ¹³ and thou shalt have a ^apaddle among thy
^aweapons; and it shall be, when thou sittest down abroad, thou shalt
dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover ^athat which cometh from
thee^o: ¹⁴ for Yahweh thy God walketh ⁱin the midst of thy camp, to
ⁱdeliver thee, and to ^kgive up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall
thy camp ^bbe holy: that he see no ^aunclean thing ⁱin thee, and ^aturn
away from thee.

¹⁵ ^{NL} Thou shalt not deliver unto his master a servant which is escaped
from his master unto thee: ¹⁶ he shall dwell with thee, in the ⁱmidst of
thee, in the place which he shall choose within ⁱone of thy ^mgates, where
it liketh him best: thou shalt not ^uoppress him.

¹⁷ There shall be no ^hharlot of the daughters of Israel, neither shall
there be a ^asodomite of the sons of Israel. ¹⁸ Thou shalt not bring the

²²⁹⁰ Cp the longer lists of prohibited degrees of affinity in Lev 18 and 20. The mention of one single case here suggests that the laws in this section of the code may be of various origin, but no clue to the principles of selection seems discoverable.

23¹ A peculiar group of rules in 1-8 is concerned with limitations on the right of entry into the assembly of Yahweh (a formula not found elsewhere, though cp Lam 1¹⁰; Neh 13¹ founded on this passage). The term 'Yahweh's assembly' occurs also in Num 10² 20⁴ and Mic 2¹³; and points to the derivation of these regulations from the priestly schools which were occupied with the principles of ritual purity (cp 14⁸. and 24⁸). They have apparently received some expansion at the hands of the Deuteronomistic editors or of a later scribe. In 8 the closing words 'for ever' are hardly consistent with the mention of the tenth generation cp 2²; the reasons in 4⁸ and 4⁸⁻⁵ have the air of additions, one marked by the pl, and one by the sing pronoun; the allegation in 4⁸ can hardly be harmonized with the view indicated in 2²⁹ so far as Moab is concerned, while the general attitude towards Moab and Ammon is different from that implied in 2¹⁹ 19¹; 4⁸⁻¹ applies to Moab alone, and as D's narrative

makes no allusion to Balaam, this seems to have the character of an afterthought. The phrases of ⁶ have their parallel in Jeremiah (D never combines 'all thy days' and 'for ever'). Kuen held that the explanatory clauses in ⁴ were parallel to those in ⁷, but it is plain that their style is much more expansive. Note the conjunction ⁷ twice in י: ⁴ מִן אֲזַמ־נֶחֱמִיָּהוּ cp קִרְבֵּר אֲשֶׁר י: ⁴ מִן אֲזַמ־נֶחֱמִיָּהוּ 22²⁴.

²² The provision for the maintenance of the purity of the camp is unique in the Deuteronomic legislation. This is not really analogous to the law in Num 5:1-4. In the Levitical code the camp is the symbol of the normal life of Israel: here it is the scene of actual war. The regulations show hardly any of the characteristic phrases of D, but they are markedly different in style from P, which employs other terms (cp ¹⁴). The passage seems to be related to the small group (eg 14¹⁸, 23:1-24¹⁸), concerned with the maintenance of Israel's ritual purity cp 21:18 (4); on the other hand its opening formula links it with 20:1-21:10.

13 M Or, shovel. 14 M $\S$ nakedness of any thing.—24¹⁺.
17a M $\S$ kedeshah. See Gen 38²¹. 17b M $\S$ kadesh.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

v 5*

'hire of a whore, or the wages of a dog, into the house of Yahweh thy God for any vow: for even both these are an ^a'abomination unto Yahweh thy God.

n 9^a

19. 19^{ab}
10 Hiph[†] cp Ex
22²⁵

¹⁹ ²¹ ²² Thou shalt not ^w'lend upon usury to thy ^b'brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of ^a'any thing that is lent upon usury: ²⁰ unto a ^f'foreigner thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy ^b'brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: ^a'that Yahweh thy God may ^b'bless thee in all that thou ^p'puttest thine hand unto, in the land whither thou ^g'goest in to ^t'possess it.

o 10
p 47
q 22¹
r 11
s 53
t 88^a

21-23 18[†]g^b
y Ct Num 30²..
z 18¹⁹

²¹ ²² When thou shalt ^v'vow a vow unto Yahweh thy God, thou shalt not be slack to pay it: for Yahweh thy God will surely ^r'require it of thee; and it would be ^s'sin in thee. ²² But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no ^s'sin in thee. ²³ That which is ^a'gone out of thy lips thou shalt ^v'observe and do; according as thou hast vowed unto Yahweh thy God, a freewill offering, which thou hast ^v'promised with thy mouth.

u 102
v 82^b

a' Num 30¹² Jer
17¹⁶ Ps 80³⁴
cp Deut 58[†]

U' Jer 44²⁶ cp
1 Kings 8¹⁶ 24
24. 13^a

c' 5=according
to thy soul cp
12¹⁶
d' 16⁹

²⁴ ²⁵ When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill ^a'at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.

e' 27⁵ ct 17¹⁵

²⁵ When thou comest into thy neighbour's ^d'standing corn, then thou mayest ^v'pluck the ^e'ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not ^e'move a ^d'sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.

1-4 11^{bc}

²⁴ ²⁵ When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some ^a'unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a ^b'bill of divorcement^b, and give it in her hand, and ^s'send her out of his house. ² And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's [wife]. ³ And if the latter husband ^a'hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife; ⁴ her former husband, which sent her away, ^a'may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is ^e'defiled; for that is ^b'abomination before Yahweh: and thou shalt not ^r'cause the land to sin, ^w'which Yahweh ^a'thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

a 23¹⁴
b 8 Jer 3⁸ Is 50[†]
c 5=put her
away 22¹⁹ 29

d 22¹³

e 5[†]

f Ex 23³³ cp
1 Kings 14¹⁶ al

5 14^{md}
g Cp 20⁷
h 5=to war
Num 31³⁶†

i Cp Job 13¹³ 5
6 16^{ha} nh^a
e 13^{fl}

j 17 Ex 22²⁶†
k Ex 21¹⁶

⁵ ² When a man ^a'taketh a new wife, he shall not go out ^k'in the host, neither shall he be ^e'charged with any business: he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer his wife which he hath taken. ⁶ ² No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to ^p'pledge: for he taketh [a man's] life to pledge.

a 76
b 9^a
c 69^d
d 1^a

l Lev 13³

m 17¹⁰

n Cp Lev 13:
o 25¹⁷ cp 97
p Num 12¹⁰
q 23⁴

⁷ ² If a man be ^r'found ^k'stealing any of his ^b'brethren of the children of Israel, and he deal with him ^a'as a slave, or sell him; then that thief shall die: so shalt thou ^e'put away the evil from the midst of thee.

e 49
f 25

10-18 13^{fc}

r 15²
s 17¹⁹ 22²⁶†
t Cp 15⁹ Qual[†]
u 10 13[†]
v Ex 22²⁵

w 5=needy 15¹¹
x 16⁶ ct Ex 22²⁶

y 6²⁵

⁸ ^{nh} Take heed in the ^b'plague of leprosy, that thou ^v'observe diligently, and do according to all that the ^p'priests the Levites shall ^m'teach you: as I ^r'commanded them, so ye shall ^k'observe to do. ⁹ Remember ¹'what Yahweh thy God did unto ²'Miriam, by the ^a'way as ye ^w'came forth out of Egypt.

g 92^a
h 108^b
i 82^b
j 90^a
k 82¹
l 12
m 28^a

¹⁰ ² When thou dost ^r'lend thy neighbour any manner of ^a'loan, thou shalt not go into his house to ^t'fetch his ^a'pledge. ¹¹ Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost ^r'lend shall bring forth the pledge without unto thee. ¹² And if he be a ^w'poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge: ¹³ thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge ^a'when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his garment, and bless thee: and ^a'it shall be righteousness unto thee before Yahweh thy God.

23¹⁰ Cp 15¹⁻¹¹ 24¹⁰⁻¹³.

24⁷ M Or, as a chattel.—21¹⁴.

This passage contrasts with the adjoining laws in several particulars. (1) Its subject is not cognate with the social legislation of the context: (2) the hortatory form of introduction is different: (3) the address varies from the sing to the pl: (4) it presupposes regulations already communicated to the priests, to

be imparted by them to Israel: (5) the word plague (=stroke 17⁸ 21⁶) is not used elsewhere by D in this sense, though it is the regular term in P: (6) the formula in ⁹ occurs only in 23⁴ (itself of doubtful origin) and 25¹⁷. It seems best, therefore, to regard it as an addition derived from priestly circles, referring to current torah analogous to that now embodied in Lev 13^a.

JE D ^e	D	D' P
14. L2a/C ^e z Lev 19 ^{13a} a' 5 ¹⁴ b' Cp Lev 19 ^{13b} c' 5 = soul 12 ²⁰ d' 15 ⁹ 16 L4C ^d	14 ¹⁴ Thou shalt not ^o ppress an hired servant that is ^u poor and needy, whether he be of thy ^h brethren, or of ^u thy strangers that are in thy land within thy ^u gates: ¹⁵ in his ^v day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his ^o heart upon it: lest he ^u cry against thee unto Yahweh, and it be ^u sin unto thee. ¹⁶ ^{NE} The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin. ¹⁷ ^L Thou shalt not ^u wrest the judgement of the ^u stranger, [nor] of the fatherless; nor take the widow's raiment to ^u pledge: ¹⁸ but thou shalt ^u remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and Yahweh thy God ^u redeemed thee thence: ^o therefore I command thee to do this thing. ¹⁹ ^L When thou ^h reapest thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a ^u sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it: it shall be for the ^u stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow: that Yahweh thy God may ^u bless thee in all the ^u work of thine hands. ²⁰ When thou ^u beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not ^h go over the boughs ^u again: it shall be for the ^u stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. ²¹ When thou ^u gatherest [the grapes of] thy vineyard, thou shalt not ^m 'glean it after thee: it shall be for the ^u stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. ²² And thou shalt ^u remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt: therefore I command thee to do this thing. ²⁵ ¹ If there be a ^u controversy between men, and they come unto judgement, and [the judges] judge them; then they shall ^u justify the righteous, and ^u condemn the wicked; ² and it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the ^u judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, ^u according to his wickedness, by number. ³ Forty stripes he may give him, he shall not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy ^u brother should ^u seem vile ^u unto thee. ⁴ ^{NE} Thou shalt not ^u muzzle the ox when he ^u treadeth out [the corn]. ⁵ ^{NE} If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and ^h perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her ^h . ⁶ ^L And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not ^u blotted out of Israel. ⁷ And if the man ^u like not to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the ^u gate unto the ^u elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he ^u will not ^h perform the duty of an husband's brother unto me. ⁸ Then the ^u elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand, and say, I ^u like not to take her; ⁹ then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the ^u presence of the ^u elders, and ^u loose his shoe from off his foot, and ^m 'spit in his face; and she shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house. ¹⁰ And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed. ¹¹ ^L When men ^u strive together one with another, and the wife of the one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the ^u secrets: ¹² then thou shalt cut off her hand, thine ^u eye shall have no pity.	n 51 o 102 p 105 ^a q 95 r 22 ^a s 119 a 67 b 25 c 43 ^a d 42 ^a e 117 f 43 ^b
17 L4h ^b e' 16 ¹⁹ f' 22 5 ¹⁵ g' 5 ¹⁵ 15 ¹¹ 19-22 L31 ^b h' Lev 19 ⁹ 23 ²² i' Ruth 2 ¹⁵ Job 24 ^{10†} j' Is 27 ¹² op Judg 6 ¹¹ k' 5† l' Lev 25 ⁵ m' Lev 19 ¹⁰		
1-3 L4j 1 L4G ^e a 17 ⁸ b Ex 23 ^{7*} c Ex 22 ^{9*} d Lev 25 ²⁶ Judg 6 ⁵ 5† e Cp 27 ¹⁶ 5 [*] f L2f j Cp Ezek 39 ¹¹ 5† g 5 [*] Hos 10 ^{11 al} 5-10 L1ff h 7 Gen 38 [†] 6 L2d ^b i Cp 9 ¹⁴ j 8 op 21 ¹⁴ 5 k 21 ¹⁹ l Is 20 ² m Num 12 ^{14†} n Lrn n Ex 21 ²² o 5†		

24¹⁶ The special regulations designed for the protection of the weak or helpless against social oppression are here interrupted by a statement of general principle unrelated to the context either in matter or form. It was known to the Deuteronomic redactor of the records of the monarchy 2 Kings 14⁶. cp Jer 31²⁰. Ezek 18⁴; but in its present place it seems like an after-

thought, and is consequently marked as an addition. It is in general harmony with 7¹⁰, but the expression is different.

25⁴ Another precept detached from its natural connexions. So far as it concerns the harvest it seems to belong to 24¹⁹⁻²²; or, as a provision for kindness to animals, it has affinities with 22¹⁻⁴.

⁵ Cp 21¹⁵. 22¹³. 24¹⁻⁶.

JE D^e

D

D^a P

13-16 14d^a
 7 Mic 6¹¹ Prov
 16¹¹
 9 5⁺ cp Lev
 10³⁶ Prov 11¹
 10
 7 18¹²
 8 Lev 19³⁰

17-19 14n^b
 1 Ex 17⁸
 2 23⁴
 3 Jo-h 10¹⁹
 10 5⁺
 12¹⁰

9 Ex 17¹⁴ op 9¹⁴
 2 7²⁴

1-11 18c^e
 1 17¹⁴

2 110a¹
 6 10 18⁴

c 4 285 17⁺

3 110a¹
 1 17¹⁴
 e 30¹⁸

f 10 5 = lay it
 up 14²⁸
 g Cp Gen 46⁸
 h Cp Gen 47⁴
 i 286² 5 cp Gen
 34³⁰

j Ex 19⁹ 5
 k Num 20¹⁶
 l Ex 12¹²

m 5 = service Ex
 14¹⁴

n Num 20¹⁶ op
 o Ex 37⁴³¹
 p Gen 41⁵¹
 q Ex 3⁹
 r 4³⁴
 s 13¹

13 ¹²Thou shalt not have in thy ¹³bag divers weights, a great and a small. ¹⁴Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small. ¹⁵A ¹⁶perfect and just¹⁷ weight shalt thou have; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be ¹⁸long upon the ¹⁹land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. ²⁰For all that do such things, ²¹even²² all that do ²³unrighteously, are an ²⁴abomination unto Yahweh thy God.

²⁵Remember what ²⁶Amalek did unto thee by the ²⁷way as ye ²⁸came forth out of Egypt; ²⁹how he met thee by the way, and ³⁰smote thee the hindmost ³¹of thee, all that were ³²feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. ³³Therefore it shall be, when Yahweh thy God hath ³⁴given thee ³⁵rest from all thine enemies round about³⁶, in the ³⁷land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt ³⁸blot out the remembrance of Amalek ³⁹from under heaven; thou shalt not ⁴⁰forget.

⁴¹And it shall be, ⁴²when thou art ⁴³come in unto the ⁴⁴land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein; ⁴⁵that thou shalt take of the ⁴⁶first of all the ⁴⁷fruit of the ground, which thou shalt bring in from thy ⁴⁸land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee; and thou shalt put it in a ⁴⁹basket, and shalt go unto the place ⁵⁰which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to ⁵¹dwell there. ⁵²And thou shalt come unto the priest ⁵³that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I ⁵⁴profess this day unto Yahweh thy God, that I am come unto the land which Yahweh ⁵⁵sware unto our fathers for to give us. ⁵⁶And the priest shall ⁵⁷take the ⁵⁸basket out of thine hand, and ⁵⁹set it down before the ⁶⁰altar of Yahweh thy God.

⁶¹And thou shalt answer and say before Yahweh thy God, A ⁶²Syrian ⁶³ready to perish was my father, and he ⁶⁴went down into Egypt, and ⁶⁵sojourned there, ⁶⁶few in number; and he became there a nation, ⁶⁷great, ⁶⁸mighty, and populous; ⁶⁹and the Egyptians ⁷⁰evil entreated us, and ⁷¹afflicted us, and laid upon us hard ⁷²bondage: ⁷³and we ⁷⁴cried unto Yahweh, ⁷⁵the God of our fathers, and Yahweh ⁷⁶heard our voice, and ⁷⁷saw our affliction, and our ⁷⁸toil, and our ⁷⁹oppression: ⁸⁰and Yahweh ⁸¹brought us forth out of Egypt with a ⁸²mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with ⁸³great terribleness, and with ⁸⁴signs, and with wonders: ⁸⁵and he hath ⁸⁶brought us into ⁸⁷this place, and hath given us this land, ⁸⁸a land flowing with milk and honey. ⁸⁹And now,

g 73^ah 69^ci 1^a

j 10

k 9^al 28^a

m 64

n 98

o 69^f

p 48

a 53

b 69^dc 1^a

d 50

e 69^c

f 87

g 40

h 107^a

i 16

j 55^bk 1^bl 28^am 80^an 101^a

o 24

p 69^a

25¹⁶ Perhaps a gloss founded on Lev 19³⁵. In 5 the words stand at the end of the sentence.

17 Cp 24⁹: another appeal to remembrance (97) marked by the formula of the 'way,' based on the narrative in Ex 17⁸⁻¹⁶. The lack of connexion with the previous group of social laws suggests a doubt whether it may not be due rather to the hand of an annotator than to the original compiler. Bacon supposes it to have been incorporated by R⁴ from an earlier discourse of Moses in E, but the language hardly supports such an ascription. (It may be noted that in each case the phrase relating to the Exodus employs the plural in a singular context 23⁴ 24⁹.)

26¹ The liturgical directions which here follow, are generally viewed as the close of the actual code 12-26: on the possibility that they were once more closely connected with 12-18 (19) cp 12¹⁸ (2). The want of uniformity in the Deuteronomical language raises some perplexing questions which are not without bearing on the problem of the unity of its authorship. The instructions concerning the offering of firstfruits 2-11 show a general resemblance to the law of vegetable tithe (corn, wine, and oil) 14²²⁻²⁷. Firstfruits are also named in 18⁴ (corn, wine, and oil) as among the priestly dues: but in 12¹⁷ where tithes are specified, firstfruits are not mentioned. Are the firstfruits and tithe the same? So some recent writers (eg Benzeniger, *Hebr Arch* 461, Steuern, Addis). If so, is the difference of nomenclature to be ascribed to difference of source? And what, then, is the meaning of designating the third year 12 (when the tithe was bestowed on the Levites in the homesteads) as 'the year of

tithing'? If tithes were taken every year, why should the third year be called the 'tithe-year'? Some ancient custom must have originally given special significance to the triennial payment (cp Driver, *Deut* 173, and Driver and Nowack on Am 4¹, *Cambr Bible and Handkom*). It is expressly required in 12 that the whole tithe shall be assigned to the poor members of the community, while the ritual in 2 only specifies 'some of the firstfruits,' such as could be put in a basket; the word 'all' (omitted by Sam and G) being perhaps a later definition cp 10. Firstfruits were exacted according to the First Code Ex 23¹⁶ (אֲשֶׁר בְּרִיחַ instead of אֲשֶׁר) at harvest-time, but nothing is said of tithes cp Ex 22²⁹. D does not specify at what season or in what manner the firstfruits were to be paid to the priest 18⁴, or when the festive tithe-meal was to be held at the sanctuary 14²²⁻²⁷. But it can hardly be supposed that these two passages refer to the same religious gift, and the identification of the firstfruits in 26² with the tithes of 14²² cannot be regarded as assured (eg the wine and oil are not included). There remains the possibility that the passage in 18⁴ represents an advance in priestly demands, or that the different laws were not actually drafted by the same hands, so that the confusion in their relations is due to slight diversities of expression within the same general school.

⁴ This rubric may be an additional ritual direction; in 10^b the worshipper himself deposits his gift after his confession.

^{5a} M 5 Aramean.—Cp Gen 31^{20 24}.

^{5b} M Or, wandering. Or, lost.

JE	D ^a	D	D ^b	P
		behold, I have brought the ¹ first of the ⁴ fruit of the ground, which thou, O Yahweh, hast given me. And thou shalt ⁷ set it down before Yahweh thy God, and ⁹ worship before Yahweh thy God: ¹¹ and thou shalt ¹ rejoice in all the good which Yahweh thy God hath given unto ¹ thee, ¹² and unto thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is in the ¹³ midst of thee.		q 23 ^a r 96
12-15 18d ^c	¹² ¹ When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe of thine ¹¹ increase in the ¹ third year, which is the year of tithing, then thou shalt give it unto the ¹ Levite, to the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, that they may ¹² eat within thy ¹³ gates, and be ¹⁴ filled; ¹⁵ and thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have ¹⁶ put away the ¹⁷ hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the ¹⁸ Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy ¹⁹ commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I ²⁰ forgotten them: ²¹ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I ²² put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof ²³ for the dead: I have ²⁴ hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast ²⁵ commanded me. ²⁶ Look down from thy ²⁷ holy habitation, from heaven, and ²⁸ bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou ²⁹ swarest unto our fathers, a ³⁰ land flowing with milk and honey.		s 78 ^a t 105 ^b u 41 ^a v 51 ^a w 92 ^b	
14 ¹	¹⁶ ¹ This day Yahweh thy God commandeth thee to do these ² statutes and judgements: thou shalt therefore ³ keep and do them with all thine ⁴ heart, and with all thy soul. ⁵ Thou hast ⁶ avouched Yahweh this day to ⁷ be thy God, and that thou shouldst ⁸ walk in his ways, and ⁹ keep his ¹⁰ statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and ¹¹ hearken unto his voice: ¹² and Yahweh hath ¹³ avouched thee this day to be a ¹⁴ peculiar people unto himself, as he hath ¹⁵ promised thee, and that thou shouldst ¹⁶ keep all his commandments; ¹⁷ and to make thee ¹⁸ high above all nations which he hath made, ¹⁹ in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an ²⁰ holy people unto Yahweh thy God, as he hath ²¹ spoken.		x 29 ^a y 48 z 58 ^a a' 29 ^a b' 22 ^a c' 107 ^b	
a' 18 5† b' Cp 26		²² ¹ And Moses and the ² elders of Israel commanded the people,		d' 104 ^a e' 82 ^b f' 59 g' 115 ^a h' 82 ^c
c' 28†				i' 60 ^b j' 91 k' 60 ^a
1-8 14v ^b				l 42 ^b

26¹¹ ③ *thou and thine house.*

¹⁶ The opening of the great concluding discourse in which the duty of observance of the previous laws was enforced. On the probable continuity of 28 after 16-19 cp 27¹⁸. The language of 17 is not free from perplexity. The phrase 'thou hast avouched' occurs only in this passage. It seems to point to some solemn manifestation in which Yahweh and Israel entered into definite relations as God and people. Wellh supposed that this took place at Horeb, so that the code in 12-26 originally represented the legislation of the wilderness. As that does not seem consistent with other phenomena of the book, Dillm (with whom Driver agrees) regards the silent audience of the people, while Moses recites the laws, as the act of mutual adoption. Oettli evades the difficulty by an impossible emendation of the text. On the relation of this passage to other concluding discourses cp 27²⁸ 29²⁸.

¹⁹ M Or, *for a praise, and for a name, and for an honour.*— Cp Jer 13¹¹ *honour = glory* 5.

²⁷ The discourse in 26¹⁶⁻¹⁹ appears to be resumed in 28¹ (cp 'make thee high above all nations' 26¹⁰ 28¹), the connexion of 28¹ being plainly much closer with 26¹⁹ than with 27, which contains a collection of fragments. Various elements are by general consent combined in it, but it is difficult to account for their union, or to ascertain their original attachments. The first section 1-8 is concerned with the inscription of the law on stones to be set up on Mount Ebal, and the construction of an altar 6-7a on the same spot. In 9 it seems natural to find the opening of a great discourse exhorting Israel to obedience, and its abrupt arrest at once excites surprise. The injunctions of 11-13 are not unrelated locally to the commands in 1-8, but the links between

the two are not apparent. The series of dooms in 14-26 is evidently not the immediate sequel of 11-13, for whereas 12 selects Levi as one of six tribes charged to pronounce a blessing, 14 ascribes to Levi alone a liturgical collection of twelve curses. Of these several passages the first is itself, also, composite, for the injunctions for the erection and plastering of the stones 1-4 7b 8 are full of the characteristic phrases of D, while the directions for building the altar follow the fundamental rule of E. This makes it probable that other E elements are to be detected in the neighbourhood, and the cognate passage in Josh 8³⁰⁻³⁵ supplies a clue (cp Bacon, *Triple Trad* 260). There Joshua builds an altar in Mount Ebal, the words of the law are inscribed upon the stones, and are afterwards solemnly read to the assembled people. This act of sacrifice is at first sight not in harmony with the Deuteronomic view of the only legitimate sanctuary 12¹, though it may be defended on the ground that the condition of settled possession there implied was not yet realized. But it strikingly recalls another scene in E where not only is an altar erected and a book of divine law read, but twelve great stones are reared Ex 24⁴⁻⁷. The stones are called pillars, and their function is only temporary; but the coincidence is noteworthy. The editor of Josh 8³⁰⁻³⁵ apparently regarded the law as carved on the stones composing the altar. This is obviously impossible when the altar was constructed of unhewn stones. The Deuteronomic version provides a suitable surface by requiring them to be plastered, and plainly distinguishes them from the materials of the altar cp Ex 24⁴. It is therefore quite possible that the original command in 2-4 8 may be derived from E, altogether recast by D, and the association of the elders with Moses thus receives some little light*. The repetition of

* As ③ omits 'the people,' Dillm proposes to read 'commanded the elders of Israel' cp 31^{2b} 10a.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

a 31

b 4 cp Josh 4²⁰

c 830

d 830

e 830

f 830

g 830

h 830

i 830

j 830

k 830

l 830

m 830

n 830

o 830

p 830

q 830

r 830

s 830

t 830

u 830

v 830

w 830

x 830

y 830

z 830

aa 830

ab 830

ac 830

ad 830

ae 830

af 830

ag 830

ah 830

ai 830

aj 830

ak 830

al 830

am 830

an 830

ao 830

ap 830

aq 830

ar 830

as 830

at 830

au 830

av 830

aw 830

ax 830

ay 830

az 830

ba 830

bb 830

bc 830

bd 830

be 830

bf 830

bg 830

bh 830

bi 830

bj 830

bk 830

bl 830

bm 830

bn 830

bo 830

bp 830

bq 830

br 830

bs 830

bt 830

bu 830

bv 830

bw 830

bx 830

by 830

bz 830

ca 830

cb 830

cc 830

cd 830

ce 830

cf 830

cg 830

ch 830

ci 830

cj 830

ck 830

cl 830

cm 830

cn 830

co 830

cp 830

cq 830

cr 830

cs 830

ct 830

cu 830

cv 830

cw 830

cx 830

cy 830

cz 830

da 830

db 830

dc 830

dd 830

de 830

df 830

dg 830

dh 830

di 830

dj 830

dk 830

dl 830

dm 830

dn 830

do 830

dp 830

dq 830

dr 830

ds 830

dt 830

du 830

dv 830

dw 830

dx 830

dy 830

dz 830

ea 830

eb 830

ec 830

ed 830

ee 830

ef 830

eg 830

eh 830

ei 830

ej 830

ek 830

el 830

em 830

en 830

eo 830

ep 830

eq 830

er 830

es 830

et 830

eu 830

ev 830

ew 830

ex 830

ey 830

ez 830

fa 830

fb 830

fc 830

fd 830

fe 830

ff 830

fg 830

fh 830

fi 830

fj 830

fk 830

fl 830

fm 830

fn 830

fo 830

fp 830

fq 830

fr 830

fs 830

ft 830

fu 830

fv 830

fw 830

fx 830

fy 830

fz 830

ga 830

gb 830

gc 830

gd 830

ge 830

gf 830

gg 830

gh 830

gi 830

gj 830

gk 830

gl 830

gm 830

gn 830

go 830

gp 830

gq 830

gr 830

gs 830

gt 830

gu 830

gv 830

gw 830

gx 830

gy 830

gz 830

ha 830

hb 830

hc 830

hd 830

he 830

hf 830

hg 830

hh 830

hi 830

hj 830

hk 830

hl 830

hm 830

hn 830

ho 830

hp 830

hq 830

hr 830

hs 830

ht 830

hu 830

hv 830

hw 830

hx 830

hy 830

hz 830

ia 830

ib 830

ic 830

id 830

ie 830

if 830

ig 830

ih 830

ii 830

ij 830

ik 830

il 830

im 830

in 830

io 830

ip 830

iq 830

ir 830

is 830

it 830

iu 830

iv 830

iw 830

ix 830

iy 830

iz 830

ja 830

jb 830

jc 830

jd 830

je 830

jf 830

jg 830

jh 830

ji 830

jj 830

jk 830

jl 830

jm 830

jn 830

jo 830

jp 830

jq 830

jr 830

js 830

jt 830

ju 830

jv 830

jw 830

jx 830

jy 830

jz 830

ka 830

kb 830

kc 830

kd 830

ke 830

kf 830

kg 830

kh 830

ki 830

kj 830

kk 830

kl 830

km 830

kn 830

ko 830

kp 830

kq 830

kr 830

ks 830

kt 830

ku 830

kv 830

kw 830

kx 830

ky 830

kz 830

la 830

lb 830

lc 830

ld 830

le 830

lf 830

lg 830

lh 830

li 830

lj 830

lk 830

ll 830

lm 830

ln 830

lo 830

lp 830

lq 830

lr 830

ls 830

lt 830

lu 830

lv 830

lw 830

lx 830

ly 830

lz 830

ma 830

mb 830

mc 830

md 830

me 830

mf 830

mg 830

mh 830

mi 830

mj 830

mk 830

ml 830

mm 830

mn 830

JE D^g

D

D^r P

21 *Lilc*
22 *Ex 22¹⁹*
22 *Lch*

24 *Laid*
24 *19¹² Ex 21¹²*
24 *L¹⁹ establish*
24 *9⁵ cp 2 Kings 23²⁴*
24 *a⁵ =make thee high 26¹⁹*
24 *b Gen 18¹⁸*
24 *c 15 45 30¹ ct 43¹⁰*
24 *d Ct 16¹*
24 *e 11 18 55 cp 50¹⁶*
24 *f 11 51 30²⁴*
24 *g 18 51 7¹³*
24 *h 17 26²*
24 *i 17 Ex 58 1234¹*
24 *j 19 31² Josh 14¹¹*

24 *k 14² 5⁵*

24 *l Lev 25²¹*
24 *m Prov 3¹⁰ 4¹*

24 *n Josh 42⁴ cp 1 Kings 8⁴⁵*
24 *o Cp Jer 14⁹ 7¹⁰*
24 *p Is 63¹⁰*
24 *q Cp 22⁶*
24 *r 11¹⁴*

24 *s 44 cp 15⁶*
24 *t 44 18 9¹⁴ 19¹⁵*
24 *u Cp 1 43*
24 *v 12²⁷*

21 *L* Cursed be he that *a*lieth with any manner of beast. And all the people shall say, Amen.
22 *L* Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.
23 Cursed be he that lieth with his mother in law. And all the people shall say, Amen.
24 *L* Cursed be he that *v*smiteth his neighbour in *q*secret. And all the people shall say, Amen.
25 *L* Cursed be he that taketh *a*reward to *a*'slay an innocent person. And all the people shall say, Amen.
26 *N* Cursed be he that *b*'confirmeth not the words of *b*'this law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen.
28¹ *N* And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt *a*'hearken diligently unto the voice of Yahweh *b*'thy God, to *c*'observe to do all his commandments which I *c*'command thee this day, that Yahweh thy God will *a*'set thee on high above *b*'all the nations of the earth: *2* and all these *b*'blessings shall *c*'come upon thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt *a*'hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God. *3* *a*'Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. *4* Blessed shall be the *a*'fruit of thy body, and the *a*'fruit of thy ground, *a*'and the *a*'fruit of thy cattle, *a*'the *a*'increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. *5* Blessed shall be thy *a*'basket and thy *a*'kneading-trough. *6* Blessed shalt thou be when thou *a*'comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou *a*'goest out. *7* Yahweh shall *a*'cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be *a*'smitten before thee: they shall come out against thee one way, and shall flee before thee seven ways. *8* Yahweh shall *a*'command the *a*'blessing upon thee in thy *a*'barns, and in *a*'all that thou puttest thine hand unto; and he shall *a*'bless thee in the *a*'land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. *9* Yahweh shall establish thee for an *a*'holy people unto himself, as he hath *a*'sworn unto thee; if thou shalt *a*'keep the commandments of Yahweh thy God, and *a*'walk in his ways. *10* And *a*'all the peoples of the earth shall see that thou art *a*'called by the name of Yahweh; and they shall be *a*'afraid of thee. *11* And Yahweh shall *a*'make thee plenteous for good, in the *a*'fruit of thy body, and in the *a*'fruit of thy cattle, and in the *a*'fruit of thy ground, in the land which Yahweh *a*'sware unto thy fathers to give thee. *12* Yahweh shall open unto thee his good *a*'treasure the heaven to *a*'give the rain of thy land in its season, and to *a*'bless all the *a*'work of thine hand: and thou shalt *a*'lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. *13* *a*'And Yahweh shall make thee the *a*'head, and not the *a*'tail; and thou shalt be *a*'above *a*'only, and thou shalt not be *a*'beneath; if thou shalt *a*'hearken unto the commandments of Yahweh thy God, which I *a*'command thee this day, to *a*'observe and to do *a*'them; *14* and shalt not *a*'turn aside from any of the words which I *a*'command you this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to *a*'go after other gods to *a*'serve them.
15 But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not *a*'hearken unto the voice of

a 58¹
b 1^a
c 82^a
d 29^b
e 22^b

f 50¹

g 100^a

h 11¹
i 23^a
j 69^c

k 60^a
l 107^b
m 82^c
n 115^a

o 119

p 84

q 82^b
r 114^b

s 85^a
t 23^b

27²⁶ This conclusion has probably been adapted or added to suit the present position of the preceding curses.

28¹ This great discourse seems to be the sequel of the exhortation in 26¹⁰⁻¹⁹, and follows the Code in 12-26¹⁰ much as the brief address in Ex. 23²⁰, - is attached to the Book of Judgement or Lev. 26³⁻⁴⁸ to the Holiness Legislation. The nucleus of the first portion of it is found in two sets of blessings and curses 8¹ and 10¹⁻⁹, with their appropriate homiletic envelopes 1-14 and 16-48. The rest seems to fall into two distinct sections, the first 47-67 comprising a warning against a foreign invader and a delineation of the horrors of a protracted siege, the second 68-69 having no special connexion with the preceding, but containing threats of diminution of the population by disease, and of their ultimate dispersion by slavery in distant lands. Whether these passages were composed consecutively, or placed in their present collocation by their original author, has been sometimes doubted. The unity of the discourse has been maintained in substance by Kuenen and Driver. Dillm cautiously admits the possibility that it may have received additions, but thinks that their separation from the original nucleus is no longer possible. The phenomena which point in this direction are of various kinds; (1)

the same threats and warnings are again and again repeated, e.g. of disease ²¹ 27 36 ³⁹, of defeat and captivity ²² 26, 63, of foreign bondage where the worship of Yahweh can no longer be practised ²³ 24, (2) some passages are marked by peculiarities of metre and form, e.g. 25 35 36 38; (3) an unusual number of parallels with the language of Jeremiah may be noticed cp. 10 20 26 29, 32, 49, 61-63 cf. 10 25. Reasons will be offered for regarding 25b 36 38-37 41, as possible later insertions, and for treating 47-57 and 58-68 as separate sections, though whether they really proceed from separate authors cannot be determined. They are at any rate homiletic products of the same school as the homilies in 5-11; and they show marked affinities with the type of prophetic preaching presented in the writings of Jeremiah (cp. *Introd* X 2 i 88-90). In 49. the Chaldeans seem to be in view but the concluding section does not contemplate a particular deportation by conquest, so much as a general expatriation by enslavement, Egypt being mentioned among the countries of their future servitude. In these aspects the discourse seems to precede 45-40, though 62 and 47 or 58 ⁶⁴ and 42⁸ are not without affinities. ^a Not in (S); probably a gloss, cp. 13.

¹² M Or, *treasury*.—32⁸⁴ cp Jer 10¹³ || 51¹⁶ 50²⁵ Ps 33⁷ Job 38²²

JE D^e

D

D^s P

Yahweh thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee. ¹⁶ Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. ¹⁷ Cursed shall be thy basket and thy kneadingtrough. ¹⁸ Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, the increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. ¹⁹ Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. ²⁰ Yahweh shall send upon thee cursing, discomfiture, and rebuke, in all that thou puttest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly; because of the evil of thy doings, whereby thou hast forsaken me. ²¹ Yahweh shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither thou goest in to possess it. ²² Yahweh shall smite thee with consumption, and with fever, and with inflammation, and with fiery heat, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. ²³ And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. ²⁴ Yahweh shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust: from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed. ^{25a} Yahweh shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and shalt flee seven ways before them:

^{25b} And thou shalt be tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth. ²⁶ And thy carcase shall be meat unto all fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and there shall be none to fray them away.

²⁷ Yahweh shall smite thee with the boil of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scurvy, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. ²⁸ Yahweh shall smite thee with madness, and with blindness, and with astonishment of heart: ²⁹ and thou shalt grope at noonday, as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled always, and there shall be none to save thee. ³⁰ Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her: thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not use the fruit thereof. ³¹ Thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to save thee. ³² Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day: and there shall be nought in the power of thine hand. ³³ The fruit of thy ground, and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed always: ³⁴ so that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

³⁵ Yahweh shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, with a sore boil, whereof thou canst not be healed, from the sole of thy foot unto the crown of thy head. ³⁶ Yahweh shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone. ³⁷ And thou

u 104^a
v 32w 34^b
x 86^c
y 93z 53
a' 88^ab' 13^ac' 43^ad' 68^c

²⁰ Mal 2²⁴
²¹ Jer 4⁴ 21¹² 26³
²² Jer 14²²
²³ Jer 29¹⁵ 31¹⁶ Josh 24¹⁶ 50
²⁴ Jer 7²³
²⁵ Lev 26¹⁰

²⁶ Am 4⁹ 1 Kings 33⁷ al
²⁷ Cp Lev 26¹⁹

f' Lev 26¹⁷

²⁸ Cp Ex 9⁹
²⁹ Lev 21²⁰ 22²²
³⁰ Zech 12⁴

³¹ Zeph 1¹⁷ Is 59¹⁰
³² Jer 18⁸ 5⁸ cp 12⁶⁶
³³ Jer 16¹⁵ et 18⁸³ 5⁸
³⁴ Jer 31³³ Jer 50³³
³⁵ Jer 21¹⁶ 22³
³⁶ Jer 31²² 27
³⁷ Jer 32³ Is 13¹⁶
³⁸ Zech 14²
³⁹ Am 5¹¹ Zeph 1¹³

⁴⁰ Cp Lam 4¹⁷
⁴¹ Neh 5⁵ cp Gen 31²⁹ Mic 2¹
⁴² Prov 32⁷
⁴³ Lev 26¹⁶
⁴⁴ Am 4¹
⁴⁵ Ct Hos 9⁷ Jer 20²⁶
⁴⁶ Cp 8⁷

⁴⁷ Cp Is 1⁶
⁴⁸ Jer 17¹⁵
⁴⁹ Jer 9¹⁸ cp 16¹³
⁵⁰ Jer 84⁴⁸

²⁸20 For a similar transition to the first person, as if Yahweh himself were the speaker cp 7⁴.

²² M. Or, according to some ancient versions, *drought*.
²⁵25 The unusually close resemblance of this passage to some utterances of Jeremiah suggests that words of that prophet may have been combined and inserted here by a later hand. With

²⁶26 cp Jer 15²⁴ 29¹⁸ 34¹⁷; ²⁷27 cp Jer 7³³ 16¹ 19⁷ 34²⁰.

²⁸28 M. Or, a terror unto.

²⁹29 M. Or, tumours. Or, plague boils.

³⁰30 M. See 26⁶ and Lev 19²³⁻²⁵.

³⁵35 The return at this point to the infliction of disease is unexpected after the list of maladies in ²⁷. In ³⁶ the threat of exile for king and people is without parallel elsewhere, and ³⁶, strangely interrupts the description of suffering in their own land continued from ³⁴ in ³⁵. The language has again a strongly Jeremian tinge: with ³⁶ cp Jer 9¹⁶ 16¹³: in ³⁷ 'astonishment' is frequent in Jer eg 25⁹ 11¹⁸ 38⁴ 41¹² 49¹³ 17; 'a proverb and a byword' Jer 24⁹ ('byword' = 'taunt' 5¹ Kings 9⁷ || 2 Chron 7²⁰†). The phrases all seem to belong to a common prophetic vocabulary.

JE D ^s	D ^r P
ae Jer 25 ⁹ 11 18 38 al	
ad Jer 24 ⁹ 1 Kings 9 ⁷ 2 Chron 7 ²⁰ 27	
ae 4 ²⁷ af Prov 6 ⁸ 10 ⁵ †	
ap 16 ⁴ Ex 13 ⁷ ah Mic 6 ¹⁵	
	shalt become an ^{ac} astonishment, a ^{ad} proverb, and a byword ^{ad} , among ^e all the peoples ^{ae} whither Yahweh shall lead thee away.
	38 Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather little in; for the locust shall ^v consume it. 39 Thou shalt ^v plant vineyards and dress them, but thou shalt neither drink of the wine, nor ^v gather [the grapes]; for the worm shall eat them. 40 Thou shalt have olive trees ^{at} throughout all thy borders, but thou shalt not ^{ah} anoint thyself with the oil; for thine olive shall cast [its fruit].
	41 Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but they shall not be thine; for they shall go into captivity. 42 All thy trees and the fruit of thy ground shall the ^v locust ^v possess.
43 L2a;	43 The stranger that is in the ^v midst of thee shall mount up above thee ^v higher and higher; and thou shalt come down ^v lower and lower.
	44 He shall ^v lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: he shall be the ^v head, and thou shalt be the ^v tail. 45 And all these ^v curses shall ^v come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be ^v destroyed; because thou ^v hearkenest not unto the voice of Yahweh thy God, to keep his ^v commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee: 46 and they shall be upon thee for a ^v sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.
ai Cp 12 ⁷ 16 ¹⁵ aj Is 65 ¹⁴	47 Because thou ^v servedst not Yahweh thy God with ^{ae} joyfulness, and with ^{aj} gladness of heart, by reason of the abundance of all things: 48 therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which Yahweh shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in ^v nakedness, and in ^{ak} want of all things: and he shall put a ^{al} yoke of iron ^{al} upon thy neck, until he have ^v destroyed thee. 49 Yahweh shall bring a nation against thee from ^{am} far, from the end of the earth, ^{an} as the eagle flieth; a nation whose ^{ac} tongue thou shalt not understand; 50 a nation of ^{ap} fierce countenance, which shall not ^{ar} regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young: 51 and he shall ^{at} eat the ^v fruit of thy cattle, and the ^v fruit of thy ground, until thou be ^v destroyed: which also shall not leave thee ^v corn, wine, or oil, the ^v increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to ^v perish. 52 And he shall ^{av} besiege thee in all thy ^v gates, until thy high and ^{aw} fenced walls come down, ^{aw} wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land: 53 and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, which Yahweh thy God hath given thee. 54 And thou shalt eat the ^v fruit of thine own body, the ^{ax} flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters which Yahweh thy God hath given thee; 55 in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee. 56 The man that is ^{ay} tender ^{az} among you, and very delicate ^{az} , his ^{ae} eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the ^{aw} wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he hath remaining: 57 so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him; 58 in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee in all thy ^v gates. 59 The ^{ax} tender and delicate woman ^{ay} among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her ^{az} eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; 60 and toward her ^{ay} young one that cometh out from between
ak 87 Am 4 ⁶ † al Jer 28 ¹⁴ †	
am Is 5 ²⁶ an Jer 48 ⁴⁰ 49 ²² †	
ao † = language Jer 5 ¹⁶ cp Is 33 ¹⁵	
ap Dan 8 ²⁸ † aq Cp Lam 4 ¹⁶ 5 ¹² †	
ar Cp Jer 5 ¹⁷ as Cp 1 Kings 8 ³⁷ Jer 10 ¹⁸ Zeph 1 ¹⁷ †	
at 128 au Jer 5 ¹⁷ cp Is 37 ¹⁰	
av Cp Lev 26 ²⁹ aw 55 57 Jer 19 ³ †	
ax 56 Is 47 ⁴ † ay 56 15 ⁹ az 13 ⁶	

28⁴¹ Cp 32: perhaps another repetition. For the use of הוֹרִיר 'beget' (30) cp 4³⁵: the counterpart as in 1⁷ does not occur in D.

⁴² Parallel in substance to ³⁸; the word 'locust' in ⁴² is found nowhere else.

⁴⁷ RV treats ⁴⁷. as continuous with ⁴⁵. But the lack of connexion rather suggests a fresh departure: ⁴⁶ reaches a solemn close, and the failure in joyful service ⁴⁷ is a different cause for punishment compared with the positive disobedience of ⁴⁵.

⁴⁸ prepares the way for the description of the dreaded invader (apparently, as the parallels with Jeremiah imply, the Chaldeans), and the incidents and results of a siege, with a rhythmic refrain in ⁵³ 55 56 57. In this section phrases of distinctively Deuteronomic character are rare (for אשר חרה at the opening cp 2 Kings ²⁷ 27¹²).

⁵¹ Not in (S) ; perhaps a duplicate of the last clause of the verse.

verse. 67 **M** *Or, after birth.*—6+.

JE, D⁵

D

D^s | P

her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them for ^{ak}want of all things secretly: ^{anc}in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee in thy 'gates,

58 ^aIf thou wilt not ^cobserve to do ^vall the words of ^cthis law that are ^vwritten in this book, that thou mayest ^vfear this glorious and fearful name, YAHWEH THY GOD; ⁵⁹ then Yahweh will make thy ^bplagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance. ⁶⁰ And he will bring upon thee again all the ^babominations of Egypt, which thou wast ^bafraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. ⁶¹ Also every ^bsickness, and every plague^b, which is not ^vwritten in the book of ^vthis law, them will Yahweh bring upon thee, until thou be ^wdestroyed. ⁶² And ye shall be ^bleft few in number, whereas ye were as the ^bstars of heaven for multitude; because thou didst not ^hhearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God. ⁶³ And it shall come to pass, that as Yahweh ^brejoiced over you to ^bhate you good, and to ^vmultiply you; so Yahweh will rejoice over you to cause you to ^vperish, and to ^vdestroy you; and ye shall be ^bplucked from off the land whither thou ^ggoest in to ^apossess it. ⁶⁴ And Yahweh shall ^bscatter thee among ^aall peoples, ^bfrom the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and ^awhere thou shalt ^tserve other gods, which thou hast not ^aknown, thou nor thy fathers, even wood and stone. ⁶⁵ And among these nations shalt thou ^bfind no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot: but Yahweh shall give thee there a ^vtrembling ^hheart, and ^bailing of eyes, and ^bpining of soul: ⁶⁶ and thy life shall ^vhang in doubt before thee: and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have none ^bassurance of thy life: ⁶⁷ in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the ^vsight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. ⁶⁸ And Yahweh shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I ^vsaid unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall sell yourselves unto your enemies for bondmen and for ^bbondwomen, and no man shall buy you^s.

291 ^{NI}These are the words of the ^acovenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the ^achildren of Israel in the land of Moab, ^bbeside the covenant which he made with them in ^bHoreb.

² And Moses ^ccalled unto ^aall Israel, and said unto them, ^eYe have seen all that Yahweh did ^bbefore your eyes in the land of Egypt unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land; ³ the great ^dtemptations ^fwhich thine eyes saw, the ^gsigns, and those great wonders: ⁴ but Yahweh hath not given you an ^hheart to know, and eyes to see.

ba Cp Lev 2621

bb 7¹⁵
bc 9¹⁹
bd Jer 67 5†
be 4²⁷
bf 1¹⁰

bg 30⁹ Jer 32⁴¹
bh 81⁶ 30^{5*}
bi P⁸ 52⁵ Prov
 2²² 15^{25†}
bj 4²⁷
bk 13⁷

ul Cp Jer 31²
 47⁶ 50⁸⁴ *ul* cp
 ls 34¹⁴
bm Is 10^{22†} cp 32
bn 5† cp Jer
 31²⁵
bo Job 24^{22†}

dp Cp 1716

1 [2869 in $\mathfrak{H}$]
 1 $L_{II} m$
 a 4^{44N}
 b $4^{35} \text{ cp } P_{3I}$
 2 [291 in $\mathfrak{H}$]
 c 5^1
 d $Cp_{II} 7$

e 19 4¹¹ 2865 $\frac{5}{6}$ c1
Is 6¹⁰ 32³. Jer
521

28⁶⁸ In 68-69 there are renewed allusions 56-61 to various forms of sickness (cp 21, 27 85). According to 68 61 the book of the law is already written (cp 25⁵⁰, 27 30¹⁰), though no mention of writing it occurs till 31⁹. The unique description of the 'glorious and fearful name' 1⁶⁸ seems to imply the growth of special reverence for the divine name (cp Lev 24¹⁰). The presence of Deuteronomic phrases is more frequent, but parallels also abound with Jer.: in 65 the word 'heart' is used in the form לֵב as in 4¹ 24¹⁹ (elsewhere in דָּלֵב) common in Jer, and the term יְפֻשׁ 'bondwoman' 68 only appears here in D (cp Jer 34⁹⁻¹¹ 16), while Jer never employs D's usual word מִכָּה. These slight stylistic differences lend some confirmation to the view that 68-69, which has no particular relation to the description of the invasion and siege 48-57, owes its place here, perhaps, to some later editorial hand.

85 Cp 59, and 58N. 68a Cp JE41 and 99; and 58N.
68b On the probability that 30¹⁻¹⁰ may have originally formed
the conclusion of this discourse on 30^{1N}.

29^a Cp 12^a the river, agreeing with Knobel, Kuennad Westphal, attaches this verse to 5-6^a. On the other hand Ewald, Keil, Dillm, Oettli, and more recently Addis and Steuern connect it with 29. This view is adopted here; on grounds partly of matter and partly of form. (1) The opening phrase may point either forwards or backwards. But in 5-26^a there is no reference to a covenant at Moab; the language of 26^b 27^a points to some solemn act of divine adoption, but its nature is not specified. On the other hand in 12^a, the Covenant is not yet formally instituted, but the people are assembled to 'passover' into it. (2) The language has a somewhat different cast from that of D: on 'children of Israel' cp 44^x: for 'beside' see 21^a.

² The discourse in 2-29 is distinguished by many peculiarities both of thought and style, though it obviously belongs to

the great Deuteronomic school. The retrospect in 2-8 curiously omits any reference to Horeb; it is further assumed that the covenant which is about to be made ¹². with Israel (including future generations ^{12b}) is already recorded in 'this book of the law' ²¹; and it seems to include the curses of 28, though they are described ¹⁰. by another term. In ²³ the writer speaks of exile as a present fact; and his language does not seem sufficiently explained by the deportation of the Ten Tribes after 722. That which is still future in Jer ¹²⁴. 24⁶, is here contemplated as past, and the terrible consequences have arrived. The parallels with the language of Jeremiah are numerous, as in 28; and a number of expressions may be noted which are not found elsewhere in D or are used in slightly different senses. Such will be found in 8¹ that ye may know; 8¹ prosper¹; 13¹ 'enter into the covenant'; 12¹ 'oath' אִמְרָה ¹⁴ 19. 30¹; 17¹ 'abominations and idols' cp Kings ²³⁴ Ezek ²⁰. 18 ³⁷²³ 'abominations'; ^{28*} cp Jer ⁴¹ ⁷⁵⁰ al.; 'idols' Lev ²⁶⁸⁰ in Jer only ⁵⁰, thirty-nine times in Ezek. 18¹ 'a root that beareth'; 18¹ 'gall and wormwood' cp Am ⁶¹² Jer ⁹¹⁵ ²³¹⁵ Lam ³¹⁰; 18¹ 'bless himself in his heart'; 19¹ 'stubbornness of mine heart' Jer ³¹⁷ ⁹¹⁴ ¹⁸¹⁰ ¹³¹⁰ ¹⁶¹² ¹⁸¹² 2317 Ps ⁸¹²⁴; 20¹ 'smoke; nowhere else of jealousy' cp Ps ⁷⁴¹; 21¹ 'separate for evil'; 21¹ 'for' Am ⁹ of Jer ²¹⁰ ²⁴⁹ ²⁰¹¹ ³⁸⁴ ³⁹⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ¹¹ ²⁷ 29 Judg ²¹⁵; 22¹ 'the generation to come' cp Ps ⁴⁸¹⁵ ⁷⁸ ¹⁰²¹⁴; 23¹ 'the foreigner that shall come' 23¹ al.; 23¹ Kings ⁸⁴¹; 23¹ 'sicknesses' cp Jer ¹⁴¹⁸ ¹⁴ Ps ¹⁰³ 2 Chron ²¹⁹; 25¹ 'forsook the covenant' Jer ²²⁹ 1 Kings ¹⁰¹⁰ 14 Jer ¹⁸⁰⁴; 28¹ 'rooted them out' 28¹ 'pluck up,' a favourite word in Dan eg ¹¹⁰ 124¹. 28¹ 24¹ al.; 29¹ 'the secret things' the things that are revealed, feminine participles not occurring in this sense elsewhere (cp the frequent use of fem pl in Is 40-). Peculiar turns of thought and phrase will further be found in 4 ¹⁰⁻¹³ 15b 15b 18 23 26 29.

n'	15
o'	70 ^a
p'	120
q'	44 ^a

r' 81

a 31

b. 2.

0 23

d 43

e 43

100

JE D ^e	D	D ^s P
f 82 cp Am 210	and ears to hear, ^e unto this day. ⁵ And I have ^f led you forty years	g 33 ^b
g Cp 84	in the wilderness: your ^g clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy	
h Cp 83	shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. ⁶ Ye have not eaten ^h bread,	
i Cp 131	neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink: that ye might ⁱ know that	h 63
j 232-313	^j I am Yahweh ^j your God. ⁷ And when ye ^j came unto this place, ^j Sihon	i 1a
k 38 12	the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against us	
	unto battle, and we smote them: ⁸ and we ^k took their land, and gave it	j 82 ^b
	for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the	
	half tribe of the Manassites. ⁹ ^j Keep therefore the words of this	k 10
10-15 1m1n	¹⁰ ^j Ye stand this day all of you before Yahweh your God; your	l 57
11 L 22b	'heads, your ^l tribes, your ^l elders, and your ^l officers, even ^l all the men	m 42 ^b
l Ct 214 (sing)	of Israel, ¹¹ your ^l little ones, your wives, ^l and thy ^l stranger that is in	n 83
m Cp Josh 921	the midst of thy ^m 'camps, from the ^m 'hewer of thy wood unto the drawer	o 118
23 37+	of thy water ^m : ¹² that thou shouldest ⁿ 'enter into the ⁿ 'covenant of	
n Cp 2N	Yahweh thy God, and into his ⁿ 'oath, which Yahweh thy God maketh	p 91
o 289	with thee this day: ¹³ that he may ^o 'establish thee ^o 'this day unto himself	q 107 ^b
p Ct 2617+	for a people, and that he may ^p 'be unto thee a God, as he ^p 'spake unto	
q 2617 cp p 26	thee, and as he ^q 'swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to	
	Jacob. ¹⁴ Neither with you only do I ^r 'make this covenant and this	
r 428	oath; ¹⁵ but with him that standeth here with us this day before	r 23 ^b
s Cp 725	Yahweh our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day:	
t 3017	¹⁶ (for ye know how we dwelt in the land of Egypt; and how we came	s 117
	through the midst of the nations through which ye passed; ¹⁷ and ye	t 17
	have seen their ^u 'abominations, and their ^u 'idols, ^u 'wood and stone, ^u 'silver	u 120
	and gold, which were among them: ¹⁸ lest there should be among you	v 70 ^b
	man, or woman, or family, or ^v 'tribe, whose ^v 'heart turneth away this	w 47
	day from Yahweh our God, to go to ^w 'serve the gods of those nations;	
	lest there should be among you a ^x 'root that beareth ^x 'gall and worm-	x 1b
	wood; ¹⁹ and it come to pass, when he heareth the words of this ^x 'curse,	y 28 ^b
	that he ^y 'bless himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though	z 68 ^c
	I walk in the ^y 'stubbornness of mine ^y 'heart, ^y 'to destroy the moist with	a' 32
u Cp Jer 517	the dry: ²⁰ Yahweh ^u 'will not ^u 'pardon him, but then the ^u 'anger of Yahweh	
50:20 1 Kings 850	and his jealousy shall ^v 'smoke against that man, and all the curse that	
v 914	is ^v 'written in this book shall lie upon him, and Yahweh shall ^v 'blot out	
	his name from under heaven. ²¹ And Yahweh shall ^w 'separate him unto	
	evil out of all the ^w 'tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the	
	^x 'covenant that is ^x 'written in ^x 'this book of the law. ²² And the ^x 'genera-	
10 Cp Judg 210	tion to come, your children that shall ^y 'rise up after you, and ^y 'the	
2 2809	^y 'foreigner that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see	
3 Gen 1924*	the ^z 'plagues of that land, and the ^z 'sicknesses wherewith Yahweh hath	
	made it sick; ²³ [and that] the whole land thereof is ^z 'brimstone, and	
	salt, [and] a burning, [that] it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass	
z Am 411 Is 17	groweth therein, like the ^z 'overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, ^z 'Admah	
1319 Jer 4918	and Zeboiim, which Yahweh overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath:	
50:40+	²⁴ even all the nations shall say, ^z 'Wherefore hath Yahweh done thus	
a' Gen 142 Hos 118+	unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? ²⁵ Then	
l' Jer 228	men shall say, Because they ^a 'forsook the ^a 'covenant of Yahweh, the	
1 Kings 98	^a 'God of their fathers, which he made with them when he ^a 'brought them	
	forth out of the land of Egypt; ²⁶ and went and ^a 'served other gods,	
	and worshipped them, gods whom they ^b 'knew not, and whom he had	
	not ^b 'divided unto them: ²⁷ therefore the ^b 'anger of Yahweh was kindled	
	against this land, to bring upon it all the ^c 'curse that is ^c 'written	

²⁹ Cp Driver *in loc.* For the phrase cp Ex 7¹⁷ 8^{22b} 10² and 17⁹: for the transition to the first person cp 7^a.

³⁰ M Or, *deal wisely*.—Cp Josh 1⁷ 1 Kings 2¹.
³¹ Probably 'your judges' cp Josh 8³³ 23² 24¹ (Dillm, *Driv*, Addis).

³² A peculiar adaptation of the usual phrase concerning the

stranger within the gates 105⁹.

³³ M ³ *rosh*, a poisonous herb.—Cp 32³², Am 6¹² Hos 10⁴ Jer 81⁴ 91⁵ 23¹⁰ Lam 3⁵ 19 Ps 65²¹ Job 20¹⁶⁺.

³⁴ M Or, *oath*, and so 30^a.

³⁵ M Or, *to add drunkenness to thirst*.—†.

³⁶ So M ³. T *given*.—Cp 41⁹.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

c^e Jer 21⁵ 32³⁷
d^e Jer 7¹⁵ cp 16¹³
e^e Jer 22²⁶

in this book: ²⁸ and Yahweh "rooted them out of their land in 'anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation", and "cast them into 'another land, 'as at this day.

²⁹ "The "secret things belong unto Yahweh our God: but the things "that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do "all the words of this law.

a Cp 28² 15

30¹ "And it shall come to pass, when "all these things are come upon thee, the "blessing and the "curse, which I have 'set before thee, and thou shalt "call them to mind among all the 'nations, whither Yahweh "thy God hath 'driven thee, ² and shalt 'return unto Yahweh thy God, and shalt 'obey his voice according to all that I 'command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine "heart, and with all thy soul; ³ that then Yahweh thy God will "turn thy captivity, and have 'compassion upon thee, and will return and "gather thee from "all the peoples, whither Yahweh thy God hath "scattered thee. ⁴ If [any of] thine 'outcasts be in the "uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will Yahweh thy God "gather thee, and from thence will he "fetch thee: ⁵ and Yahweh thy God will 'bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt 'possess it; and he will "do thee good, and 'multiply thee above thy fathers. ⁶ And Yahweh thy God will "circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to "love Yahweh thy God with all thine "heart, and with all thy soul, "that thou mayest 'live.

⁷ "And Yahweh thy God will put all these "curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee.

⁸ And "thou shalt return and 'obey the voice of Yahweh, and "do all his commandments which I 'command thee this day. ⁹ And Yahweh thy God will make thee "plenteous in all the "work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the "fruit of thy ground, for good: for Yahweh will again 'rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers: ¹⁰ if thou shalt 'obey the voice of Yahweh thy God, to 'keep his "commandments and his statutes which are "written in 'this 'book of the law; if thou 'turn unto Yahweh thy God with all thine "heart, and with all thy soul.

r 28¹¹

s 28⁶³

t 28⁵⁸ 29²¹

u 4⁸

[4⁴⁰→] ¹¹ "For this 'commandment which I 'command thee "this day, it is not too "hard for thee, neither is it far off. ¹² It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? ¹³ Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? ¹⁴ But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy "heart, that thou mayest do it.

v Cp 66 11¹⁸ Jer 31³⁸

b^e 33^a

c^e 15

a 22^b

b 32

c 100^b

d 1^a

e 58^a

f 29^b

g 59

h 14

i 24

j 81

k 74^b

l 72

m 119

n 50

o 82^c

p 104^a

q 120

r 70^b

s 29^o

²⁹ Perhaps a later addition enforcing the contrast between the hidden future cp Is 48⁹, and the revelation of present guidance in the law. The use of the first person pl suggests a form of liturgical response after hearing the reading of the law.

30¹ The discourse in 1-20 seems to fall asunder into two parts 1-10 and 11-20, loosely joined by the particle 'for' cp 11¹⁸. Does the first section 1-10 belong to the address in 29? It is commonly so treated: but it seems preferable to connect it rather with 28. (1) The liturgical close in 29²⁹ suggests that the discourse is concluded: (2) the style of 30¹⁻¹⁰ shows no special affinity with that of 29 (save in 7) while it is full of phrases referring to 28, cp 1⁴ the blessing and the curse, ³ 'scattered, ⁵ 'do thee good, ⁹ 'make thee plenteous' &c: (3) the parallels with Jeremiah are in general harmony with the manner of 28, and the devotional language is much nearer the Deuteronomic type than that of 29. The law is already recorded in writing ¹⁰ as in 28⁵⁸ (and 29²¹), and the promise of restoration conditional upon repentance forms a suitable sequel to the terrible threats of exile in 28⁶³⁻⁶⁸.

³ M. Or, return to.—Cp Jer 29¹⁴ 30³ Ezek 39²⁵ al: Preuschen, ZATW (1893) i ff.

⁷ This verse appears to interrupt the context, and contains the peculiar word נִשְׁבַּע translated 'oath' 29¹² and 'curse' 29¹⁹⁻²¹. The implications of 'hatred' and 'persecution' are somewhat different in tone from the threats of penal doom in 29, at the same ⁵ 'pursue' 28²². The word occurs in Jer 15¹⁵ 17¹⁸ 20¹¹ of the prophet's personal sufferings, but is not applied by him to Israel: its use here suggests a later hand cp Lam 1⁸ 4¹⁹ and (of Yahweh) 34⁸.

⁸ Driver remarks that the pronoun is emphatic in contrast to 'enemies' 7. But it may equally well indicate the response of converted Israel to its divine Regenerator ⁶; cp a similar contrast (in another field of action) 21⁹.

^{11a} Driver (Deut lxxiii lxxv 331) points out that 11-14 (introduced by for) clearly states the reason for a present duty: the paragraph cannot, therefore, be intended to explain the obedience of Israel in the contingency of its future return to Yahweh. In other words 11-20 can hardly have formed the original sequel of 1-10. On its probable connexions elsewhere see 31²⁸. Here its points of contact with the discourse in 4 need only be noted; see the parallels to 16 17 18 19 20.

^{11b} M. Or, wonderful.—Cp 17⁸.

JE D ⁶	D	D ¹ P
10 10 cp Jer 21 ⁸	15 'See, I have 'set before thee 'this day 'life and good, and 'death and evil; 16 'in that I 'command thee this day to 'love Yahweh thy God, to 'walk in his ways, and to keep his 'commandments and his statutes and his judgements, that thou mayest 'live and 'multiply, and that Yahweh thy God may 'bless thee in the land whither thou 'goest in to 'possess it. 17 But if thine heart 'turn away, and thou wilt not hear, but 'shalt be 'drawn away, and 'worship other gods, and serve them; 18 I 'denounce unto you 'this day, that ye shall 'surely perish; ye shall not 'prolong your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to 'go in to 'possess it. 19 I 'call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have 'set before thee 'life and death, the 'blessing and the 'curse: therefore choose life, 'that thou mayest 'live, thou and thy seed: 20 to 'love Yahweh thy God, to 'obey his voice, and to 'cleave unto him: for 'he is thy life, and the 'length of thy days: that thou mayest dwell in the land which Yahweh 'swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them. [→ 32 ⁴⁵]	t 99 u 115 ^a v 22 ^a w 53 x 88 ^a y 38 z 23 ^b a' 86 ^b b' 73 ^c c' 27 d' 107 ^a
1-8 L4w ^b a Cp 34 ⁷ b 28 ⁶ c 37 ⁷ d 3 ³ e Cp 19 ¹ 5 58 ^b f 32 ⁸ g 32 ¹ cp 12 h 23 ⁸ i 33 ⁸ j 29 cp 29 k 8 20 ⁴ l 8 48 ¹ Josh 15 ⁸ m 32 ⁸ n Ct 23 cp 138 o Sam 2 2 p bring q 180 r 23 Josh 16 37 s 30 t-13 24 ye gld u 108 ⁸ v 11a' h' 10 w 25 10 ⁸ x 15 ¹ y 16 ⁶ cp Ex 23 ¹⁵ z 34 ¹⁸ a 15 ⁹ b 16 ¹³ c 16 ¹⁶ d 5 = earz 28 30 e 32 ⁴⁴ f 28 410 cp 24 ^a	1 ¹ ^{NL} And Moses 'went and spake these words unto 'all Israel. 2 And he said unto them, I am an 'hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more 'go out and 'come in: and Yahweh hath said unto me, 'Thou shalt not go over this Jordan. 3 Yahweh 'thy God, he will 'go over before thee; he will 'destroy these nations from before thee, and thou shalt 'possess them: [and] Joshua, 'he shall go over before thee, as Yahweh hath 'spoken. 4 And Yahweh shall 'do unto them as he 'did to 'Hihon and to 'Og, the 'kings of the Amorites, and unto their land; whom he 'destroyed. 5 And Yahweh shall 'deliver them up before you, and ye shall do unto them according unto all the 'commandment 'which I have commanded you. 6 'Be strong and of a good courage, 'fear not, nor be 'affrighted at them: for Yahweh thy God, 'he it is that doth go with thee; he will not 'fail thee, nor forsake thee. 7 And Moses called unto 'Joshua, and said unto him in the 'sight of 'all Israel, 'Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt 'go with this people into the land which Yahweh hath 'sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to 'inherit it. 8 And Yahweh, 'he it is that doth go 'before thee; he will 'be with thee, he will not 'fail thee, neither forsake thee: 'fear not, neither be dismayed.	a 2 ^a b 1 ^a c 34 ^a d 91 e 12 f 3 ³ g 100 ⁴ h 29 ¹ i 105 ^a j 44 ⁴ k 44 ⁴ l 43 ⁴ m 107 ^a n 65 o 70 ^a p 90 q 19 r 42 ^b s 87
30 ¹⁶ (G) reads 'If thou wilt hearken to the commandment of Yahweh thy God which I command thee this day... then shalt thou live and multiply, and Yahweh thy God will bless thee' cp 17. So Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Steuern.	21 'NL And Moses wrote 'this law, and delivered it unto the 'priests the sons of Levi, which 'bare the 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh, and unto all the 'elders of Israel. 10 And Moses commanded them, saying, 'At the end of every 'seven years, in the 'set time of the 'year of release, in the feast of 'tabernacles, 11 when 'all Israel is come to 'appear before Yahweh thy God in the 'place which he shall choose, 'thou shalt read 'this law before 'all Israel in their 'hearing. 12 'Assemble the people,	

30¹⁶ (G) reads 'If thou wilt hearken to the commandment of Yahweh thy God which I command thee this day... then shalt thou live and multiply, and Yahweh thy God will bless thee' cp 17. So Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Steuern.

30¹⁶ M Or, that. 31¹⁶ The materials of the concluding portion of Deut are derived from different sources, and the process of their combination as conceived by the present annotator is sketched in 34^{12N}. The section 31¹⁻³ is generally recognized as detached from its original context. The phrase 'went and spake these words' implies that Moses proceeded to convey to the people a communication already made to himself. It is inappropriate to the preceding discourse cp 29², and the sequel shows that it properly belongs to 37⁷. The passage appears to be editorially placed here, as a preparation for the story of the Conquest in which Joshua assumes the leadership vacated by the death of Moses cp Josh 1-2. Its dependence on 1-3 is obvious: beside the phrases traceable through the margins, it may be noted that Og is described as a 'king of the Amorites' cp 4⁴ et 14^{3b}. It would seem probable, however, that different materials have been here combined. In 3 it can hardly be supposed that the two clauses 'Yahweh thy God, he will go over before thee' and

'Joshua, he will go over before thee,' were set in sequence by the same author; 4 reads like a duplicate of 3a, while 7, addressed to Joshua runs parallel with 6. In 7, it appears reasonable to find a Deuteronomistic parallel with 23 cp 14^{1N}: and it may be conjectured that in the union of D with JE it became necessary to find a fresh place for 3b 4 7, so that it was amalgamated with the promises now immediately preceding it. There is also some awkwardness in the sudden change in the application of the 2nd pers pronoun from 2 (Moses) to 3 (Israel); but this seems hardly a sufficient reason for suspecting discontinuity.

10 (G) reads 'and Moses made an end of speaking' as in 32⁴³; and Klostermann and Steuernagel adopt it; but Driver thinks the textual change implied not a very probable one.

12 In 9-13 Kuen (Hex 127) saw the close of the main work of D¹, probably following the final discourse (28 30¹⁻¹⁰ according to the arrangement above adopted). The margins show the normal Deuteronomistic character of the language; and the passage explains the mode in which the law was supposed to have been entrusted for preservation to the ecclesiastical and civil powers, who were charged to keep up the knowledge of it by instituting a septennial reading at the feast of booths.

11 (G) 'ye shall read.'

JED^e

D

D' P

g⁵¹⁴
13 cp 58^b

a¹¹²

14-22 *Law*
11a¹¹
l' Gen 47²⁹
1 Kings 21⁷
c' *5=take your stand* Num 11¹⁶ 28²¹⁴
d' 23 ct 3²⁸
e' Ex 33⁹ 11 Num 12⁵
f' Ex 33¹¹
g' Cp 7 5
h' *27*
16-21 25^b
i' Gen 47³⁰
j' Ex 24¹⁶ Lev 17¹ 20⁶ Num 15³⁹
k' Gen 35² 4 Josh 24²⁰ 23⁸
l' Cp 7 6a
m' Ex 34²⁷ Deut 17² 31^b
n' *23*
o' 18 cp 32²⁰
p' 21 32⁵ 5
q' 40 Ex 18⁸
r' Cp 7 58
s' Cp 20
t' 20 Lev 19⁴ 31 20⁶ ct 11¹³
u' Ex 4¹⁶ Num 22³⁶
v' 21 26 Gen 31⁴⁴
w' 32¹⁵
x' Num 14¹¹ 23 1630^{Pl} cp Deut 32¹⁹ = *abhorred* Qal¹
y' 50 19¹⁸ 5
z' Ct 27 cp Gen 66 82¹
aa' 31³²
ab' 26 14^{vd}

the men and the 'women and the little ones, and 'thy stranger that is within thy 'gates, that they may 'hear, and that they may 'learn, and 'fear Yahweh your God, and 'observe to do 'all the words of 'this law; 'and that their children, 'which have not known, may 'hear, and 'learn to 'fear Yahweh your God, 'as long as ye live in the land whither ye 'go over Jordan to 'possess it.

14 ^{NL} And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, 'thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and 'present yourselves in the tent of meeting, that I may 'give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went, and 'presented themselves in the tent of meeting. ¹⁵ And Yahweh appeared 'in the Tent in a pillar of cloud: and the 'pillar of cloud stood 'by the door of the Tent.

—23 And he 'gave Joshua the 'son of Nun a charge, and said, 'Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt 'bring the children of Israel into the land which I 'sware unto them: and I will 'be with thee.—

16 ^{NL} And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt 'sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and 'go a whoring after the 'strange gods 'of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me, and 'break my covenant which I have 'made with them. ¹⁷ Then my 'anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will 'hide my face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many 'evils and troubles shall 'come upon them; so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us because our God is not 'among us? ¹⁸ And I will surely 'hide my face in that day for all the 'evil which they shall have wrought, in that they are 'turned unto other gods. ¹⁹ Now therefore write 'ye this song for you, and 'teach thou it the children of Israel: 'put it in their mouths, that this song may be a 'witness for me against the children of Israel. ²⁰ For when I shall have 'brought them into the land which I 'sware unto their fathers, 'flowing with milk and honey; and they shall have 'eaten and filled themselves, and 'waxen fat; then will they 'turn unto other gods, and 'serve them, and 'despise me, and 'break my covenant. ²¹ And it shall come to pass, when many 'evils and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall 'testify before them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their 'imagination which they go about, even now, 'before I have 'brought them into the land which I 'sware.

²² So Moses wrote this song the same day, and 'taught it the children of Israel.

24 ^{NL} And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the

t 118
u 51
v 71^a
w 44^a
x 82^a
y 15
z 13^a
aa' 54
ab' 88^a

c' 71^b
d' 24
e' 62^a
f' 41^b
g' 23^b

31¹⁴ According to 7. Moses has already solemnly charged Joshua 'in the sight of all Israel.' The charge by Yahweh, therefore, in 14. of which 23 is the obvious conclusion, must be derived from another account. This is identified with E on the following grounds: (1) the prominence ascribed to Joshua the son of Nun cp Ex 33¹¹ Josh 24; (2) the reference to the Tent of Meeting cp Ex 33¹¹; (3) the appearance of Yahweh in the pillar of cloud, Ex 33⁹ Num 12⁵; (4) the promise of Yahweh to be with Joshua 23 as with Moses cp Ex 33¹². It is possible that in 23 one or two phrases may be due to Deuteronomistic redaction e.g. 'be strong and of a good courage': but on the whole 7. seems rather to depend on 23 than vice versa; cp especially the clauses in 7^b 8 'thou shalt cause them to inherit it,' 'Yahweh doth go before thee,' 'he will not fail thee.' 'fear not,' all of them Deuteronomistic additions. On the phrase 'children of Israel' in D cp 44⁴⁴, frequent in E cp Ex 33¹⁰⁻¹³.

15a E nowhere represents Yahweh as appearing inside the Tent, and this is in fact inconsistent with his presence at the entrance. (G reads 'and Yahweh came down in the cloud and stood at the door of the Tent of Meeting' cp Num 12⁵. The words 'in the Tent' are probably harmonistic cp Ex 40³⁴..

15b So M. T over.—Ex 33⁹. Num 12⁵ the pillar stands at the door. It is, however, possible that the preposition here is due to the same influence as the words 'in the tent.' 7^b may be legitimately rendered 'by,' but it is regularly employed by P to denote the presence of the cloud 'over' or 'upon' the Dwelling Ex 40³⁸ Num 9¹⁵.. (G here has *napā rās būpās*.

16a The source of 16-22 is a perplexing problem. The passage is plainly designed as an introduction to the Song in 32. This poem is universally recognized as an independent composition incorporated in D (cp *Intro* XIV 4 i 161), but the process by which it has acquired its present place can only be conjecturally

determined. As long as the Song was assigned to an early date, it was usual to regard it as inserted in E or JE before the composition of D (so Addis, *Hex* i 188). If, however, it is ascribed to a later age, it must either (1) have been added to JE before its union with D, or (2) have been attached to D, or (3) have been embodied in the combined document JED. The peculiar position of 16-22 in the midst of a passage ascribed to E, makes (1) or (3) more probable than (2). Driver, accepting Kuenen's date, about 630 BC, inclines to the first alternative (*Deut* 347). If the later date suggested in *Intro* d 162 be accepted, then it may be inferred that the poem was added to JED. Some slight linguistic indications confirm this view: (1) the language shows little or nothing that is distinctively Deuteronomistic, for even the formulae in 20 may be found elsewhere: (2) it abounds in expressions characteristic of JE, not found in D, such as 16 'behold' followed by the ptc of the future, 'sleep with thy fathers,' 'strange gods' &c; but (3) it also contains other phrases which point in the direction of the Holiness-legislation, and the school of Ezekiel, e.g. 16²⁰ 'break my covenant,' 18²⁰ 'turn' to other gods, and perhaps 16 'go a whoring after.' The phrases which describe Yahweh 17 as 'forsaking' Israel, or 'hiding his face' from them, seem also to belong (on the whole) to a later date: 'forsake' cp 31⁸ Jer 12⁷ Ezek 81⁹ Is 41¹⁷ 42¹⁹ 45¹⁴ 54⁷ (on the other hand Gen 28¹⁵); 'hide my face' 32²⁰ Jer 33⁹ Ezek 39²³, 29 Is 54⁶ but also Is 61⁷ Mic 3⁴.

16b The awkwardness of 8⁷ 'whither they go-in in their midst' suggests the interpolation of a gloss; so Klosterm., *Pent* 239, and Dillm. Cp the formulae in 69.

19 The pl is inappropriate in instructions addressed to Moses only; it may be an accidental variation, or a correction referring to 32¹⁴.

24 In 24-27 it seems hard to recognize a 'manifest sequel' of

	JE D ^a	D	D ^a P
		words of ^a this law in a book, until they were finished, ²⁵ that Moses commanded the Levites, which ^a bare the ^a ark of the covenant of Yahweh, saying, ²⁶ Take this book of the law, and put it by the side of the ^a ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God, that it may be there for a ^a witness against thee. ²⁷ For I know thy ^b 'rebellion, and thy ^c 'stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye ^d 'have been ^b 'rebellious against Yahweh; and how much more after my death? ²⁸ ^a Assemble unto me all the ^e 'elders of your tribes, and your ^f 'officers, that I may speak these words ^g 'in their ears, and ^h 'call heaven and earth to witness against them. ²⁹ For I know that after my death ye will utterly ⁱ 'corrupt yourselves, and ^j 'turn aside from the way ^k 'which I have commanded you; and evil will ^l 'befall you in the latter days ^o ; because ye will ^k 'do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh, to ^h 'provoke him to anger through the ⁱ 'work of your hands. [²⁷]	h' 94 i' 83 j' 114 k' 37 ^b l' 19 ^b
b' Num 17 ^{10a} c' 9 ⁶ 13 10 ¹⁶ d' 9 ²⁴		³⁰ And Moses spake ^u 'in the ears of ^v 'all the assembly of Israel the words of this song, until they were finished. ³¹ ^a 'Give ear, ye ^b 'heavens, and I will speak; And let the ^c 'earth hear the words of my mouth: ³² My ^d 'doctrine shall ^e 'drop as the rain, My ^f 'speech shall distil as the dew; As the ^g 'small rain ^e upon the tender grass, And as the ^h 'showers upon the herb ^f . ³ For I will proclaim the name of Yahweh: ^b Ascribe ye ^c 'greatness unto our God. ⁴ The ^d 'Rock, his work is perfect; For all his ways are judgement: A God of ^e 'faithfulness and without ^f 'iniquity, Just and right is he. ⁵ They have ^g 'dealt corruptly with him, [they are] not his ^h 'children, ⁱ '[it is] their blemish; [They are] a ^b 'perverse and ^c 'crooked generation. ⁶ Do ye thus requite Yahweh, O ^d 'foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy father that hath ^e 'bought thee? He hath ^f 'made thee, and ^g 'established thee. ⁷ Remember the ^h 'days of ⁱ 'old, Consider the years of many ^j 'generations:	
e' 4 ²⁶			
f' 4 ¹⁶ g' Gen 49 ¹ h' 4 ²⁵			
i' Josh 8 ³⁵ Lev 16 ^{17*} a Is 12 Ps 50 ⁴			
b Cp Introd 1 x62 c 33 ^{28†} d Is 28 ²⁸ 32 ⁹ e 5 [†] f Mic 5 ⁷ 5 [†] g 3 ²⁴			
h Cp 7 [†] i 5 = un- righteousness 25 ¹⁶ j 5 = sons 14 ¹			
k Cp 21 ^a			
l Ps 119 ⁷³ cp Is 45 ¹⁸ m Ps 90 ¹⁵ 5 [†]			

9-13 (Driver, *Deut* 343), for ²⁴ starts from the same point as ⁹. According to ⁹ Moses has already written the law and handed it to the priests and elders, with directions for its public reading every seven years. But at the opening of ²⁴ the words of the law are not yet completely recorded; while on the completion of the book it is given to the Levites to be deposited beside the ark. Thus the sections are rather parallel than continuous. In each the reduction of the law to writing is recorded. In each the sacred book thus written is entrusted to the care of certain recognized authorities, though they are not the same in the two cases. The author of 9-13 could hardly have written 24... If 9-13 formed one close to the original D, ²⁴... must have formed another. It has already been suggested that different editions may have received different introductions (cp 1¹⁸⁽⁴⁾ 4^{15b}). In a similar manner, the Code may also have received more than one form of conclusion. (Steurnagel, conscious of the incompatibility, proposes to read 'song' for 'law' in 24 ²⁸, and thus treats 24-30 as the introduction to the song.)

31²⁸ The language of ²⁷ seems really addressed not to Levi but to Israel generally; and that reference appears still more clearly in ²⁸ 'your tribes' and 'your officers' (between 'elders' and 'officers' (5) inserts 'your judges'). The purpose of the assembly is to give Moses an opportunity of speaking 'these words.' What, then, were they? Driver, Addis, and Steurnagel (to cite no older authorities) identify them with the Song. But it may be doubted whether the Song can be fitly introduced at a distance by the phrase 'speak these words.' Save in Ex 20¹ where it is immediately followed by the words in question, it always seems to refer to what precedes Gen 20¹³ 43⁷ 44⁶ Ex 4³⁰ 19⁷ 24³ Num 14³⁰ 16⁵¹ Deut 4³⁰ 5¹⁹ 6¹² 28³¹. The phrase as it stands would thus denote the warning in ²⁷ which is to be repeated with the utmost solemnity, heaven and earth being summoned to attest them. It is true that the Song opens with such an appeal: but on the other hand it contains no parallels

to the predictions in ²⁸. On the other hand, important parallels are found elsewhere; and they point to the view indicated by Dillm (*NDI* 390) and elaborated by Westphal and (to a less extent) by Oettli (cp Driver, *Deut* lxxiv-v), according to which ²⁸ forms the preface to a parting exhortation by Moses. This address, however, can hardly be identified with 29-30, the elements of which do not seem continuous. The parallels in ²⁹ point strongly to the discourse in 4⁵⁻⁴⁰ which probably once followed instead of preceding the exposition of the law; while the appeal to 'heaven and earth' announced in ²⁸ is there solemnly issued 4²⁶ cp 30¹⁹. This last coincidence suggests that the passage in 30¹¹⁻²⁰ for which a suitable connexion could not be found with 30¹⁻¹⁰ may be the sequel of the discourse in 4⁵⁻⁴⁰ (cp other parallels in 30¹¹ 17). Supposing that 4⁵⁻⁴⁰ 31¹¹⁻²⁰ are really parts of the same address, where is its beginning? Could ²⁷ have once stood at the head of the whole? Moses is there associated with the priests in an exhortation to all Israel. There is certainly a slight flavour of difference between 'the priests the Levites' in 27⁹ and the plain Levites of 31²⁰; and the tribal elders and officers are merged in 'all Israel' (cp 30¹); but the connexion in other respects seems not inappropriate. The solemn words 27¹⁰ 'become the people' may indicate the ceremonial adoption of Israel by the gift of the law; 'commandments and statutes' cp 4⁴⁰. The conclusion then naturally follows in 32⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷; cp 45 'all Israel' 27⁹; 46 'testify' cp 4²⁸ 8¹⁹; interest in 'children' cp 4⁹; 47 'your life' cp 30²⁰; 'prolong' 30¹⁸. The primary cause of the dislocation was the insertion of the Song, which threw out the discourse. The Song also was designed for a 'witness' 31¹⁹ cp 28. In 30¹ R connects the Song with the original introduction to the exhortation by the phrases 'assembly' cp 28 and 'spoke in the ears.'

32¹ On the date of this poem cp *Introd* XIV 4 i 161.

²⁸ M Or, corrupted themselves, they &c.—Cp 9¹².

²⁹ M Or, but a blot upon them. ⁶ M Or, possessed. Or, gotten.

JE D ^e	D	D' P
n 4 ³² Job 8 ⁸ 12 ⁷	¹ Ask thy father, and he will shew thee ; Thine elders, and they will tell thee.	
o Gen 10 ³² §	⁸ When the ^b Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, When he ^c separated the children of men, He set the bounds of the peoples According to the ^d number of the children of Israel.	
p 10 ⁹	⁹ For Yahweh's ² portion is his people ; Jacob is the lot of his ² inheritance.	
q Gen 12 [*] Jer 433 Job 6 ¹⁸ 12 ²⁴ al	¹⁰ He found him in a desert land, And in the ^e waste ^f howling wilderness ; He compassed him about, he ^e cared for him, He kept him as the ^g apple of his eye :	
r Prov 7 ² Ps 17 ⁸ cp Prov 7 ⁹ 25 ²⁰ †	¹¹ As an ^e eagle that stirreth up her nest, That ^f fluttereth over her ^h young, ^h He spread abroad his wings, he took them, He bare them on his ⁱ pinions :	
s Ex 19 ⁴ t Gen 12 [†] u Gen 15 ⁹ † v Ps 68 ¹³ or 4 Job 39 ¹⁸ †	¹² Yahweh ^j alone did lead him, And there was no ^b strange god with him.	
w 33 ²⁸ Lev 13 ⁴⁸ [*] x Cp 33 ²⁹ Hab 31 ⁹ y 33 ¹⁹ z 81 ⁵	¹³ He made him ride on the ² high places of the earth, And he did eat the ^b increase of the field ; And he made him to ^v suck honey out of the rock, And oil out of the ^f flinty rock ;	
a' Gen 49 ¹¹	¹⁴ Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, With fat of ^b lambs, And ^b rams of the breed of Bashan, and ^g goats, With the fat of kidneys of wheat ; And of the ^a blood of the grape thou drankest wine.	
b' § Pi Mic 7 ⁶ Jer 14 ²¹ Nah 3 ⁸ †	¹⁵ But ^b Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked : Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art become ^c sleek : Then he forsook God which made him, And ^b lightly esteemed the ^b Rock of his salvation.	
c' Ps 106 ³⁷ †	¹⁶ They ^b moved him to jealousy with ^b strange [gods], With ^b abominations ^b provoked they him to anger.	
d' Hos 2 ¹³ 13 ⁶ Is 17 ¹⁰ al	¹⁷ They sacrificed unto ^d demons, [which were] no God, To gods whom they knew not, To new [gods] that came up of late, Whom your fathers ^b dreaded not.	
e' Lam 2 ⁶ et 31 ²⁰ Pi f' 31 ¹⁸	¹⁸ Of the ^b Rock that ^u begat thee thou art ^c unmindful, And hast ^d forgotten God that ^g gave thee birth.	
g' Ps 86 ¹³ op Ezek 31 ¹⁴	¹⁹ And Yahweh saw [it], and ^e abhorred [them], Because of the provocation of his sons and his daughters.	
h' 11 ¹⁷	²⁰ And he said, I will ^j hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be : For they are a very ^b froward generation, Children in whom is no faith.	
i' 42 Ezek 51 ⁶ Ps 71 ³ 38 ² Job 6 ⁴	²¹ They have ^b moved me to jealousy with that which is not God ; They have provoked me to anger with their ^b vanities : And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people ; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.	
j' Ps 91 ⁶ op Hos 13 ¹⁴ †	²² For a fire is ^b kindled in mine anger, And burneth unto the ^g lowest ^u pit, And devoureth the earth with her ^h increase, And setteth on fire the ^b foundations of the mountains.	
k' Cp Lev 26 ²² l' Cp Mic 7 ¹⁷ † m' § = abroad Lam 120 n' Jer 51 ²² Lam 22 ¹	²³ I will heap mischiefs upon them ; I will spend mine ^e arrows upon them :	
o' 11 ¹⁷	²⁴ [They shall be] wasted with hunger, and ^b devoured with ^u burning heat And ^e bitter ^j destruction ; And the teeth of ^h beasts will I send upon them, With the poison of ^v crawling things of the dust.	
p' Cp Jer 19 ⁴ q' Cp Ex 14 ⁸ Is 26 ¹¹	²⁵ ^m Without shall the sword bereave ^m , And in the chambers terror ; [It shall destroy] both ^u young man and virgin, The suckling with the man of gray hairs.	
r' Cp Jer 49 ⁷ §	²⁶ I said, I would ^c scatter them afar, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men : ²⁷ Were it not that I ^o feared the provocation of the enemy, Lest their adversaries should ^p misdeem, Lest they should say, Our ^e hand is exalted, And Yahweh hath not ^b done all this.	
	²⁸ For they are a nation ^v void of counsel,	

32¹¹ M Or, Spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her pinions.

22 M § Sheol.

18 M Or, bare.

24 M § burning coals. See Hab 3⁶.

JE	D ^e	D	D ^a	P
s ¹ Obad 7		And there is ^a no understanding in them.		
t ¹ Ps 73 ¹⁷		²⁹ Oh that they were wise, that they understood this, That they would ^a consider their latter end !		
w ¹ Josh 23 ¹⁰ Lev 26 ⁸ Is 30 ¹⁷		³⁰ How should ^w one chase a thousand, And two put ten thousand to flight, Except their Rock had ^b sold them, And Yahweh had delivered them up ?		
v ¹ Ex 21 ²² Job g 31 ¹¹ †		³¹ For their rock is not as our Rock, Even our enemies themselves being ^v judges.		
w ¹ Job 13 ²⁶ 20 ¹⁴ 26†		³² For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, And of the fields of Gomorrah : Their grapes are grapes of ^a gall, Their clusters are ^w bitter :		
z ¹ Is 11 ⁸ Ps 58 ⁴ 57 ¹³ Job 20 ¹⁴ 16†		³³ Their wine is the poison of dragons, And the cruel venom of ^w asps.		
z ¹ Ps 38 ¹⁸ 66 ⁹ 94 ¹⁸ 121 ⁸		³⁴ Is not this ^a laid up in store with me, Sealed up ^a among my treasures ?		
z ¹ Cp Ps 90 ¹³ 135 ¹⁴		³⁵ ^b Vengeance is mine, and recompence, At the time when their foot shall ^v slide : For the day of their ^b calamity is at hand, And the things that ^b are to come upon them shall make haste.		
a ¹ 1 Sam 9 ⁷ Job 14 ¹¹		³⁶ For Yahweh shall ^b judge his people, And ^a repent himself for his ^b servants ; When he seeth that [their] power is ^a 'gone, And there is none [remaining], ^b shut up or left at large.		
b ¹ 1 Sam 26 2 Kings 5 ⁷		³⁷ And he shall say, Where are their gods, The rock in which they ^a trusted ;		
c ¹ Cp Hos 6 ¹ Is 19 ²² 30 ²⁶ Job 5 ¹⁸		³⁸ Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, [And] drank the wine of their ^a 'drink offering ? Let them rise up and help you, Let them be your ^a 'protection.		
d ¹ Is 43 ¹³ Job 10 ⁷		³⁹ See now that I, even I, ^b am he, And ^b there is no god with me : ^b 'I kill, and I make alive ; I have ^a 'wounded, and I heal :		
e ¹ Is 34 ⁵ 49 ²⁶ 63 ⁹		And ^a 'there is none that can deliver out of my hand.		
f ¹ Jer 12 ¹² 46 ¹⁰ 9 ¹ Num 23 ²⁴		⁴⁰ For I ^b lift up my hand to heaven, And say, ^b As I live for ever, ⁴¹ If I whet ^a 'my glittering sword, And mine hand take hold on judgement ; I will render ^b vengeance to mine adversaries, And will recompense them that hate me.		
h ¹ 5 = forgive 21 ⁸		⁴² I will make mine ^a 'arrows ^a 'drunk with blood, And my ^a 'sword shall devour flesh ; With the ^a 'blood of the slain and the captives, ^a 'From ^a 'the head of the leaders of the enemy.		
		⁴³ ^a 'Rejoice, O ^a 'ye nations, [with] his people : For he will ^b avenge the blood of his servants, And will render vengeance to his adversaries, And will ^a 'make expiation for his land, for his people.		
		⁴⁴ ^a 'And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the people, he, and ^a 'Hoshea the son of Nun.		
		[30 ²⁰ →] ⁴⁵ ^a 'And Moses made an end of speaking all these words to ^a 'all Israel : ⁴⁶ and he said unto them, Set your heart unto all the words which I testify unto you this day ; which ye shall command your children, to ^b observe to do ^a 'all the words of this law. ⁴⁷ For it is no vain thing for you ; because it is your life, and through this thing ye shall ^a 'prolong your days upon the land, whither ye ^a 'go over Jordan to ^a 'possess it ^a .	a	2 ^a
			b	82 ^a
			c	15
			d	73 ^b
			e	54 ^a
			f	88 ^a

32³² M See 29¹⁸.34 M Or, in my treasures.—Cp 28¹².

37 M Or, took refuge.

38 In this sense the word occurs here only.

41 M 5 the lightning of my sword.—Cp Nah 3⁸ Hab 3¹¹ Ezek21¹⁵.

42a M Or, From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.

42b M Or, the hairy head of the enemy.—For 'hairy' op Num

65 Ezek 44²⁰4.

43a M Or, Praise his people, ye nations.

43b M Or, ye nations, his people.

44a The conclusion by the author of 31¹⁰⁻²². Immediately before it (8) repeats 31²² and then reads 'And Moses came and spake all the words of this law' &c.44b Sam (G & S read Joshua. Hoshea occurs only in Num 13⁸ 18 (P). The form here seems due either to an accident of transcription or (if intentional) to the harmonistic effort of a later age.45 The close of the address to which 31²⁴⁻²⁹ served as introduction cp 31²⁸.47 At this point the hortatory supplements to D^e come to an end. The code and its discourses are incorporated into JE with the Blessing of Moses 33 and the narrative of Moses' death in 34. The treatment of JE by R^a in 34 is analogous to the Deuteronomic editing of the JE narratives in Josh, cp *Intro* to Josh 4.

J E

P

i^h Num 27¹²j^h Gen 17⁸ Lev
14³⁴k^h Num 20²³..l^h Num 20¹².a Josh 14⁸ Ps 90
(title)†b Gen 27⁷c Judg 5⁴ cpHab 3⁸d Ps 50² 80¹ 94¹e Hab 3^{8†}

f S†

g Ex 6⁸h Neh 5^{7†}i 28 22¹⁵ Is 44^{2†}j 21 Num 25⁴

cp 57

k Gen 49¹⁶ Ex24⁴l Gen 49²

8-10 LIIA/16

m Ex 17¹⁸Nn Ex 17²⁸ 7bNum 20³ 13o Is 5²⁴ Sp Ex 34⁷ Sq Cp 17¹⁰.r Ct Num 16⁷ 40

s S = wealth 817

t Ct 34⁴ S*

u S = round

32³⁹ Num 24⁸

48ⁿ And Yahweh ^espake unto Moses that ^hselfsame day, saying, 49^u "Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim", unto mount Nebo, ^hwhich is in the land of Moab, that is 'over against Jericho; and behold the 'land of Canaan, which I ^j'give unto the children of Israel for a ^k'possession: 50 and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be ^l'gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in ^h'mount Hor, and was ^l'gathered unto his people: 51 because ye ^m'trespassed against me in the midst of the children of Israel at the ⁿ'waters of Meribah of Kadesh, in the ⁿ'wilderness of Zin; because ye ⁿ'sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel. 52 For thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither into the land which ⁿ'I give the children of Israel.

33¹ ⁿAnd this is the blessing, wherewith ^aMoses the man of God^a blessed the children of Israel ^bbefore his death. 2 And he said, Yahweh ^ccame from Sinai, And rose from Seir unto them; He ^d'shined forth from ^e'mount Paran^c, And he came from the ten thousands of ⁿ'holy ones: At his right hand ⁿ'was a fiery law unto them. 3 Yea, he ^f'loveth the ⁿ'peoples; All ^h'his saints are in thy hand: And they sat down at thy feet; [Every one] ⁿ'shall receive of thy words. 4 Moses commanded us a law, An ⁿ'inheritance for the ⁿ'assembly of Jacob. 5 And ^h'he was king in ^h'Jeshurun, When the ^h'heads of the people^d were gathered, All the ^h'tribes of Israel together. 6 Let Reuben live, and not die; ⁿ'Yet let his men be few. 7 And this is [the blessing] of Judah: and he said, Hear, Yahweh, the voice of Judah, And bring him in unto his people: ⁿ'With his ^h'hands he contended ⁿ'for himself; And thou shalt be an help against his adversaries. 8 ⁿAnd of Levi he said, Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with ⁿ'thy godly one, Whom thou didst prove at ^m'Massah, With whom thou didst strive at the waters of ⁿ'Meribah; 9 Who said of his father, and of his mother, I have not seen him; Neither did he acknowledge his brethren, Nor knew he his own children: For they have observed thy ^c'word, And ^h'keep thy covenant. 10 They shall ⁿ'teach Jacob thy judgements, And Israel thy law: They shall ⁿ'put incense ⁿ'before thee, And whole burnt offering upon thine altar. 11 Bless, Yahweh, his ⁿ'substance, And accept the ^c'work of his hands: ⁿ'Smite through the loins of them that rise up against him, And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.

g 188^a
h 138i 64
j k 4^a
l 127^b
m 75n 164^ao 9
p 86^c

p 94

32⁸ Cp Num 27¹²N.

49 The double location here points to editorial expansion. Dillm assigns the words to R^d cp 1⁵ 29¹ et 2^a and employs the passage to support his view of the priority of P. Similar phenomena may occasionally be found in Josh: they are considered in the *Introd* to Josh 5 2y.

33¹ On the 'Blessing of Moses' and the ascription of 6-25 to an Ephraimite source (ie E) cp *Introd* XIV 5 i 163. According to the view there indicated 2-5 28-29 are regarded as later additions,

together with the designation 'man of God' in 1.

2^a M S holiness.—For textual emendations see the Comm.2^b M Or, was fire, a law. Or, as otherwise read, were streams for them. 3^a M Or, tribes.3^b M Or, their holy ones. 3^c M Or, received.

5 M Or, there was a king. 6 M Or, And let [not] his men.

7^a M Or, [Let] his hands [be] sufficient for him.7^b M Or, for them. 8 M Or, him whom thou lovest.

10 M S in thy nostrils.

J E

J E P

v Cp Is 5¹ Jer
11¹⁶ al20 Cp 12¹¹ Is 5¹⁸x Gen 49²⁵y 18-16 Cant 4¹⁸
18 7¹³†z Gen 47²⁴ Lev
25¹⁵ pl*a' Is 6² Mic 1²b' Ps 24¹ alb' Ex 3²c' Mic 5⁴ ald' Ps 4⁵ 51¹⁰†e' Gen 26²² Ex
34²⁴ cp Deut
12²⁰ 18⁸*f' Gen 49⁹ Num
23²⁴ 24⁹*g' ~~h~~ = hidden 19h' Gen 49⁹

i' Cp Introd i 164

j' Ps 76² cp Am
3⁴

12 Of Benjamin he said,

The ^vbeloved of Yahweh shall dwell in safety by him ;He ^jcovereth him all the day long,And he ^wdelleth between his shoulders.

13 And of Joseph he said,

^aBlessed of Yahweh be his land ;For the ^vprecious things of heaven, for the dew,And for the ^adeep that coucheth beneath,14 And for the precious things of the ^afruits of the sun,

And for the precious things of the growth of the moons,

15 And for the chief things of the ^aancient mountains,And for the precious things of the ^aeverlasting hills,16 And for the precious things of the earth and the ^afulness thereof,And the good will of him that ^wdwelt in the ^bbush :Let [the blessing] come upon the ^ahead of Joseph,And upon the ^acrown of the head of him ^uthat was separate from his
brethren.17 ^uThe firstling of his bullock, majesty is his ;And his horns are the horns of the ^wwild-ox :With them he shall ^upush the peoples all of them, [even] the ^eends of
the earth :

And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim,

And they are the thousands of Manasseh.

18 And of Zebulun he said,

Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out ;

And, Issachar, in thy tents.

19 They shall call the peoples unto the mountain ;

There shall they offer ^asacrifices of righteousness^d :For they shall suck the ^jabundance of the seas,And the ^jhidden treasures of the sand.

20 And of Gad he said,

Blessed be he that ^eenlargeth Gad :He dwelleth as a ^jlioness,

And teareth the arm, yea, the crown of the head.

21 And he ^uprovided the first part for himself,For there was ^uthe lawgiver's portion ^ereserved ;And he came ^uwith the ^jheads of the people,

He executed the justice of Yahweh,

And his judgements with Israel.

22 And of Dan he said,

Dan is a ^hlion's whelp,That ^jleapeth forth from Bashan.

23 And of Naphtali he said,

O Naphtali, satisfied with favour,

And full with the blessing of Yahweh :

Possess thou the ^uwest and the south.

24 And of Asher he said,

Blessed be Asher ^uwith children ;

Let him be acceptable unto his brethren,

And let him dip his foot in oil.

25 Thy ^ubars shall be iron and brass ;And as thy days, so shall thy ^ustrength be.26 There is ^vnone like unto God, O ^jJeshurun,Who ^jrideth upon the heaven for thy help,And in his ^jexcellency on the ^jskies.27 The ^jeternal God is [thy] ^jdwelling place,33¹⁶ M Or, that is prince among.11^a M Or, His firstling bullock.17^c M Or, gore.17^b M See Num 23²².21^a M Or, chose. ~~h~~ saw.21^b M Or, a ruler's portion.—Cp Gen 49¹⁰.

23 M Or, sea.

26^a M Or, shoes.—~~h~~†.21^c M Or, [to].

24 M Or, above sons.

25^b M Or, rest. Or, security.—~~h~~†.

	J E	JER ^a	J E P
<i>k'</i> Hos 11 ⁸ Is 51 ⁵ <i>al</i> <i>l'</i> Ex 23 ²⁸ . <i>m'</i> Cp 7 ²⁴		And underneath are the ^v everlasting ^{k'} arms : And he ^v thrust out the enemy from before thee, And said, ^{m'} Destroy. ²⁸ And Israel ^v dwelleth in safety, The ^v fountain of Jacob ^v alone, In a ^v land of corn and wine ; Yea, his heavens ^v drop down dew. ²⁹ Happy art thou, O Israel : Who is like unto thee, a people ^v saved by Yahweh, The ^v shield of thy help, And that is the sword of thy excellency ! And thine enemies shall ^m submit themselves unto thee ; And thou shalt ^v tread upon their high places.	
a 32 ⁴⁹			
b 3 ⁵⁷		^{1b} [And Moses went up] to the ^b top of Pisgah,	
<i>c</i> ⁵ = <i>caused to see</i> 4 cp Gen 12 ¹		^{1d} And Yahweh ^o shewed him all the land ⁿ of Gilead, unto Dan ; ² and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the ^m hinder sea ; ³ and the South, and the ⁿ Plain of the ^d valley of Jericho ^d the ^e city of palm trees, unto Zoar. ⁴ And Yahweh said unto him, This is the ^v land which I ^o sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed ^v : I have ^o caused thee to see it ^v with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.	
<i>d</i> ⁴ ^{top} ⁵ Gen 11 ² Josh 11 ⁸ 17 ¹² <i>e</i> Judg 11 ⁶ 23 ¹³ <i>f</i> Cp Ex 33 ¹			
g Cp 3 ²⁷			
<i>h</i> Ex 14 ³¹ Num 12 ⁷ , cp Josh 1 ¹		⁵ ⁷ And Moses the ^h servant of Yahweh died there in the land of Moab,	
<i>i</i> 3 ²⁹ cp Num 21 ²⁰ ct 3 <i>j</i> 3 ²⁹		⁶ And ⁿ he buried him in the ^v valley in the land of Moab ^v over against Beth-peor : but no man knoweth of his ^h sepulchre ^e unto this day.	
<i>k</i> ⁵ = <i>burying</i> ^p ^{ace} Gen 35 ²⁰ 4 ³⁰			
<i>l</i> Cp Ex 7 ¹ Num 33 ³⁹ <i>m</i> Cp Gen 27 ¹ <i>n</i> ⁵ † <i>o</i> Num 20 ²⁹			
<i>p</i> Cp Ex 28 ³ 31 ³ <i>q</i> Num 27 ¹⁸			
<i>r</i> ⁵ = <i>obey</i> Num 27 ²⁰			
s 13 ¹ 18 ¹⁵ 18		¹⁰ And there hath not ^a risen a prophet	

34^{1a} ⁿAnd Moses ^awent up from the ^aplains of Moab unto ^amount Nebo,

^{1c} that is ^bover against Jericho,

^daccording to the word of Yahweh.

⁷ And Moses ^lwas an ^hundred and twenty years old when he died : ⁿhis ^meye was not dim, nor his ⁿnatural force abated.

⁸ And the children of Israel ^oweped for Moses in the ^aplains of Moab^o thirty days : so the days of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended. ⁹ And Joshua^o the son of Nun was full of the ^pspirit of wisdom ; for Moses ^ohad ^llaid his hands upon him : and the children of Israel ^hhearkened unto him, and ^hdid as Yahweh commanded Moses.

33²⁹ M Or, *yield feigned obedience*.—Ps 66³ cp Ps 184⁴ 81¹⁶4.

34^{1a} Each of the early versions of the Traditions, J and E, would seem to have narrated the death of Moses. In fitting the Deuteronomic Code into its historic framework, and combining it with JE, the Deuteronomic editors added their own touches e.g. probably in ¹ ⁵, with a supplement ¹⁰⁻¹². The independent account of the priestly narrator (see the margins) was afterwards incorporated by the general redactor ; and this passage is, therefore, an amalgam of all the chief documents of the Hexateuch.

^{1d} The peculiar enumeration in ², is probably due to a later hand ; it is absent from the Samaritan text, which reads 'from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea' cp 11²⁴, and there are also one or two very

slight divergences in G. Moreover the grammatical structure is complete at 'all the land' : 'of Gilead' should be '*even*' or '*namely* Gilead' cp Driver, *Deut* 420. Ct 3²⁷.

² M That is, *western*.—Cp 11²⁴.

⁸ The Round, *even* the Plain [valley] of Jericho, 'not "of" (RV) ; the words are in apposition to "the Round" and define its extent,' Driver, *Deut* 422. For the 'Round' or Plain cp Gen

14¹⁰ 19¹⁷ 26²⁸.

⁶ So G. T so.

⁶ M Or, *he was buried*.

⁷ This clause has been sometimes referred to J, and its poetic vigour of expression makes that attribution possible. On the other hand the connexion with ^{7a} is satisfactory and P may have incorporated the familiar phrases of an older source.

	J	JER ^d	E	P	
t Gen 32 ³⁰ Ex 33 ¹¹ cp Num 12 ⁸		since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Yahweh knew 'face to face'; ¹¹ in all the 'signs and the wonders, which Yahweh sent him to do in the land of *Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land; ¹² and in all the 'mighty hand, and in all the 'great terror, which Moses wrought ¹³ in the 'sight of 'all Israel ¹⁴ .			i 101 ^a
u 632					j 80 ^b
r 48 ^d					k 43 ^a
v 31 ⁷					l 2 ^a

34¹² At this point it may be well to sum up very briefly the main results of the analysis of Deuteronomy (apart from occasional glosses due to subsequent scribal redactions). (1) The nucleus of the whole book is to be found in the Code 12-26; when first produced this was probably considerably shorter 12^{12N}(2); its original title may possibly be preserved in 4⁴⁴ (adopted, it may be, from an introduction to an earlier code) afterwards enriched by the addition in 4⁴⁵⁻⁴⁹. (2) To this Code were prefixed different hortatory introductions, which would seem to have been attached separately to different editions. Earliest, perhaps, is the series of homilies in 5-11, which appear to have proceeded from the author of the main groups of law in 12-18 and 26. These had a didactic and religious aim. But a second introduction, consisting chiefly of historical retrospect, may be traced in 1¹⁴ 4-4⁴; this may be assigned to a different hand, and has been augmented with a number of archaeological and other notes, especially in 2-3. (3) Similarly different forms of conclusion were appended to the main legislative core. The elements of these were twofold: (i) a parting address from Moses exhorting the people to obedience, and warning them against unfaithfulness; and (ii) a record of the writing of the Code. Such a close seems to have been provided by the author (or authors) of the Code and the Homilies in 26¹⁶⁻¹⁹ followed by the original form of 28 (afterwards enlarged by expansion) 30¹⁻¹⁰, together with the account of the writing of the law and the provision for its septennial reading at the Feast of Booths 31⁸⁻¹⁸. A second narrative of the writing of the law and its deposition by the ark is found in 31²⁴⁻²⁸, where instructions are given for the summons of a great national assembly at which Moses may deliver his solemn testimony. Remains of this discourse may be traced in 27⁹, 4⁶⁻⁹ 30¹¹⁻²⁰ with

a conclusion in 32⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷. No definite connexion can be established between this closing group and the secondary introduction in 1-4⁴, though the narrative in 3²⁸⁻²⁸ seems to be resumed in 31¹ and finds its term in Moses' death in 34. Yet a third farewell address distinguished by marked peculiarities of style may be discerned in 29²⁻²⁹. The Code and its envelopments, homiletic and narrative, hortatory or retrospective, must thus be regarded as the product of a long course of literary activity to which various members of a great religious school contributed, the affinities with the language and thought of Jeremiah being particularly numerous.

(4) To this Deuteronomic group other additions were made from time to time, involving further dislocations. The Code and the Homilies seem to imply acquaintance with JE (*Introd XVI 17* 173), and in due time JE and D were amalgamated (cp *Introd XVI 2* 174). This appears to be the explanation of the insertion of a fragment from an itinerary of E in Deut 10⁶, of the expansion of E's instructions for the erection of the altar on Ebal 27¹⁻⁸ of the introduction of the charge to Joshua 31¹⁴, 23, and the incorporation of the accounts of Moses' death in 34. Other insertions will be found in the liturgical curses 27¹¹⁻²⁶, the Song of Moses and its preface 31¹⁰⁻²² 32¹⁻⁴⁴ (which caused the dispersion of the second farewell discourse), and the Blessing of Moses 33, which appears to contain a nucleus due to E framed in a lyric setting of much later time.

(5) Lastly, the extended JED was united with P. This involved the addition of the date in 1³, the preparation for Moses' death 32⁴⁸⁻⁵², and the final description of his departure in 34. Latest of all 4⁴¹⁻⁴³ was inserted in connexion with Josh 20. [On D elements in Josh 4, and their relation to the constituents of Deut cp *Introd to Josh 4*.]

INTRODUCTION TO JOSHUA

THE Book of Joshua stands in the Hebrew Canon at the head of the collection of 'the Prophets.' It is marked off from the preceding books by its subject, for it contains no law: the era of legislation closed with the death of Moses. Yet it is plainly related to them in the most intimate manner. Its main theme is the establishment of Israel in the promised land, and it falls apart at once into two main divisions, (1) the narrative of the conquest 1-12, and (2) the account of the distribution of the territory among the tribes 13-21; while farewell addresses of Joshua 23 and 24, corresponding to the discourses in Deuteronomy, prepare for the record of the leader's death. The book thus describes the great change in the national life to which the whole Pentateuch looks forward. The gift of the land to the posterity of Abraham, so often announced, is at last effected: it is justly asserted that the Law without its continuation in Joshua would be but '*a torso* ^a.' At stage after stage in the preceding narrative provision has been made for the duties and privileges of Israel when they should enter on their inheritance. At last the long discipline of the wanderings is over, and a nation which did not look back longingly to the comforts of Egyptian plenty, is ready for the strenuous march to victory. Caleb alone survives from the Israel of the desert, besides Joshua, to claim the reward of his loyalty to Yahweh Josh 14⁶⁻¹⁵ cp Num 14²⁴ Deut 1³⁵. At the outset of the book the commission to Joshua imparted through Moses Num 27¹⁸. Deut 3²⁸ 31⁷. 14. 23 is solemnly renewed 1².. The promise of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh to take their share in the labours of the conquest Num 32 Deut 3¹⁸. is reinforced by Joshua Josh 1¹²., and fulfilled by the tribes in question 4¹², so that when they have loyally discharged their obligations to their brethren they receive for themselves the inheritance they had desired 13⁸.. The provisions instituted by Moses for the distribution of the land Num 34, for the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge 35, are successively enforced Josh 13-19 20 21. Even the daughters of Zelophehad Num 36 are not forgotten Josh 17³. The first great religious act of the victorious Joshua in the middle of the new country is to carry out one of the last commands of Moses Deut 27¹⁻⁸ by rearing an altar on Ebal and solemnly inscribing the law upon its stones. In the valley of Shechem below are deposited the bones of Joseph 24³², in obedience to his dying request Gen 50²⁵. The whole scheme of Joshua is thus the necessary sequel of the books which precede; and the closeness of this relation extends not only to its substance, but (as will be seen hereafter) also to its form. In spite of considerations to be urged below concerning differences in the actual processes of compilation, the essential identity of their literary sources and their forms of historic presentation justifies the treatment of the six books as bound together by a common unity on which the name Hexateuch has been fittingly bestowed ^b.

^a Steuernagel, *Das Buch Josua* (in *Hakomm*) 131.

^b This was already in the view of Du Maes in the sixteenth century (*Introd* i 23) and others who supposed the Mosaic history and Joshua to have been compiled from the records of the keepers of the public archives. Geddes stated the connexion most clearly when he explained that he

1. A brief inquiry suffices to show that Joshua displays many of the phenomena already adduced from the Pentateuch in proof of diversity of authorship. It contains no statement professing to record the circumstances of its composition; it comprises duplicate and sometimes inconsistent accounts of the same events; and even within the same narrative details which cannot be harmonized betray the presence of materials which have been imperfectly reconciled.

(1) Thus, in 13⁸⁻¹², the Reubenites and Gadites receive the inheritance which Moses had allotted to them beyond the Jordan; but in 16-32 a fresh description follows defining the territory assigned to the 'tribe of the children of Reuben according to their families,' and the corresponding possessions of the tribe of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh, each section closing with similar statements concerning Levi¹⁴ and 33. Much common matter belongs to each; but the second passage is marked by greater amplitude of detail, by new designations and fresh formulae. In like manner two farewell addresses are reported from Joshua. In 23 he summons 'all Israel,' their elders, their heads, their judges, and their officers, exhorts them to observe the law of Moses⁶, announces his approaching death¹⁴, and warns them against the worship of other gods¹⁶. But 24 records another speech, addressed to a similar audience¹, and conveying corresponding exhortations not to forsake Yahweh^{14..}. In the accounts of the conquest Hebron is taken by Joshua 10³⁶. with its dependent cities, and all their inhabitants are put to the sword, not one being permitted to survive. Debir³⁸. shares the same fate. The Anakim also, from Hebron, Debir, and the adjoining local cities are similarly 'devoted'¹¹²¹. In 15¹³⁻¹⁹, however, Hebron and Debir are still unreduced; the three sons of Anak are driven out from the former by Caleb, who offers his daughter as a bride to whoever succeeds in capturing the latter.

(2) These indications of variety of literary materials are strengthened by the discovery of incompatible stories of the same transaction. At the passage of the Jordan the whole nation has passed over to the western shore 3¹⁷ 4¹, when Joshua instructs twelve men to 'pass over before the ark into the midst of Jordan'⁵ and there take up twelve stones. The narrative thus returns to the eastern bank to find the people there too, for in 4^{10b} 'the people hastened and passed over.' What, then, is the destiny of the stones? According to 8^b they are carried across and deposited on the camping-ground where the people spent the night after the passage of the river. But in 9 twelve stones are set up in the midst of the stream in the place where the feet of the priests had stood, and the writer appeals to them as evidence, 'they are there unto this day.' The devices of the versions cp 3^{12a} betray their consciousness of the incongruity; the difficulty is solved by the recognition of the fact that the narrative is composite, and the compiler has not succeeded in reducing the details to uniformity. This clue further explains why Joshua, after posting thirty thousand men in ambush on the west side of Ai 8³ 9, should dispatch five thousand more the next morning for the same purpose to the same spot¹². Similar considerations make it probable that Rahab did not exact the promise of future safety from her visitors after she had let them down over the wall of Jericho, and urged them to flight 2¹⁵; and they point to a way through the maze of difficulties attending the narrative of the various circuits round the city before it fell into the hands of the Israelites 6^{3..}.

2. The literary examination of Joshua reveals corresponding facts. In some passages the language is full of reminiscences of the exhortations or narratives of Deuteronomy; while others are founded on the institutions and couched in the formulae of the Priestly Code. Thus in 8³⁰⁻³⁵ the writer records in his own fashion the fulfilment of the instructions of Moses in Deut 27¹⁻⁸; the discourse of Joshua in 23 is little more than

included the book of Joshua with the Pentateuch in the first volume of his translation of the Old Testament (1792), because he 'conceived it to have been compiled by the same author' (*note i* 44).

a cento of the phrases of **D**; while the divine summons to the new leader 1³⁻⁹ naturally reproduces the solemn terms of the previous charge in Deut 31⁷. On the other hand, the 'ark of the testimony' is named in 4¹⁶, and a glimpse is thus opened into the conceptions of **P**, which become clearer when the passover is celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month 5¹⁰, and the manna ceases on the entry of the people into the land of Canaan. In due time appear the 'congregation' and their 'princes' 9¹⁸, and finally Eleazar the priest takes precedence of Joshua the son of Nun 14¹, and proceeds with the heads of fathers' houses to distribute the inheritances to the tribes at the door of the Tent of Meeting 19⁵¹, making due provision of cities of refuge 20, and cities 'with the suburbs thereof' for the orders of priests and Levites 21. The documents represented by the symbols **D** and **P** in the Pentateuch thus find their continuations in the book of Joshua. Their definite literary characteristics enable them to be recognized with certainty so far as their main passages are concerned. They can be separated, therefore, with tolerable precision from the general mass. But when they are withdrawn by the aid of the usual criteria, what is the nature of the materials which are left? The examination of passages like 2 6 81-29 101-27 discloses diversities which seem only explicable on the assumption that two sources have been combined. The analogy of the preceding books at once suggests that these sources may be **J** and **E** respectively; and this presumption seems to be confirmed by various marks of literary parallelism and allusions to earlier incidents. Thus in some passages the population of the country is designated as Canaanite 7⁹ 16¹⁰ 17¹²⁻¹⁸ **J**, whereas in others it is described as Amorite 10⁶ 24⁸ **E**. The parallels to 2¹² 14²¹ 3^{5 9} 4⁶ 5¹⁵ 10²¹ &c plead strongly for **J**; so does the reference in 15¹⁴, and the group of fragments named in 13^{13x} (cp *infra* 3 10). Similarly **E** seems to furnish the description of Joshua in 1¹ 2¹ 23⁶, the allusion to the idolatry of Israel's ancestors 24¹⁴, and the record of the burial of Joseph 24³². The combined document **JE** may be traced in like manner behind the language of 14⁶⁻¹²^a. These marks lie, as it were, upon the surface: how far does minuter investigation confirm the expectations which they awaken?

3. When the contributions to Joshua editorially derived from **D** and **P** have been eliminated, it is found that the remaining portions designated as **JE** are concerned rather with the conquest than with the division of the promised land. The mission of the spies, the passage of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, the defeat at Ai and the discovery of Achan's theft, the successful attack on Ai, the covenant with the Gibeonites, the catastrophe to the confederation of the southern kings under Adoni-zedek, and the overthrow of the northern alliance under Hazor,—these follow in definite succession though without any specification of time, and lead up to Joshua's old age 13¹, and the preparations for the actual settlement. But at this point the traces of **JE** become more faint, and only a few fragments, obviously incongruous with their context, survive out of its record of the tribal inheritances cp 13¹³ 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹ 16³ 161-3 10 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷, to which must perhaps be added 18²⁻¹⁰. When these narratives are disentangled, so far as probability permits, what is the result of the analysis?

(1) The critical problem appeared at one time so difficult, that Wellhausen supposed that **J** broke off suddenly after the Balaam episode, and only left a trace here and there, as in Num 25¹⁻⁵ Deut 34^{7b}, though its presence was afterwards recognized in Josh 9⁶.^c Meyer also^d denied to **J** any share in the account of the conquest of Canaan in Josh 1-12 save a fragment out of the story of the treaty with the Gibeonites in 9. But this view (though practically shared by Stade) has not been maintained by subsequent criticism^e. Kuenen, indeed, asserted that **J** and **E** could not be satisfactorily

^a Cp 'wholly followed' 9 14 with Num 14²⁴.

^b *Composition des Hexateuchs in Skizzen* ii (1885) 116.

^c *Ibid* 126.

^d *ZATW* i 133-4 cp 122².

^e On its revival by Steuernagel, see below, p 318, note ^d.

eliminated from the complex product in which they had been welded together, but he admitted their original existence^a. Later investigation has done something to relieve these difficulties. Dillmann's great commentary (on the basis of Knobel, concluded in 1886) again attempted what Kuenen had declared impossible; and Budde^b, Kittel^c, Albers^d, Bennett^e, have all concurred in believing that the main elements of **J** and **E** are not disguised beyond recognition, though their results do not always run side by side^f.

(a) The principal obstacle to the recognition of **J** in Josh 2-11 arose from the circumstance that another view of the conquest and settlement of the Israelites in Canaan is to be found in Judges 1. This document includes passages which are plainly related to corresponding passages in Joshua; Adoni-bezek Judges 1⁵⁻⁷ seems a counterpart of Adoni-zedek Josh 10³⁰; the capture of Hebron Judg 1¹⁰ is also related in Josh 15¹⁴ (Caleb), and that of Debir Judg 1¹¹⁻¹⁵ in Josh 15¹⁵⁻¹⁹; further cp Judg 1²¹ Josh 15⁶³, Judg 1²⁷ Josh 17¹², and Judg 1²⁰ Josh 16¹⁰. Various considerations concurred in pointing to **J** as the source from which this survey was derived^g. But it contained no allusion to Joshua, and it was inferred, therefore, by some eminent critics, that **J** had not originally regarded him as the national leader, or even mentioned his name. The narrative of his victories, therefore, could owe nothing to **J**. The investigations of Budde^h, however, showed good ground for believing that the contrast between the representations in Judg 1 and Josh 2-11 had been exaggerated; the admitted presence of **J** in the story of the covenant with the Gibeonites presupposed a narrative of the capture of Ai, and that in its turn was possible only when Jericho had fallen. **J**, therefore, had presumably related both these incidents, and these involved the passage of the Jordan also. Moreover, the general movement indicated in Josh 6-11 and in the survey in 14⁰ showed that the southern part of Canaan was the first to receive the new settlers as in Judg 1, while the northern tribes only made their way among the Canaanites more slowly, after the house of Joseph had taken up its position in the centre 16¹. 17¹⁴⁻¹⁸. But, on the other hand, it became clear that the representations of the complete destruction of the Canaanite populations eg 10²⁸⁻⁴³ 11¹⁰⁻²³ were entirely inconsistent with the numerous cases recorded where the Canaanites proved too strong for the invaders, so that the tribes of Israel only secured a precarious footing in their midst cp 13¹³ 15⁶³ 16¹⁰ 17¹². Such generalized summaries of universal massacre do not, however, show the characteristic features of **J**. They are far more closely connected with **D** (cp 4 *infra*); they have a distinct theological significance; they are not founded on historical tradition, they are editorial expressions of the horror felt in later times for the temptations of Canaanite idolatries, and of the triumphant conviction that Yahweh had given Israel the land. They are not part, therefore, of **J**'s narrative, and need not be cited in contrast with Judg 1.

(3) But when these later elements are withdrawn, and the distribution of the remaining sections which betray diversity of source has been effected, there remains the question how far the elements which can be plausibly ascribed to **J** really constitute a harmonious whole. It seems difficult to form any estimate of the relative antiquity of **J**'s narratives of the spies at Jericho or the passage of the Jordan compared

^a *Hexateuch*, 157 159.

^b *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (1890).

^c *Hist of the Hebr* i 263.

^d *Die Quellenberichte in Josua i-xii* (1891).

^e *Joshua in Haupt's SBOT*.

^f Driver, *LOT* 104 and 'Judges' in Smith's *DB* vol i pt ii, treats **JE** as the basis of Joshua, though with reserve concerning the actual elements of the constituent documents. Similarly, G A Smith, 'Judges' in Hastings' *DB*. For Steuernagel's view see below, 318^d.

^g Cp Moore, *Judges* in *ICC* 6-10. The chief reason is found in the contrast between this group of representations and that in Josh 24, the substance of which is universally ascribed to **E**. There the conquest is depicted as far more complete than the survey in Judg 1, and the Joshua parallels allow. These passages, therefore, which seem to have been derived from a common source, must be assigned to **J**. Cp Driver, in Smith's *DB* vol i pt ii p 1816.

^h *Richter und Samuel* 1-83; cp *Das Buch der Richter* in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* (1897) xii-xiii.

with earlier stories such as the mission of the explorers to Canaan or the march across the sea at the Exodus^a. On the other hand, the accounts of the fall of Jericho 6, and the defeat of the two great coalitions, southern and northern, in 10-11, certainly seem to be couched in a more exalted strain than the story of the overthrow of Sihon Num 21, or the various references to the position of the different clans and tribes, whether the successes of Caleb and Othniel 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹, or the relative failures of Judah 15⁶³, Ephraim 16¹⁰, and Manasseh 17¹¹. Moreover, Jabin the king of Hazor in 11¹ can hardly be unrelated to the sovereign of the same place, bearing the same name, Judg 4^{2 17}. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the passages assigned to J are really all homogeneous, or whether they do not rather constitute a collection of stories and a picture of the settlement not by any means identical in age or origin, though bound together by certain common tendencies of thought and representation. In such a collection there must necessarily be diversities of date. On general grounds it is natural to expect that the simpler view will be the older, and the recognition of the Canaanite superiority in certain quarters will precede the later generalizations of their overthrow. The group of fragments 13¹³ 15^{14-19 63} 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷ may therefore be referred (like the corresponding passages in Judg 1) to an early survey of the position of the tribes belonging to the school of J. Such a survey may have included a more detailed account of their settlement (cp 16¹⁻³) to which the narrative of the passage of the Jordan and the advance to the hill country would form the appropriate introduction. The language of Judg 1³ implies some kind of preliminary allotment of the land before the tribes attempted the task of conquest. If this existed in the primitive narratives of J, a basis would be supplied out of which subsequent representations might be developed. That the episodes of victory rest on older material is proved in one case by a citation from a poem in the lost book of Jashar^b 10¹², where it may be safely conjectured that the poetical version is a more ancient composition than the prose story^c. There seems reason, therefore, for the view that the J sections may be of various dates, but the discrimination of the earlier is a task of the gravest difficulty. A growing consensus of criticism fixes on 10^{12(r)} 13^a 13¹³ 15^{14-19 63} 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19^{47 d}, to which may perhaps be added 5^{2, 9}. The story of the spies in 2 has also a simple and primitive air; in 9, however, there seems a reminiscence of Ex 15¹⁰ (unless the order of dependence be inverted, or the last clauses be assigned to the later editorial expansion). Much editorial work may be traced in J's share of 3-4, and the suddenness of the miracle announced in 3¹³ cp 4¹⁸ is not quite after the manner of J's employment of the east wind Ex 14^{21b 27b}. The sevenfold procession round Jericho in 6 has no analogy in the records of the Trans-jordanic conquest: while the narratives in 8 10 and 11 are conceived upon a larger scale, and may be assigned to a later stage of tradition compared with the records of the capture of Hebron and Debir 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹. The representation of the action of the united people seems further removed from historical reality than the view of their advance in groups of tribes presented in Judg 1: and the total impression created by this portion of J suggests a much completer reduction of Canaanite opposition than the fragments from 13¹³ onwards justify^e. How far these fragments may be connected with any definite scheme of territorial location according to J it seems impossible now to determine. If 16¹⁻³ is rightly assigned to J, a probability is established that it may have contained other geographical descriptions now

^a Imitation is probably to be seen in 5^{1b} and perhaps in 4⁶.

^b Cp *Introd* II 1e i 19.

^c As Judges 5 may be taken to precede 4, cp Moore, *Judges* (in *ICC*) 110; Budde, *Richter* (in *Kurz Hdcomm*) 33.

^d Bennett, in Haupt's *SBOT*, adds 5^{2, 8}.

^e This impression is heightened (if with Budde and Albers) the generalizing summaries in 10-12 may be partly referred to J². See below, 4.

perhaps absorbed into P's more detailed survey cp 18^{11a}. But it appears to be beyond the power of any critical method to discover the clues to their separation.

(2) The original scope and significance of E are hardly less difficult to determine. One feature, however, appears in strong relief. At the opening of the book 1¹ Joshua is solemnly commissioned to conduct the people across the Jordan. He is designated in terms elsewhere peculiar to E (in contrast with J) as 'Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister.' At the close of his career, when the conquest is substantially completed, he summons a national assembly at Shechem 24¹, exhorts the people to obedience, makes a covenant with them to serve Yahweh ²⁵, and sets them 'a statute and an ordinance.' To Joshua, therefore, as to Moses, is assigned the double function of military leadership and religious legislation. By general consent the farewell address of Joshua is referred in its original form to E, and it is natural to accept its retrospect as a clue to the conception of the conquest and settlement which E contained. It proves in reality, however, to be somewhat barren of detail. The people are reminded of the passage of the Jordan and the fall of Jericho ¹¹, but the steps of subsequent victory are veiled under the figure of the 'hornet' which expelled the native populations cp ^{12a}, and of the actual process of occupation not a word is said, any more than of the desert incidents between Egypt and the land of Moab. The narratives themselves, however, are not equally silent. The first step of 'Joshua the son of Nun' is to prepare for the great enterprise by obtaining the necessary information ²¹, and though the details of distribution in the story of the spies may be uncertain, the conclusion ²³ indicates clearly that E related their mission and brought them back successful. The passage of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho followed. From Gilgal Joshua proceeds to the attack on Ai; peace is concluded with the Gibeonites; and the five kings of the Amorites are 'discomfited' before Israel 10^{10a}, their rout being completed by a great hailstorm as they fled down the pass from Beth-horon ¹¹. With this scene the extracts from E's history of the conquest apparently terminate. The further episodes of advance and settlement seem to have been suppressed in favour of the more general editorial summaries in 10²⁸. . 11¹⁰⁻¹². Had E, however, no account of the allotment of the land, and the situations of the several tribes? A comparison of 10⁴⁹ with 24³⁰ shows that materials from E were employed by P; and if this happened in one instance which can still be traced, it may have occurred in others which can no longer be recovered cp 18^{11a}; though it may be doubted whether some fragments would not have survived, like those already rescued for J, had E included any detailed description of the settlement. The parallel of the general presentation of E with that of J shows that from the passage of the Jordan to the overthrow of the central alliance they kept step side by side. The details occasionally vary: if J dwells on the marvels of the arrest of the waters 3¹³, E can emphasize the sudden collapse of the walls of Jericho 6⁵ ^{20b}, or the dire effect of Joshua's outstretched javelin 8¹⁸ ²⁰: while each gives its own version of the divine aid against the five kings 10¹⁰⁻¹⁴. Of the time occupied by the entire settlement but little indication is afforded. From 24²⁹ it may be conjectured that Joshua was regarded as near his end when the great convocation took place at Shechem cp 23¹ and 13¹. That the advance of the invaders would be slow was predicted in Ex 23²⁸⁻³⁰. The 'hornet,' therefore, would only pursue its work of expelling the native peoples by degrees; and this does not, accordingly, seem incompatible with the general view that Israel must encounter resistance as it penetrated further and further into the land, and that such resistance must be overcome by force. It has, indeed, been supposed ^a that the language of 24¹² was incompatible with the ascription to E of any narratives of military exploits after the capture of

^a Cp Kuenen, *Hex* 157, who finds an absolute incongruity between the language of 24¹¹⁻¹³ and the stories in 1-11.

Jericho. But the uncertainty of the original text renders this inference highly precarious, and there seems no adequate objection, therefore, to the recognition of E as the involuntary partner of J in the compound narrative in 2-10. Whether the elements of E are all of one piece, or whether like J it may be regarded as woven from strands of various date, it is more difficult to conjecture. Bennett^a assigns to E¹ 6³ 7a 20 (mainly, 'and it came to pass . . . straight before him') 19¹⁹. Reasons are given in the Analysis for ascribing the latter passage to P; in the story of the fall of Jericho it may be conceded that the most ancient element was the shout, but it does not seem possible to isolate the passages referring to it as an older literary product. The Analysis, therefore, does not venture to make any partition of age.

(3) If the presence of J and E be admitted in Josh 1-10, it is natural to infer that their union took place under the same conditions as those which produced JE in Gen Ex and Num. The Joshua sections of these documents were in fact integral parts of them, as the position of Joshua in E shows with especial clearness; the work of Moses being definitely assigned to him as its continuator, and the retrospect in 24 binding the entire story from Abraham's migration to the Shechem assembly into one whole. It may be assumed, therefore, that the general method of R¹⁰ in dealing with the earlier narratives will be traceable also in the latter. The larger portion of the material appears to be derived from J, though the chronological framework 1¹ 24²⁰ is supplied by E. The actual extracts have been woven together with extraordinary closeness, as in some parts of the Joseph series; but the hand of the compiler is occasionally to be traced in verses designed to harmonize conflicting situations, or combine discordant data 2¹⁷ 8¹³. In 14⁶⁻¹⁵ the story of Joshua's gift of Hebron to Caleb is related on the basis of the combined narrative of JE in Num 13-14 (cp 14^{6N}), and seems due, therefore, in its original form to a writer who might be provisionally identified with R¹⁰. But it has been recast (if it really existed at an earlier date) under Deuteronomic influence, and its present shape is due to R¹ (cp below, 4)^b. There remains a passage 18²⁻¹⁰ which does not seem to belong to either document, nor to show the characteristic marks of origin in the schools of D or P cp 18^{2N}. It is founded on a theory of the completed conquest, and appears designed to introduce a survey of the settlement. That J at least once contained such a survey is highly probable; though the surviving fragments show that in its oldest form it was not conceived on the basis of universal subjugation assumed in 18²⁻¹⁰. But as the documents passed from hand to hand, receiving fresh additions, it may be conjectured that a later editor desired to gather into one view the various data and fuse them in one general representation. To such a description of the tribal inheritances, which may now lie at the basis of P's delineation 18¹¹⁻¹⁹, R¹⁰ may have prefixed as a suitable introduction the story of the travels of the twenty-one deputies, their description of the land in seven portions, and the distribution of the inheritances by lot before Yahweh in Shiloh.

^a Joshua in Haupt's SBOT.

^b It does not, however, follow that all the passages ascribed to the school of J belonged to the book of JE. Thus a second narrative of the gift of Hebron to Caleb is found in 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹, introduced by 15¹³ which bears strong marks of R¹⁰. The recurrence of this passage in Judg 1¹⁰⁻¹⁵ connects it with the group already specified in 31B 13¹³ 15⁶³ 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷, most of which are now embedded in portions of P, where they have the air of editorial insertions qualifying larger claims. In 13¹³, however, this qualification affects a section of D. The generalizations of the Deuteronomic editor, however, are so absolute (see 4 below) as to render his admission of such a correction highly surprising; and it would seem probable that the Deuteronomic edition of Joshua dropped the passages in which J surveyed the progress of the settlement with frank recognition of Israel's limitations, and that these were only inserted in a much later revision, when an effort was made to incorporate all the records of the past. Similarly, Judg 1-2⁶ was not included in the Deuteronomic Judges-book, cp Cornill, *Einl.* 94, Moore, *Judges* (in ICC) xxxiii, Budde, *Richter* (in *Kurz Hdbcomm*) x. This argument may be pushed further back, and applied similarly to JE, the editor of which (if 18²⁻¹⁰ be rightly assigned to him) held a similar view. In any case the J source of Judges 1 and its parallels in Joshua still remained distinct, and could be used separately.

4. Far more important was the revision to which JE was submitted in the Deuteronomic school. The indications of this process are numerous, but even the most careful scrutiny still leaves many points in doubt, and the significance of different details is variously estimated by students who approach the problems along independent lines^a.

(1) The general phenomena are so obvious as to strike even the most casual reader. Reference has already been made to the fulfilment in 8³⁰⁻³⁵ of the instructions in Deut 27¹⁻²³. In a similar manner the language of 1 is founded on the incidents and exhortations of D. After the death of Moses, Joshua is divinely confirmed in the leadership to which he has already been solemnly dedicated. As the successor of Moses he receives fresh assurance that the promises made to the great Liberator of his people will be accomplished on the due observance of the law imparted through him³⁻⁹. The following parallels will suffice to show the connexion:—

Josh 1

³ Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread, to you have I given it. . . . ⁴ From the wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, . . . and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your border.

⁶ There shall not any man be able to stand before thee.

⁵ All the days of thy life.

⁵ As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee : I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

^{6, 9, 18} Be strong and of a good courage.

⁶ Thou shalt cause this people to inherit the land which I have sworn unto their fathers to give them.

Deut

11²⁴ Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours : from the wilderness, and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea shall be your border.

7²⁴ There shall no man be able to stand before thee.

4⁹ 6² 16³ 17¹⁰ All the days of (thy) life.

31⁸ He will be with thee, he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

7²³ Be strong and of a good courage.

7 Thou shalt go with this people into the land which Yahweh hath sworn unto their fathers to give them ; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it.

The address to the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh 1¹²⁻¹⁸, is based on the recital in Deut 3^{12, 18-20} : while the discourse of Joshua in 23 is a Deuteronomic counterpart to the farewell address in 24, with especial reference to the Mosaic warnings in the concluding exhortations in Deut 28 and 29. In other cases, however, the Deuteronomic additions do not thus stand alone ; they are woven into the context of the narrative as in the explanations of the circumcision at Gilgal 5⁴⁻⁸, and the erection of the stones commemorating the passage of the Jordan 4²¹⁻²⁴. And yet again two remarkable summaries of Joshua's victories seem best explicable as Deuteronomic additions 10²⁸⁻⁴³ and 11¹⁰⁻¹²²⁴. The first of these is couched in a series of paragraphs repeated with rhythmical regularity. Joshua is accompanied by 'all Israel' ^{2a}; city after city is delivered by Yahweh into their hands ⁵²; the inhabitants are smitten with the edge of the sword Deut 13¹⁵ 20¹³, and none are left remaining Deut 2³⁴ 3³ Num 21³⁵; Yahweh is emphatically said to have fought for Israel ⁴² ⁴⁵; and the 'devotion' of 'all that breathed' ⁴⁰ is expressly based on the injunction of the law cp Deut 20¹⁶ 'thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt devote them.' Whatever materials may lie behind these sweeping surveys, such as the list of kings in 12⁰⁻²⁴, there can be no doubt that the present form of these sections is due to an editor of the Deuteronomic school, anxious to show that Joshua fulfilled the divine commands as the faithful successor of Moses cp 10⁴⁰ 11¹⁵ 23⁶. Parallel phenomena though in another field may be observed in the general summaries of Israelite idolatries presented in the book of Judges eg 2¹¹⁻²³ 10⁶⁻¹⁶, which bear a strongly

^a The more recent criticism of D in Joshua starts from Hollenberg's essay 'Die Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua,' *Studien und Kritiken* (1874) 462-506.

^b Albers has endeavoured to rescue an earlier summary for J²; but the evidence does not seem conclusive.

marked Deuteronomic character; or, again, in the prayer composed for Solomon at the dedication of the Temple 1 Kings 8²³⁻⁶³^a.

(2) But a closer examination of Josh 1-12 reveals the interesting fact that the labours of the Deuteronomists were not confined to the addition of longer sections of narrative or address, or even of shorter explanations. The stories of JE bear upon them numerous touches due to the same hands. Traces of the influence of this great school have already been discovered in legislative passages such as Ex 13³. 23²⁰. and 34¹⁰., while the origin of Num 21³³⁻³⁵ is to be sought in the same direction. In Joshua 2-11, however, the indications of editorial handling by D are more constant and pervading. The general method of treatment may perhaps best be introduced by a comparison of the two versions of the conquest of Sihon here placed side by side:—

Num 21

²¹ And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, ²² Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field, or into vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's [high] way, until we have passed thy border.

²³ And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border:

but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and he fought against Israel.

²⁴ And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of Ammon was strong.

²⁵ And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.

Deut 2

²⁶ And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, ²⁷ Let me pass through thy land: I will go along by the high way, I will neither turn unto the right hand nor to the left.

²⁸ Thou shalt sell me food for money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: only let me pass through on my feet;

²⁹ as the children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over Jordan into the land which Yahweh our God giveth us.

³⁰ But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him: for Yahweh thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand, as at this day. ³¹ And Yahweh said unto me, Behold, I have begun to deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land.

³² Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, unto battle at Jahaz. ³³ And Yahweh our God delivered him up before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people.

³⁴ And we took all his cities at that time, and devoted every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones; we left none remaining:

³⁵ only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, with the spoil of the cities which we had taken.

The specifically Deuteronomic additions here can be easily traced. Thus ^{29a} depends on ⁴ and ⁹: ^{29b} cp ⁶⁹. In ³⁰ 'would' ¹¹⁷, 'Yahweh thy God' ¹¹, 'deliver him into thy hand' ⁵², 'as at this day' ^{33a}, come from a common phraseological mint. Similarly ³¹ 'behold' ⁹⁹, 'begin to possess' ²⁴; ³², 'he and all his people' ⁵⁶; ³³ 'delivered him up' ^{100a}; ³⁴ 'at that time' ¹¹⁰, 'devoted' ³⁵, 'the women and the little ones' ¹¹⁸, 'left none remaining' ³³ (Num 21³⁵) cp Deut 20¹⁶. Josh 10^{28 30 33 37 39}.; ³⁵ 'only' ⁸⁴, 'a prey' ⁸⁹, the spoil' ¹⁰³. The Deuteronomic reciter has thus reproduced the older story with his own variations and expansions. The marked character of their language usually enables these to be identified with ease. Such expansions frequently recur in the narratives of the conquest, as one or two instances will suffice to show:—

Josh

³⁷ This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.

⁴¹ On that day Yahweh magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.

D

Deut 2²⁵ This day will I begin . . .
'all Israel' ^{2a}: 'that' ⁵ Deut 4^{10 40} 6³ 32⁴⁶:
'as' &c. Josh 1⁵.

'all the days of (his) life' Deut 4⁹ 6² 16³ 17¹⁰
Josh 1⁵.

^a On the Deuteronomic revision of Judges cp Driver, *LOT*⁶ 164-7, and Moore, *Judges* in *ICC* and Haupt's *SBOT*: on Solomon's prayer, Driver, *LOT*⁶ 191.

Josh

4^{21b} When (5 Deut 11⁴⁷) your sons shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? ²² then ye shall make your sons know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. ²³ For Yahweh your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: ²⁴ that all the peoples of the earth may know the hand of Yahweh, that it is mighty; that they may fear Yahweh your God all the days.

But this passage carries with it 5¹. ('dried up the waters of Jordan until we were passed over'), and similarly 2¹⁰.:—

Josh

2¹⁰ For we have heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye devoted. ¹¹ And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of you: for Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath.

But the Deuteronomic revision enters still more closely into some portions of the narrative, as may be seen in 3⁴ 10^b 17^b 4^{1a} 12; and this renders it almost certain that the designations 'ark of the covenant' and 'the Levitical priests' have been introduced in the same process cp 3³⁸. It is hardly necessary to cite further instances; but the following parallels deserve consideration:—

Josh

6² And Yahweh said unto Joshua,

See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, the mighty men of valour.

Josh

8¹ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed: take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land: ² and thou shalt do to Ai and her king &c.

D

Deut 6²⁰ When thy son shall ask thee in time to come, saying, What mean . . .

4⁹ 'make your sons know them,' 8³ 'make thee know.'

'Yahweh your God' ¹.

'did to' ²12.

'all the peoples of the earth' 1 Kings 8⁶⁰.

'mighty hand' ²80^b.

'fear' ²44^a: 'all the days' ²13^a.

D

'dried up' Josh 4²³ 5¹.

'when ye came out of Egypt' Deut 23⁴ 24⁹ 25¹⁷.

'two kings of the Amorites' ²3⁶, 'beyond Jordan' ²21^a.

'devoted' ²35.

'melt' 5¹ 7¹, 'made our heart to melt' Deut 1²⁸.

'spirit' 5¹.

'Yahweh your God' ¹.

'he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath' Deut 4³⁹.

D

'fear' &c. 10²⁵ Deut 1²¹ 31⁶ 8.

'see, I have given' Deut 2²⁴ cp

²99 52 cp Deut 3^{2a}.

'mighty men' Josh 1¹⁴ 8³ 10⁷.

'thou shalt do' Deut 3^{2b}.

Here also it is probable that the hand of R^d has been at work; and so numerous are the traces of his handling in 1-12 that some critics (with Kuenen at their head) have regarded the narratives of the conquest as so completely welded together by him that no distribution of the antecedent sources was practicable. More recent investigations have not confirmed this judgement; but whatever view be formed of the possibilities of success in this direction, one fact remains clearly established—the story of the western conquest has undergone a kind of redaction to which the records of the previous traditions were not submitted. For this there must plainly be a cause. That the Deuteronomic school could work in its own way on the older material has been already shown in the comparison of the two accounts of the overthrow of Sihon. But the actual Trans-jordanic story of JE remained untouched (save for the incorporation of the episode of Og Num 22³³⁻³⁵). This difference of treatment seems explicable only on the assumption that when the Deuteronomic editors took the traditions of the conquest in hand, the narrative of the Mosaic age was regarded as practically closed. The death of Moses made an obvious pause, and formed the fitting conclusion to the combination JED. When once the incorporation of the Deuteronomic law-book with its hortatory settings into the historic framework of JE had been effected, the remaining records were severed more markedly from the Mosaic age. The continuity

of the story was broken by the interposition of the great book of law to which the whole previous narrative only served as introduction; and the elevation of the code into regulative or canonical authority, while it secured what went before from further revision, left what came after to the pious activity of editors who sought to show how the commands of Yahweh had been fulfilled. Joshua, therefore, could be handled more freely, and the traces of subsequent handling are consequently more numerous and varied.

(3) The general indications already cited make it probable that the Deuteronomic elements in Joshua are not to be regarded as extracts from a completer work on the conquest, but are supplemental to the earlier product of **JE**^a. It is more difficult to decide on the grounds of Joshua alone whether **R**^d worked on **JE** in union or on **J** and **E** separately. The analogy of the previous books (cp *Introd* XVI 1y i 173) suggests that the fusion had already taken place; and this conclusion may receive some slight confirmation from the phenomena of 2, where two narratives are undoubtedly blended, and where also a Deuteronomic addition can be easily detected¹⁰. But there is no sign of **R**^d in the passage which seems due to the harmonist of the separate sources¹⁷: while **R**^d can be eliminated from the account of the march through the Jordan in 3-4 and leave **JE** nearly intact. Other questions, however, suggest themselves which deserve a passing word.

(a) In the first place, what are the connexions of **R**^d in Joshua with the different elements of Deuteronomy itself? Is it possible to discriminate more than one deposit of revision, and, if so, can they be attached to the separate groups of homilists whose work has been already distinguished, cp *Deut* 34^{12a}? These questions raise difficult problems, to which answers can only be given with reserve. That the additions made by **R**^d were not all incorporated at one time is rendered probable by the general facts of the editorial treatment of the preceding books. And this probability is obviously increased by the circumstance that the symbol **R**^d covers incongruities which can hardly be due to the same writer. Thus after the kings of Hebron and Debir have been devoted together with the entire populations belonging to them 10^{36-39 b}, so that none remain, Joshua subsequently proceeds to cut off the Anakim of the same places 11²¹. These representations are hardly coherent; the second seems to be generalized from the ancient narrative in 14¹⁴., but it cannot be accommodated in the same view as the first. Similarly it may be doubted if the following two summaries are from the same hand:—

10⁴⁰ So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he devoted all that breathed, as Yahweh, the God of Israel, commanded. ⁴¹ And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel.

11¹⁶ So Joshua took all that land, the hill country, and all the South, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; ¹⁷ from mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebi non under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and put them to death. . . .

¹⁸ For it was of Yahweh to harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might devote them, that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them.

The secret of Joshua's victories is found in the one case in the simple explanation that Yahweh fought for Israel: in the second, it is carried a stage further back, as

^a Dillmann, however, conjectured that such an independent work by **D** had existed, though only small portions of it had been preserved by **R** cp *NDJ* 600. The view expressed below concerning the different materials here assigned to **R**^d seems sufficiently to account for the facts. Steuernagel, in assigning the main contents of the narratives to **D**², gives much greater extension to Dillmann's surmise.

^b This representation would itself seem to be later than the touches of **R**^d in 10¹⁻²⁷, eg 8^{12 25}.

the resistance of the native kings is contrasted with the peaceful submission of the Gibeonites, and is set down to the same providential process which had already brought the divine dooms on Pharaoh and his people. In other instances, also, it is probable that Deuteronomic additions have themselves been subsequently expanded, cp 17. On the other hand there do not seem any clear reasons for attributing 3⁷ 4¹⁴ (with Albers) to R^{d1} and 4²¹⁻²⁴ to R^{d2}. The Analysis does not, therefore, save in rare cases, attempt to distinguish typographically between different elements of R^d: it must be enough to recognize the general evidence that the Deuteronomic revision was a process to which more than one writer of the school contributed^a. There are even signs that additions continued to be made in the Deuteronomic spirit till a very late date, as the peculiar phenomena of 20 indicate. This may, indeed, be an exceptional case of harmonizing; but in other instances there seem to be marks of late character in additions bearing the general stamp of R^d (see below, δ).

(β) That the Deuteronomic editors based themselves on D as we now possess it (apart from the song of Moses 32 and the few passages due to P) cannot, indeed, be affirmed with certainty, but it appears highly probable. The reference to Joshua in 13-9 implies Deut 11²⁴, and 31⁷; while the address to the tribes who wished to settle on the east of Jordan 12-18 is founded on Deut 3¹², 18-20. The description of Sihon and Og as the 'two kings of the Amorites' 2¹⁰ 9¹⁰ belongs to the later strata of D cp Deut 3⁸; the designation of Yahweh as 'God in heaven above and on earth beneath' 2^{11b} seems to rest on Deut 4³⁹; and the homilist of Josh 23³ 15 shows points of contact with the discourses in both Deut 28 and 29. The historic and hortatory settings of the Deuteronomic code seem thus within the view of R^d; and it may be surmised that the work which was begun on the basis of JE in Deut 1-3 31 34 was continued by the same group though on a different method through the traditions of the conquest and settlement.

(γ) The phraseological indications of this process are necessarily slight. But they are not wholly wanting. The designation of Sihon and Og as 'the two kings of the Amorites' has just been cited. New phrases creep into the survey of their dominions: each is described as 'ruling' 12⁵, a term not employed in Deut 2 (in D only in 15⁶); or as 'reigning' 13¹⁰ 12, another verb also absent from the earlier accounts^b. Fresh geographical data also appear, such as the reference to the sea of Chinnereth and to Beth-jeshimoth 12³; while the word 'possession' 12⁶ carries on the usage of Deut 2⁵ 9 12 19 3²⁰ Josh 1⁵. Other peculiarities are probably to be found in the phrases 'meditate' in the law 1⁸ cp Ps 1²; 'mighty men of valour' 1¹⁴ 6² 8³ 10⁷ (2 Kings 15²⁰ 24¹⁴ Chron [20] Neh 11¹⁴+) et Deut 3¹⁸ 'all the men of valour'; 'dried up' 2¹⁰ 4²³ 5^{1*}; 'all the people of war' (?) 8¹ 3 (11) 10⁷ 11⁷+, et 'men of war' 5⁴ 6 6³ 10²⁴ Deut 2¹⁴ 16; תחנה 'favour' 11^{2*} 1 Kings 8²⁸ . 9³ Jer 36⁷ 37²⁰ 38²⁶ 42² 9 Pss Chron; 'according to their divisions' 11²³ 12⁷ 18^{10*}; 'wealth' 22⁸ 2 Chron 11¹. Ezr 6⁸ 7²⁶ Eccles 5¹⁹ 6²; and the Hebrew forms אָוֶן 10²⁵, אָוֶן 14¹², הַמָּסִיחַ 14⁸ c.

(δ) There remains an interesting class of cases in which the language of R^d shows curious approximations to that of P. The phrase 'according to their divisions' just cited seems kindred with P's legal terminology cp 18; in 13⁶ 23⁴ 'allot it' (§ cause it to fall) unto Israel for an inheritance' finds its sole parallel in Ezek 45¹ 47²²; while the terms 'priesthood' and 'beyond Jordan' § 18⁷ occur elsewhere in Hex only in P, and the 'thorns' of 23¹³ belong to the hortatory vocabulary of which another specimen

^a This seems probable, for instance, in the case of the list of kings in 12, appended at the close of the summary of the conquest 11¹⁸. Its source is unknown, but it does not appear needful to call into conjectural existence a larger independent Deuteronomic work, the rest of which has perished.

^b This difference supplies another faint indication of diversity of authorship between R^d sections cp ante a. The duplicates in 12²⁻⁶ and 13⁸⁻¹⁴ are hardly from the same hand.

^c Cp Dillmann, *NDJ* 442; König, *Eintl* 249.

occurs in Num 33⁵⁵. It is no doubt to be expected on general grounds that the characteristic terminology of one great school should find antecedents in its predecessor. The style of R¹⁰ already approaches that of D; why should not the style of R⁴ in like manner prepare the way for P? The Deuteronomic editors of the national histories during the exile were contemporary with the priestly schools of Ezekiel and his successors, and some interchange of phraseology would be only natural. Such interchange may be detected in 5⁴ 8³³ 10²⁷. 11²⁰ 22⁴. To what is it due? Are these the spontaneous outshoots of R⁴ towards kindred workers in the same great field, or do they suggest that R^p has been upon his track with his own additions and modifications? The phenomena of 10²⁸.. compared with 40 and 10^{28N} seem to prove clearly that an editor of the school of P has introduced the word 'souls' at a quite late stage of the history of the text. If such revision has happened in one case, it may have operated elsewhere also. Thus the phraseology of 6¹⁹ 24^b points to R^p. But 19 is evidently a supplement to R⁴ in 18; and a clue is thus gained to the priority of the Deuteronomic revision before the Priestly annotator took the work in hand. Is this view sustained by other phenomena in Joshua? In other words, what is the relation of the P sections to the rest of the book?

5. The inquiry just suggested is full of difficulty, and the seemingly conflicting facts have been differently interpreted in different critical schools.

(1) The obvious indications of the presence of elements continuing the arrangements of Num 34¹⁷⁻³⁵³⁴ have been already mentioned (*ante* 2). They prove at once that P is not unrepresented in the narrative of the settlement. But it is less clear at first sight whether P contained any story of the conquest, and, if so, what has become of it. That he related the entry into Canaan is admitted by general consent 4¹⁰, and the passage at once creates a presumption that his narrative also described the crossing of the Jordan. Traces of such a narrative may be seen in 3^{4a} 8 15. 4^{7b} 8a 13 15-17. The record of the passover and the note on the food-supply 5¹⁰⁻¹² are plainly derived from the same source. But the account of the events which follow seems to owe little to his hand. Jericho falls and he is apparently silent. He breaks in at the beginning of the story of Achan's trespass 7¹; a clear glimpse of the 'congregation' and its 'princes' is afforded in the dealings with the Gibeonites 9^{15c} 17-21; the delineation of the tribal settlements is chiefly due to him (the Trans-jordanic tribes 13¹⁵⁻¹⁴⁵, Judah 15¹⁻¹² 20 62, Ephraim 16⁴⁻⁹, Manasseh 17¹⁻¹⁰, the remaining tribes 18¹ 11-19¹⁶ 48, cities of refuge 20, cities for the Levites 21¹⁻⁴²); and the last echoes of his language are heard in the story of the altar by Jordan 22⁹⁻³⁴. It is at once plain from the irregularity of these fragments that P has not been adopted as the groundwork of the compilation of Joshua in the same way in which it was laid at the base of the preceding books. The chronological articulation from Gen 1 to Deut 34⁷ is here entirely lacking^a. Of the victories of Israel, of the overthrow of the Canaanite confederations, no word has been preserved. It can hardly be doubted that some allusions to these events were contained in P. One incident is especially significant; the oath to the Gibeonites cannot have been a mere detached episode; it must have been derived from a connected scheme^b. The gift of the land is formally promised in Ex 6⁴ 8; the war of subjugation is anticipated Num 32²⁰⁻²², and the warriors of the Trans-jordanic tribes cross with their brethren ready for battle Josh 4¹³. The way is thus prepared for a narrative of

^a So far as this exists in Joshua it is supplied by JED. The book opens with a renewal of the commission to Joshua and closes with his death, but in 1 and 24 P has no share. Even the passages of the survey extracted from P are placed in a Deuteronomic framework cp 11²³ 13¹⁻¹⁴ 18¹⁻¹⁰ 21⁴³⁻⁴⁶. In the final compilation, therefore, P is inserted into JED, whereas in the Pentateuch JED is fitted into P.

^b In the case of Achan the phenomena of 7¹ 18. 24. seem sufficiently explained by the conjecture of a late priestly revision, rather than of the incorporation of passages from an independent narrative. But the P verses in 9 have not this supplemental air; they imply a story of their own.

the conquest which may have taken the main stages of advance for granted after the manner of **P**'s reference to the 'overthrow' of Sodom and Gomorrah Gen 19²⁹, while it enlarged on incidents calculated to shed some light on Israel's dealings with the conquered peoples and the sanctuary-claims on person and property. But such a narrative was not so well adapted for the foundation of the combined account of the conquest as that of the product symbolized by **JER**^d. It stands, therefore, in the background in the first half of the book, and only becomes prominent in the second. On this and other grounds it has already been argued (*Introd* i 178) that the combination of **P** with **JED** was not effected in Joshua by the same hand or on the same method as in the Pentateuch.

(2) What, then, is the relation of the **P** sections in Joshua to the great document of which it is the sequel? That document has been shown to be by no means homogeneous (*Introd* XIII 7-10). To which among its various strata does the continuation in Joshua appear to belong? The promise of Ex 64⁸ suggests that the general plan of **P**^s originally included the entry into Canaan and the distribution of the land. In this it followed the general method of **JE**. But it is doubtful how far the existing sections are to be ascribed to this source, for they show many traces phraseologically of secondary character. Thus in 4¹⁹ the common designation 'the children of Israel' is replaced by 'the people,' of rare occurrence in **P**, Ex 16^{27 30} Num 16^{47 31³ 33¹⁴}, four out of the five passages being already independently marked as late. The description of the passover 5¹⁰ employs **D**'s term for 'even' instead of **P**'s. Achan's pedigree 7¹ depends on Num 26²⁰, and the usual phrase in **P** to describe the divine anger 178 gives way to the familiar language of **JE** which only appears in **P** elsewhere in the curious amalgam Num 32^{10 13}. On the other hand the account of the allotment of the land opens with the erection of the 'tent of meeting' at Shiloh 18¹ (on the original place of the verse see 14^{1N}), where **P** might have been expected to mention the Dwelling. It has been previously urged Ex 25^{1N} that many parts of **P**'s legislation seem based on this conception of the sanctuary, and represent an older stage of codification afterwards adapted to the newer form. In the same way it is quite possible that the narrative of the distribution may rest on an older survey, and this may be the explanation of some of the peculiarities discussed in 18^{11N}. In any case it is worth observing that the account takes no notice of the men whom Moses expressly selected for this function Num 34¹⁸⁻²⁸. Where are the ten princes whom he associated with Eleazar and Joshua? They are hardly to be identified with the 'heads of the fathers' 19⁵¹; and it may be conjectured therefore that the description of the settlement is earlier than the provision in Num 34¹⁶⁻²³. The assignment of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities 20 (following the full close 19⁵¹) is, however, plainly dependent on Num 35, and the **P** sections in Joshua, therefore, must be grouped in their present form under the general heading of **P**^s.

(3) The relation of **P** to **JE** in Joshua is sufficiently implied in the foregoing exposition. The details which **P** contributes, for instance, to the Achan story in 7, or a comparison of the items of the survey from 13⁵ onwards, can leave no doubt of the priority of **JE**. But there are other phenomena of a more perplexing kind, involved in the comparison of **P** with **D**.

(a) The general reasons founded on institutional development which place the Deuteronomic code before the Levitical legislation in order of time remain unaffected by the narratives of Joshua. But the literary affinities of **P** and **D** in Joshua are somewhat intricate and have led different critics to opposite inferences. The materials for investigation are scanty, as they are mostly confined to the traces of editorial revision. There is, however, one clear case of duplication where a comparison may prove suggestive, if not decisive, viz the account of the territories assigned to the tribes

east of the Jordan 13⁸⁻¹⁴ and 15-33. Here, on the face of it, *P* seems expanded from *D* (the common elements are printed in italics):—

Josh 13⁸⁻¹⁰ *D*

⁸ With him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the servant of Yahweh gave them; ⁹ *from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the plain of Medeba unto Dibon*; ¹⁰ *and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon.*

Josh 13¹⁵⁻²¹ *P*

¹⁵ And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of Reuben according to their families. ¹⁶ And their border was *from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the plain by Medeba*; ¹⁷ Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the plain; *Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon*; ¹⁸ and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath; ¹⁹ and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth-Shahar in the mount of the valley; ²⁰ and Beth-peor, and the slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; ²¹ *and all the cities of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon.*

That there is a literary relation between these passages can hardly be doubted. Did *D* abstract from *P*, or *P* expand *D*, or did both found themselves independently upon a common source? The latter alternative is excluded by the fact that both passages subsequently introduce Og king of Bashan, and the analysis of Deut 3 shows that Og appears there for the first time: *D* and *P*, therefore, could have no common antecedent. But the same argument proves that *P* in 30. must be ultimately based on Deut 3; and the dependence of *P* on *D* seems thus established^a. It is confirmed by the fact that while *D* expressly asserts ¹⁰ that the conquered territory did not include Ammon *cp* Deut 2³⁷, *P* claims half for Gad ²⁵, an extension of which *D* is evidently unaware. The relation of *P* to *D* here, therefore, is similar to that of *P* to *JE* concerning the territory of Joseph 16¹⁻³ and 4..

(β) Further evidence in the same direction may be gathered from the traces of revision by *R*^p in the sections ascribed to *R*^d. Instances of this have been already offered (*ante* 4 38 p 315). The word 'souls' 10²⁸.. seems only explicable as an intrusion into *D*'s formula 'all that breathed': a harmonizing editor has added the reference to Joshua in 14⁶ on the basis of the combined narrative *JEP* in Num 14. These cases increase the probability that the *P* phrases in 5⁴ 8³³ 10²⁷. 11²⁰ 18⁷ are really due to *R*^p; in 22¹⁴ the close contiguity of the very late *P* story 9-34 may have slightly affected the text, and produced unconscious modifications in the copyist's handiwork, *cp* the conflate expression 'kept the charge of the commandment'³.

(γ) On the other hand Dillmann has urged^b that *P* bears the marks of a Deuteronomic revision. In Deut 32⁴⁹ the words 'in the land of Moab' are ascribed to *D*, *cp* 1⁶ and *ct* 34¹. Josh 5⁴⁻⁷ is an attempt to harmonize *JE* and *P*; in 5¹⁰ *D* betrays himself by 'evening,' as by 'stoned them with stones' 7²⁵. The formula 'Yahweh God of Israel' 7¹³⁸ is triumphantly claimed for *R*^d in the midst of *P*'s phrases 9¹⁸.; in the description of the Trans-jordanic settlements 13¹⁵⁻³³ 'it is as clear as possible' that *P* has been revised by *R*^d, the references to the kingdom of Sihon having been inserted by him ²¹ and ²⁷, while *D*'s *shēbhet* has taken the place of *P*'s *maṭṭeh* in ^{29a}. The curious combination in 20³⁻⁶ of items from the Deuteronomic law of the cities of refuge with the arrangements of the Priestly Code would be convincing, but for the circumstance that ③ clearly proves that the Deuteronomic elements are a very late insertion in the text. Finally in 22⁹⁻³⁴ the recurring phrase 'the half tribe of Manasseh' invariably employs the Deuteronomic term. This slender array of instances is hardly sufficient to counter-vail the numerous lines of argument founded on the development of institutions, the testimony of history, the affinities of religious expression, which converge on the conclusion that Deuteronomy preceded the Priestly Code. The explanatory suggestions

^a *Cp* the use of the term 'slopes' ²⁰, Deut 3¹⁷ 4⁴⁹ Josh 10⁴⁰ 12⁸, only here in *P*.

^b *NDJ* 676.

offered in the notes need not be repeated here. The harmonistic touch of a scribe who adds the words 'in the land of Moab' Deut 32⁴⁰ cannot prove more than a desire to bring the language of different passages into accord: in the secondary passages of P there is an occasional option in the choice of names for 'tribe', just as 1 Chron 5¹⁸ 23 26 speaks of the 'half *shébbeth* of Manasseh,' while 1 Chron 6⁶¹ 70. mentions the 'half *matteh*.' It may be conceded, then, that tendencies to variation display themselves unexpectedly in both directions; the characteristic language of D is sometimes replaced by that of P, and *vice versa*. These contradictory phenomena seem in a sense to cancel each other. At any rate it may be affirmed that neither group is strong enough to bear the strain of supporting a general conclusion concerning the documents of the Hexateuch at large. The main facts of their contents and relations remain wholly unaffected. It is of importance to notice, however, that the observation formerly made concerning the relations to R^d and JE § 4.2 is equally true of the fuller product JER^d and R^p. The Deuteronomistic editors left the records of the Trans-jordanic conquest under Moses practically untouched^b: but they worked freely on the stories of the victories of Joshua. This fact was cited in confirmation of the view that the Joshua narratives had been separated from their context in Numbers by the incorporation of the Book of Deuteronomy, long before the compilation of the Priestly Code. In this condition of detachment from the preceding group they were no longer guarded with the care which protected the Law, and they were the more readily exposed to editorial manipulation. It was easy, therefore, for the scribes who undertook to combine P's version of the Conquest and Settlement with the Deuteronomistic Joshua to adopt a different method of redaction compared with the final composition of the Pentateuch. They not only threw much of P's materials away instead of presenting them almost intact and using them as the chronological basis of the whole, but they - or their successors - scattered traces of their work in occasional phrases throughout the most characteristic Deuteronomistic sections, just as the Deuteronomistic editors had impressed themselves still more forcibly on JE. No such activity can be discerned within the limits of Deuteronomy itself. And this contrast reinforces the belief already expressed (*Introd* i 178) that P's Joshua was not amalgamated with its predecessor JED by the hand which arranged the Pentateuch. What interval separated the two processes it is impossible to conjecture. But the evidence of the Septuagint at least makes it certain that the book continued to receive additions till after the middle of the third century BC.^d

^a Cp Num 32⁸³ 36⁸.

^b Only adding the conquest of Og Num 21³³⁻³⁵.

^c With this conclusion Prof G A Smith (in Hastings' *DB*) is in entire agreement. Further indications are found in the facts that some peculiarities of orthography noted in the Pentateuch do not reappear in Joshua. The feminine pronoun *she* replaces the epicene *he*; *והיא* is written in place of *והוא*; for *והוא* Joshua shows *והיא*. These point to different redactional activity.

^d The publication of Steuernagel's *Das Buch Josua* (in the *Hdkomm*) as these sheets are passing through the press invites a word of comment, for his results vary widely from those already set forth. His conception of the growth of the book is highly interesting, if also somewhat too intricate to be properly estimated within the limits of a brief note. The constituent materials are referred (as above) to J E D and P, but in very different combinations. In regard to J Steuernagel returns to the view of Wellhausen and Meyer that it recognized no Joshua, and that consequently no portion of 1-12 can be allotted to it (save the brief touch in the Gibeonite story 9⁶, where the negotiations are conducted with the 'men of Israel'). J is accordingly represented almost entirely by the fragments parallel with Judges 1. To E, on the other hand, a considerable amount is assigned in 2-7 8³⁰. 14⁶⁻¹⁴ 9¹⁹. 24. This distribution, however, leaves large gaps in the narrative before the sections of the survey due to P. The intervening passages are referred chiefly to D², the continuation of Deut 1-3. This document opens with 1¹. 10-11 and continues through 3 4 6 8 9 10 11 (being united in 3 4 6 with E). Its record of the conquest has been preserved almost entire, but from 13 onwards it can be discovered only in fragments. There are, however, various other traces of Deuteronomistic revision by successive editors and copyists. The stories of E had probably undergone a Deuteronomistic handling before they were combined with D²: and that the process was continued in the scribal schools may be inferred from the phenomena of 20. But the Deuteronomistic book of Joshua did not, in Steuernagel's judgement, contain the passages which he assigns to J or even to E. These were not added

6. Indications have been already cited incidentally which prove that the process of revision did not stop with the incorporation of P into JED. The introduction of the Deuteronomic provisions for the cities of refuge in 20³⁻⁶ is admitted to be later than the text employed by the Alexandrian translators. The same witnesses bear similar testimony in other cases^a. A number of words and clauses are lacking in ©, the absence of which can hardly be ascribed either to accident or design. In some instances as in 2²¹ or 14³ the omissions may be explained by the recurrence of identical words; in others, as in the narratives of the capture first of Jericho 6, and then of Ai 8, they seem intended to remove inconsistencies and harmonize conflicting details. But others, again, are probably due to neither of these causes, but indicate continuous editorial handling which sought to rectify or define or supplement the existing text^b. Thus 13³³ is needless, for it is implied in 14³, while it reproduces 13¹⁴ with its Deuteronomic forms in the midst of P. Its absence from ©, therefore, increases the probability that it is a later addition. Homiletic expansions are perhaps to be traced with the same aid in 2^{10b} and 23^{10b}; while the scribal love of the law is most likely responsible for the reference in 17. Such handling cannot be said to be in favour of any particular school, or to make for any special documentary theory. There is no case of divergences so great as those affecting the long secondary section Ex 35-40. But they are sufficiently numerous and striking to warrant the conclusion of Dillmann^c that the text of Joshua was not definitely fixed until a date perhaps as late as 200 B.C.^d.

until after the combination of P with D, for which D supplied the framework. Into the united book DP a late priestly scribe R^p introduced the extracts from J and E; so that instead of the usual symbol JEDP Steuernagel's hypothesis might be represented as DPR^p (J + E). The reader who will take these clues in hand through the following analysis, will be able to form his own conclusions on this critical scheme. From the point of view of the results exhibited in the text far too much literary product is ascribed to D². In 8-11 for example the bulk of the narrative is thus treated. But the style of Deut 1-3 does not show anything like the independence and vigour which mark the story of the capture of Ai or the defeat of the five kings. D² is little more than a homiletic copyist in Deut 1-3: and when he introduces a new episode, for which he has no previous authority in JE, the overthrow of Og 3¹⁻⁷, he can only advance step by step on the track of the preceding narrative of Sihon. In Josh 8 and 10, however, there are manifold fresh traits wholly unlike the manner of Deut 1-3, as indeed Steuernagel himself seems to perceive when he concedes that here E may have been used as a source by D². Moreover in 8 (at least, if not also in 10) there are clear traces of two narrators. To these Steuernagel is not indifferent, but his second is a late priestly editor. The appearance of R^p on the scene here is altogether unexpected; why should he devise a second ambuscade 8¹², and how is his intervention to be recognized? Steuernagel gives no reasons for his identification. This must be said of other passages also attributed to this school. Thus in 9¹⁴ R^p is dragged in by a correction of the text and represented as recording that the 'princes' neglected to 'inquire of Yahweh,' an antique process of consulting the oracle which P nowhere sanctions (having set it aside for the Urim and Thummim of Ex 28³⁰): while 10⁴⁰⁻⁴³ is similarly allotted to R^p, though the phraseology is preponderantly Deuteronomic (the incorporation of material from Deut 19 in Josh 20 is so clearly the work of a harmonizer that it must be regarded as exceptional, and cannot be taken to justify Steuernagel's hypothesis of a group or succession of priestly scribes habitually adopting the Deuteronomic style).—The divergences of Steuernagel's results thus imply (1) different conceptions of the preceding analysis (as in the ascription of 5¹³⁻¹⁵ with the parallel in Ex 3⁵ to E); (2) a different value for phraseological and stylistic evidence in the determination of sources (as in the assignment of 14⁶⁻¹⁴ in its present form to E, and the derivation of so large a portion of 1-11 from D²); and (3) a different estimate of historical probability in the denial of any narrative of Joshua's leadership to J. The student will derive much stimulus from so fresh a treatment, and if this work succeeds in placing the data before him, he will have the materials for independent judgement.

^a Cp Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der Alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua* Moers 1876 18 c.

^b So perhaps in 1^{2 4 14}, 2^{4 12 16 21}, &c.

^c NDJ 690.

^d In Hastings' *DB* ii 784^a Prof G A Smith expounds a similar view: 'That the Book of Joshua was not regarded in Israel as what we call canonical till long after the Torah or Five Books of Moses had reached that rank, is clear from the difference between it and them in the LXX translation. While it is evident, from the comparatively few discrepancies between the Massoretic text and that of the LXX, that the text of the Torah had long been guarded with care before the LXX translation was made, the many discrepancies in the Book of Joshua, the freedom with which the Greek translator or translators allowed themselves to omit or to modify, prove that when the LXX translation of it was made, Joshua was not regarded as of canonical rank. The admission to the Canon of the Prophetic Books, to which it belongs, is generally held to have been about 200 B.C.'

JOSHUA*

J E

R^dJ E P^e

1¹ Now it came to pass after the death of Moses the ¹servant of Yahweh, that Yahweh spake unto Joshua the ²son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, ² Moses my servant is dead; now therefore ³arise, go over ⁴this Jordan, thou, and ⁵all this people, ⁶unto the land ⁷which I do give to them, ⁸[even] to the children of Israel.

⁹ Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, to you have I given it, as ¹⁰I spake unto Moses. ¹¹ From the ¹²wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, ¹³all the land of the Hittites, and unto the ¹⁴great sea toward the ¹⁵going down of the sun, shall be your border. ¹⁶ There shall not any man be able to ¹⁷stand before thee ¹⁸all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be ¹⁹with thee: I will not ²⁰fail thee, nor forsake thee. ²¹ Be ²²strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt ²³cause this people to inherit the land which I ²⁴swore unto their fathers to give them. ²⁵ Only be strong and very courageous, to ²⁶observe to do according to all ²⁷the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: ²⁸ turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest ²⁹have good success whithersoever thou goest. ³⁰ This ³¹book of the law shall not ³²depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt ³³meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest ³⁴observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt ³⁵make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt ³⁶have good success. ³⁷ Have not I ³⁸commanded thee? Be ³⁹strong and of a good courage; be not ⁴⁰affrighted, neither be thou ⁴¹dismayed: for Yahweh ⁴²thy God is ⁴³with thee whithersoever thou goest.

10 Then Joshua commanded the ¹officers of the people, saying, ² Pass through the midst of the camp, and command the people, saying, ³ Prepare you ⁴victuals; for within ⁵three days ye are to pass over ⁶this Jordan,

⁷ to ⁸go in to possess the land, ⁹which Yahweh your God giveth you to ¹⁰possess it.

a Gen 31¹³ 25¹
Deut 21³ 24¹
b 11 Gen 32¹⁰
Deut 32⁷ 31²
c Ex 18²³
d Cp 26⁹
e Deut 11²⁴ 25¹
f 9¹ 15⁴⁷ 23⁴
g 23¹ Deut 11³⁰⁴
h Deut 7²⁴
i Deut 31⁸
j Deut 31⁷

k Deut 17¹¹ 20
l Cp Ex 13²² 1s
59²¹
m 1s 1²
n Deut 28²⁹ cp
1s 1¹
o Cp Deut 31²³
p Deut 1²¹
q 3² Num 11¹⁶
cp 28³
r 3²
s 4¹ Gen 43¹⁶

a 109

b 13^oc 106^ad 107^ae 84^af 82^ag 114^bh 70^bi 44^dj 1^a

k 172

l 119^d

m 53

n 69^c

o 88

11^a After the death of Moses Joshua is summoned to assume the leadership for which he has been already designated Deut 31¹⁴, 23. The opening verses 1, show the hand of E in the description of Joshua; but it is soon apparent that the narrative of E has been expanded by a member of the great Deuteronomistic school. This expansion may have begun already in 1, as the parallels imply. Steuernagel attributes 1, 10-18 to D² and 8-9 to later editing by R^d. The parallels in 8-9 and 12-18 at once reveal the hand of the homilists of D, 10 11^a alone showing the simpler style of E.

1b This title is found elsewhere in passages attributed to E Ex 14³¹ Num 12⁷. Deut 34⁵ cp Josh 24²⁶. It appears with great frequency in D² in Josh e.g. 1⁷ 13 15 33¹ 33 54 11¹² 16 12^{6ab} 13⁹ (14⁷) 18⁷ 22² 4¹. It is possible, therefore, that its occurrence here may be due to the Deuteronomistic redaction.

1c Cp Ex 33¹¹ Num 11²⁸ Deut 31²³. In Josh this designation is found in sections presumably derived from E 21 23 6⁹ 24²⁹; it is also employed by P 14¹ 19²¹, but never by J.

2a The form of this clause contrasted with Deut 31²³ 'which I swear unto them,' may be due to R^d as D habitually dwells on the 'gift' of the land 26^{9cdef}.

2b The juxtaposition of the words 'to them, to the children of Israel,' and the absence of the latter from G, may imply that they are an explanatory gloss.

3 Dillm suggests that this clause is an addition; the original passage in Deut 11²⁴ is spoken by Moses, not Yahweh. But the words of Moses are understood to be of divine source and authority cp Deut 11^{25b}.

4 Not in the original passage, and lacking here in G. The term 'Hittites' seems to include the Canaanites; so only in Ezek 16³ 46 (Dillm).

7a In 7, the discourse may have been yet further expanded; in particular seems to develop the allusion to 'the law' in 7, which is itself probably additional. Similar clauses introduced by 'only' will be found in 17^b 18^b, where they may be additional.

7b Moses is nowhere said to have laid any law on Joshua for his observance; the words are not rendered by G (for the remaining formula cp Deut 24⁵); moreover the following pronoun 'from it' should be feminine, but agrees instead with 'all that Moses commanded thee.' The reference to 'the law' is therefore probably a later touch.

7c 8 M. Or, deal wisely.—G = 'prosper' Deut 29⁹.

* The widely different analysis just published by Steuernagel will sufficiently exemplify to the student the difficulty of the process and the various results which it may suggest. In the treatment of the text Steuernagel feels much greater confidence in the relative originality of G, and ascribes therefore a very much more continuous activity to late priestly editors, whose work, however, cannot be otherwise identified by independent characteristics. The preparation of an amended text did not enter into the plan of this work (cp Bennett's *Joshua* in Haupt's *SBOT*). The editors, therefore, while citing some of the divergences of G for critical purposes, have not thought it necessary to tabulate all its variations. A few of its omissions have been noticed, where they seemed to indicate the probability of subsequent editorial work on the G text. Such comparisons suffice to demonstrate the general thesis of prolonged scribal treatment; but until G has itself been more carefully reconstructed, it cannot be employed as a final authority for the correction of G; and many delicate critical problems, therefore, can only be imperfectly approached.

J E	R ^d	J E P ^s
t Dent 31 ² . 18-20	12 And to the 'Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half 'tribe of 'Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying, 13 'Remember the word which Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you, saying, Yahweh your God giveth you 'rest, and will 'give you this land. 14 Your 'wives, your little ones, and your 'cattle, shall 'abide in the land which Moses gave you 'beyond Jordan; but 'ye shall pass over before your brethren 'armed, all the 'mighty men of valour, and shall help them; 15 until Yahweh have given your brethren 'rest, as [he hath given] you, and they also have possessed the land 'which Yahweh your God giveth them: then ye shall 'return 'unto the land of your 'possession, and possess it, which Moses the servant of Yahweh gave you beyond Jordan 'toward the sun- rising. 16 And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou hast commanded us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. 17 According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: 'only Yahweh thy God be 'with thee, as he was with Moses. 18 Whosoever he be that shall 'rebel against thy commandment, and shall not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: 'only be 'strong and of a good courage.	p 112 q 97 ^b r 118 s 88 ^d t 94 a 212 b 171 c 43 d 6
a 11 b Num 25 ¹ c Cp 4a 23 ct 3 4b d 5† e 5 = see Gen f 29 Num 13 ^{18a} f Dent 12 ²	21 'And Joshua the 'son of Nun sent out of ^b Shittim 'two men as 'spies 'secretly, saying, Go 'view the land, and Jericho. And they went, and came into the house of an harlot whose name was Rahab, and lay there. .. 22 'And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in 'hither to-night of the children of Israel to 'search out the land. 3a And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, saying, Bring forth the men that are 'come to thee, ... 3b which are 'come into thine house: . . . 3c for they be come to 'search out all the land. 4a 'And the woman took the 'two men, and 'hid them; . . . 4b And she said, 'Yea, the men came unto me, 'but I wist not whence they were: 5a and 'I came to pass about the time of the shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went I wot not. ... 5b 'Pursue after them 'quickly: for ye shall overtake them. 6 But she had brought them up to the roof, and 'hid them with the stalks of 'flax, which she had laid in order upon the roof. 7 And the men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the gate. 8 And d) before they were 'laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof; 9a and she said unto the men, I know that Yahweh hath 'given you the land, and that your 'terror is fallen upon us. 9b 'And that all the inhabitants of the land 'melt away before you. 10 'For we	
g 4b Gen 19 ⁵ h 5 Ex 22 ^a i Ex 10 ²⁹ 5 j Cp Gen 15 ¹² 5 k Ct 4a 5 Cp Ex 21 ² l Ct Ex 9 ³¹ 5 m Gen 19 ⁴ n Cp 14 24 o Gen 15 ¹² Ex 15 ¹⁸ 23 ²⁷ Dent 32 ^{20a} p 24 Ex 15 ¹⁸		

11² 5 (unnusually) 'the Manasseh,' with the article; so Dent 31²
20⁸ Josh 4¹² 12⁶ 13⁷ 18⁷ 22⁷ 9 10 21⁴.

13 Kantzsch and Addis with 5 'hath given you.' Bennett points 10 as a participle. In the following passage the words 'armed,' 'mighty men of valour,' 'help' differ from the language of Dent 31²-20.

14 Obviously unsuitable to the implied situation where Joshua and the tribes whom he addresses are still on the East side of the Jordan. The words do not occur in 5, and seem like a copyist's reminiscence of the same words in Dent 32²⁰ where they describe the settlement of the rest of Israel in Canaan.

15 Another variation on the language of Dent 32²⁰, which is followed by 5 'each man to his possession.' The subsequent 'and possess it' breaks the grammatical sequence and does not appear in 5.

21 The story of the visit of the spies to Jericho shows clear traces of composite origin, though the resolution of some parts can only be tentative. Duplicate phrases as in 8 12, 18 suggest that different sources have been combined, and the course of the story makes this practically certain. For the conversation between Rahab and her visitors upon the roof 8, 12 14 is suddenly interrupted by the descent of the men through the window 16, to be resumed 18-21 when they have made their escape from the house. But it is inconceivable that they should have shouted from the foot of the city wall (where the residents in similarly situated houses could have overheard them) a promise 18-20 which involved absolute secrecy cp 14. The incident in 16 cannot therefore belong to the narrative in 8, 12 14 18-21. But 16 finds

its obvious sequel in 22, from which it appears that the men were two in number 14, and had been dispatched by 'Joshua the son of Nun.' That designation at once connects the narrative with E, while the parallels in 8 12 14 18-21 are equally decisive for J. Some uncertainty, however, must attach to the details. Steuerneger ascribes the whole story to E (minus the Deuteronic additions) but treats 17-21 as a later extension of the story by E².

2 This verse is the introduction to 3a where the phraseology suggests a parallel with Gen 19⁵ J. The answer to the king's message is found in 4b 5a.

3b 5 as in 3a. T entered. The repetition seems due to the incorporation of a doublet, one member of which 5 E omit.

4a The specification of 'the two men' is in harmony with 1; 'hid' used only by E Ex 22, ct 8 5.

5 This clause is absent from 5.

6b The proposal of pursuit and speedy capture seems to imply that the pursuers would know what direction to follow, and is hardly compatible with Rahab's declaration of ignorance. The allusions to the pursuers in 16 22 have been already shown to belong to E, and 6b 7 are therefore assigned to the same source. In 7 the city gate is only closed when the pursuers have left, ct 5a where it had been already shut.

9b As in 24. The absence of the clause from 5, and the peculiar word 'melt away' make it probable that it is a later addition. The expansion may even begin with the preceding words, if the 'falling of the terror' be regarded as founded on Ex 15¹⁸ ct Ex 23²⁷.

10a A Deuteronic amplification cp 51 9^{3b} 10.

J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^a
q Cp 5 ¹ 9 ^{10b} 10		have ⁹ heard ⁹ how Yahweh ⁹ dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, ⁹ when ye ⁹ came out of Egypt; and ⁹ what ye did unto the ⁹ two kings of the Amorites, that were ⁹ beyond Jordan, unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye ⁹ devoted. ¹¹ And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did ⁹ melt, neither did there remain any more ⁹ spirit in any man, because of you: for Yahweh ⁹ your God, he is ⁹ God in heaven above, and on earth beneath.	e	28 ^a	
r Deut 9 ⁷ 9 ⁸			f	3 ^c	
s 4 ²³ 5 ^{1*}			g	2 ⁱ	
t Deut 23 ⁴			h	35 ⁱ	
u Cp Deut 7 ¹⁸			i		
v 5 ¹ 7 ⁵ Deut 12 ²⁸					
w 5 ¹					
x Deut 4 ³⁹					
y Cp Gen 24 ³					
z 18 ^e Gen 24 ⁷					
		¹² Now therefore, I pray thee, ⁹ swear unto me by Yahweh, since I have ⁹ dealt kindly with you, that ye also will deal kindly with my ⁹ father's house, ⁹ and give me a true token,	j	57 ^b	
a ⁹ Gen 56 ²⁰ al		... ^{13a} ⁹ and that ye will ⁹ save alive my ⁹ b ⁹ father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have. ...			
b ⁹ 18 ^b 6 ²³		^{13b} and will deliver our lives from death. ¹⁴ And the men said unto her, Our life ⁹ for yours, if ye utter not ⁹ this our business; and it shall be, when Yahweh ⁹ giveth us the land, that we will ⁹ deal kindly and truly with thee.	k	57 ^a	
c ⁹ 20 Gen 24 ⁸ Ex 10 ¹ 9 ⁵		¹⁵ Then she let them down by a cord through the window: ⁹ for her house was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall. ¹⁶ And she said unto them, ⁹ Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers ⁹ light upon you; and ⁹ hide yourselves there ⁹ three days, until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye ⁹ go your way.			
d ⁹ Ct Gen 19 ¹⁷		¹⁷ ⁹ And the men said unto her, We will be ⁹ guiltless of this thine oath which thou hast made us to swear.	l	170	
e ⁹ Gen 28 ¹¹ 32 ¹		^{18a} Behold, when we come into the land, thou shalt ⁹ bind this line of ⁹ scarlet thread in the window ⁹ which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt gather unto thee into the house	m	119 ⁱ	
f ⁹ = meet		... ^{18b} ⁹ thy ⁹ b ⁹ father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and			
g ⁹ Gen 32 ¹ cp 19 ²		^{18c} all thy ⁹ father's ⁹ house. ¹⁹ And it shall be, that whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house ⁹ into the street, his blood shall be upon his head, and we will be ⁹ guiltless: and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood shall be on our head, if any hand be upon him.	n	1	
h ⁹ Gen 24 ⁶ 41		²⁰ But if thou utter ⁹ this our business, then we will be ⁹ guiltless of thine oath which thou hast ⁹ made us to swear. ²¹ And she said, ⁹ According unto your words, so be it. And she sent them away, ⁹ and they ⁹ went: and she bound the scarlet line in the window.			
i ⁹ Gen 24 ⁹		²² And they ⁹ went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there ⁹ three days, until the pursuers were returned: and the pursuers sought them throughout all the way, but found them not. ²³ Then the ⁹ two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the ⁹ son of Nun; and they told him all that had ⁹ befallen them. ^{24a} ⁹ And they said unto Joshua, Truly Yahweh hath ⁹ delivered into our hands all the land.	o	2	
j ⁹ = come upon Ex 18 ⁸		^{24b} And moreover ⁹ all the inhabitants of the land do melt away before us.			
k ⁹ = given 24 ⁸ 11 cp 15 ²		^{31a} ⁹ And ⁹ Joshua ⁹ rose up early in the morning,			
l ⁹ Cp 9 9 ²⁴					
m 61 ² 15 71 ⁶ 81 ⁰					

^{210b} So 9 cp ²⁵. T utterly destroyed.

¹² This clause is wanting in 9; it may be a doublet of ¹² derived from E.

^{13a} One story seems to have contained a promise of the safety of the 'father's house,' while the other specified the inmates of 9 doublets in ¹³. By the parallels in ^{24b} and ²⁵ the 'father's house' (cp Gen 24⁷) is assigned to J, and the list of relatives to E. As the two narratives run side by side, ^{13a} must have been followed by a promise (comprising the words in ^{18b}) resembling that in ¹⁴ 18ac ¹⁹.

¹⁴ M 9 instead of you to die.

¹⁵ The clauses describing the situation of Rahab's house seem explanatory insertions. (9) lacks both, as well as 'by a cord.'

¹⁷ Apparently an editorial attempt to connect the broken sequence in J ¹⁴ 18. The words are derived from ²⁰.

^{18a} An editorial reference to ¹⁵.

^{18b} This clause may be simply reproduced editorially from ^{13a}, or it may be a misplaced fragment of E's record of the promise.

^{18c} So 9 as in ¹². T household. The phrase is not supplemental but parallel to 'father, mother, and brethren.'

^{21a} (9 closes the verse at the dismissal of the men. The double 'and they went' ²¹ can hardly be due to the same hand.

^{21b} 9 as in ²²; T departed.

²² The sequel of the instructions in ¹⁶ 'get you (9 = go) to the mountain.' The words 'until the pursuers were returned' seem awkwardly placed before the statement of their search; they are not found in 9, and may be editorial.

²⁴ The whole verse may possibly be an editorial supplement, cp ⁹, though the first clause seems satisfactorily continuous with ²³. For additions introduced by 9²¹ 'and moreover' cp ⁷¹ Gen 40¹⁵ Ex 3^{9b}.

^{31a} The narrative of the passage of the Jordan in 3-4 is extraordinarily complicated, and presents the utmost difficulties to the analyst. That it is composite is sufficiently proved by the diversity of the statements concerning the twelve sacred stones which commemorated the event. According to ^{43b} 8b they were taken out of the midst of the river, and carried across to the western bank where the people camped for the night. In ⁴²⁰ they are set up in the Gilgal. But in ⁴⁹ twelve stones are set up in the middle of the river. The Greek translators, conscious of the duplication, regarded these as an independent memorial, inserting the words 'also twelve other'; so also 9 'alios quoque duodecim lapides' (9 paraphrases, and the Arabic version omits the verse). This device can hardly be accepted; especially as

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^s
b Cp 3 14 c 21 d 43 8 611 89 Gen 32 13 21 cp 178 e 5 = at the end of 9 ¹⁶ f 11 g 10 h 5 = passed 11			1 ^b And they ^b removed from 'Shittim, ... 1 ^c and they came to Jordan, ^{he} and all the children of Israel; and they ^d lodged there ^a before they passed over. 2 ^N And it came to pass ^a after ^f three days, that the ^g officers ^h went through the midst of the camp; ³ and they ^j commanded the people, saying, When ye see the ^k ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall ^b remove from your place, and go after it.			a 6
i Num 35 ⁵ j Ex 262 8 k 5 cp Deut 20 18 273 l Cp 7 Deut 29 ³ m Ex 4 10 21 29 Deut 19 ⁴ n Num 11 13 Ex 19 22 o Ex 8 10 23 29 p 5 18 al q Ex 320 34 10 ^N r 1 s 5 = bear 3 14		4 ^b ^N That ye may ^k know the way by which ye must go; for ye have not passed this way ^m heretofore. 5 And Joshua said unto the people, ^N Sanctify yourselves: for ^{to} -morrow Yahweh will do ² wonders ^b among you. 6 ^N And Joshua ^g spake unto the priests, saying, 'Take up the ark of the cove- nant, and pass over before the people. And they ^r took up the ark of the covenant, and went before the people. 7 And Yahweh said unto Joshua, 'This day will I begin to ^a magnify thee in the sight of ^a all Israel, ^{that} they may know that, ^{as} I was with Moses, so I will be with thee ^N .		... 4 ^a ^N Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about ^{two} thousand cubits by ^j measure: come not near unto it.		b 58
s Deut 22 ⁵ t 4 14 u Deut 4 10 5 v 15 w Ex 27 20 z 15 4 19 ct Ex 23		9 ^N And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, 'Come hither, and hear the ^{words} of Yahweh your God. 10 ^a And		c 2 ^a ... 8 ^N And ^w thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When ye are come to the ² brink of the waters of Jordan, ye shall stand ^N still in Jordan. ...		
y Gen 45 ⁴ z Num 11 24						

other signs of combination of sources are obvious. Two explanations are given concerning the stones 4^b and 21^{..}. In 3^{17b} 4^{1a} the entire nation has passed over; but the process is repeated in 4^{10b}. Literary marks of variety are no less apparent. The affinities of 3⁷ 4¹⁴ 21-24 with D are as clear as those of 4¹³ 19 with P. It thus becomes probable that the phenomena observable elsewhere are repeated here: the existing text contains elements from all four hands, J E R^d and P. But in the process of fusion others also have had a share, as the variations of 5 further indicate. In the following notes an attempt is made to justify the distribution verse by verse. The passages assigned to P show that this source was not employed as the foundation of the narrative, but was worked in afterwards at Ex 14, and cp ante 315 Intro § 5 1.

31^a The marginal parallels justify the ascription of the first and last clauses to J, but the reference to Shittim points to E in 21. J's story is continued (cp margins) in 5 9.

10 This phrase occurs elsewhere only in Num 27²¹ P; 5 does not contain it. Does it perhaps belong to the beginning of P's story, the rest of which has been set aside, or is it a late scribal explanation?

2 The three days' interval, the officers passing through the midst of the camp and commanding the people, connect this passage with 10¹⁰ E; and the occurrence of the word 'remove' 3 is a further link with 10.

3 The designation of the ark varies in different passages. Oldest and simplest is 'the ark of Yahweh' 13 4^{11b}, or 'the ark' alone 14 17 (implied in the use of the article אֲרוֹן) cp Num 10^{33N}. Later than this, and probably traceable to Deuteronomistic influences, is the title 'ark of the covenant' 6 and 11 (where דְּבָרִים shows that the title which follows is a later addition), or 'ark

of the covenant of Yahweh your God' 3 cp 19 and 1^a. Lastly P's title 'ark of the testimony' occurs in 4¹⁶.—The priests the Levites' as in 290. E, however, appears to have recognized the Levitical priesthood cp Deut 10^{8N}, and probably assigned to it the function of carrying the ark in connexion with the institution of the Tent of Meeting Ex 33^{7..}. 5 expands, 'and our priests and the Levites bearing it.'

4^a The number 2,000 cubits, and the technical 'by measure,' both point to P: so does the prohibition of approach to the ark by unconsecrated persons cp Num 1⁵¹ &c.

4^b An addition to 8 showing the handiwork of R^d: similar expansions may be traced in 7 and 10^b.

6 The instructions to the priests to carry the ark in front of the people seem to be the sequel of 3. As the procession sets out (followed by the people) the subsequent summons to the Israelites in 9 10^a 11 must be ascribed to J. E's narrative is continued in 14.

7 Bennett in Haupt's SBOT proposes to insert 4¹¹⁻³ at this point in E.

8^a As the priests have received their instructions to cross over before the people and have already started 8, the fresh command to stand in the river (while the people cross) must be drawn from another source. The initial formula אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית finds its only parallel in Ex 27²⁰; the term 'ark of the covenant' may be a harmonist's substitute for 'testimony' which has survived in 4¹⁶ (where the priests come out last after the tribes have marched over). The verse is therefore ascribed to P cp 15 and 4¹².

8^b 5 simply 'ye shall stand': 'in' at 4⁵ 'in the midst of.'

9 The announcement of the approaching crossing of the ark 9 10^a 11 is another doublet of 8, and is shown by the margins to belong to J.

	J	R ^d	E	P ^a	
a' Ex 7 ¹⁷ Num 16 ²⁸	Joshua said, a' Hereby ye shall know that the living God is ^b among you:				
	^{10b} and that he will without fail				
d' Dent 7 ¹	^d drive out from before you the ^b Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Jebusite.				d 39 ^b
e' 13 Mic 4 ¹³ Zech 4 ¹⁴ 65 ⁴	¹¹ Behold, the ark of the covenant ^{of} the ^c Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan.				
d' 4 ⁴	^{12^a} Now therefore take you ^d twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man. . . .				
e' 4 ¹⁸ cp 13 ③ om f' Ct 15 g' 16 4 ⁷	¹³ And it shall come to pass, when the ^e soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of Yahweh, the ^c Lord of all the earth, shall ^f rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be ^e cut off, [even] the waters that come down ^g from above; and they shall stand in one heap.				e P169 ^a
	¹⁴ And it came to pass, when the people ^b removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests that ^b bare the ark of the covenant being before the people ^a ,				
	¹⁵ And when they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the ^abrink of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all its ^bbanks all the time of harvest,) ¹⁶ the waters which came down ^cfrom above stood, and ^drose up in one ^eheap, a ^fgreat way ^{off}, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those that went down toward the ^ksea of the ^aArabah, [even] the Salt Sea^h, were ^bwholly cut off: and the people ^cpassed over right against Jericho.				
h' 4 ¹⁸	... ^{17a} And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of Yahweh stood firm on ^d dry ground in the midst of Jordan.				
i' Cp 13 Ex 15 ⁸ j' Gen 2 ¹⁶	^{17b} And ^e all Israel passed over on dry ground, until ^m all the nation were passed ⁿ clean over Jordan.				
k' 12 ⁸ Deut 3 ¹⁷	^{4^{1a}} And it came to pass, when all the nation were clean passed over Jordan, . . .				
l' Gen 7 ²² Ex 14 ^{21b} ct 4 ²²					
m' 4 ¹ 5 ⁸ 8 [*]					
n' 4 ¹ 5 ⁸ ⑤ Deut 2 ¹⁶ cp 14 Josh 4 ¹⁰ 5 ⁸					

³¹¹ That this phrase is not connected with 'the covenant' is shown by the article ^ההוא. Its use in later prophecy suggests that it is here an editorial addition or possibly an incorporation from P. Steuern, however, supposes the original to be 'the ark of Yahweh Lord of the whole earth' as in ¹³ D².

¹² In its present position this verse leads to nothing, so that it can hardly be in its right place. Most critics give it to E cp 4^{1b} 24^a. But if P had a story of the stones cp 4^{7b} 20, this might have belonged to it. The formula 'for every tribe a man' employs ^א as in Num 13⁸; whereas 4² has ^{בן}. On the other hand ^{שבט} (for 'tribe') only occurs in P^a eg 22⁸ Num (32³⁸) 35⁸.

¹³ The main part of this verse seems due to J (cp 'ark of Yahweh' 4¹¹). But it has apparently taken up into itself a phrase or two from the corresponding declaration in P. There can be little doubt that J represented the waters of the Jordan as 'cut off' cp 4^{7a}. But the description that follows is open to challenge. ⑤ reads simply 'and the waters which come down shall stand'. The peculiar term 'from above' occurs elsewhere only in P cp ^{169a}, and seems introduced from ¹⁶: 'heap' also may have been incorporated from ¹⁶ as a reminiscence of Ex 15⁸.

¹⁴ The sequel of this introduction seems to be found in 4^{1b}.

¹⁵ This passage is closely connected with ⁵. The description of the division of the river is much more elaborate than J's, and the reference in ¹⁶ to the two bodies of water—the mass of the stream flowing down from the North suddenly arrested—the rest draining away South into the Dead Sea,—shows how carefully the whole situation has been thought out. The distance

at which the waters are stopped, provides for the interval specified in ⁴; the fullness of the stream heightens the wonder, and reminds the reader that it is springtime when the river is swollen; and the allusion to the harvest prepares for the pass-over-celebration in ⁵¹⁰. These circumstances together with the phraseological indications seem to justify the ascription to P. The difficulty that the ark is carried on this occasion by priests instead of Levites Num 3⁵¹ 4¹⁶, may be met by the considerations (1) that this was a fixed element in the story (cp the Levitical treatment of 1 Kings 8¹⁻⁵, *Introd* i 82), and (2) that the occasion demanded a higher form of sacerdotal service.

^{10a} RV inserts that to connect this verse with ¹⁴.

^{10b} The phrase 'rose up in one heap,' introduced without any connecting particle, may be a touch from an editorial hand.

^{10c} M Another reading is, *off from*.—⑤'s variants show that the text is uncertain.

^{10d} M See Deut 1¹.

^{10e} The word ^{חור} may have crept in later, cp its use in 17^b 4^{1a}.

^{10f} ⑤ *stood* (^{עמד} for ^{עמד}). This reference to the march shows that 4^{10b} belongs to another document.

^{17a} ⑤ proves that the words 'of the covenant of Yahweh' have been added. The passage seems to carry on the story of ¹³ cp 'midst of Jordan' 4²⁰ 8^b, not used in the fragments assigned to P. The word 'firm' stands at the end of the sentence in ⑤, and is wanting in ⑥. It may be an addition.

^{17b} In 17^b 4^{1a} the marks of R^d are again significant. The expression 'all the nation' seems a variant of another D formula 'all Israel.'

	J	R ^d	E	P ^a	
a 3 ¹²		1 ^b ⁿ that Yahweh spake unto Joshua, saying, 2 Take you ^a twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe			
b 1 ¹¹		a man, 3 ^a and ^b command ye them, saying...			
c Cp 8 ^b		... 3 ^b Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and ^c carry them over with you, and ^c lay them down in the ^a lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night:			a 53
d 1 ¹¹ Ex 23 ²⁰		4 Then Joshua called the ^a twelve men, whom he had ^d prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man: 5 and Joshua said unto them, Pass over before ⁿ the ark of Yahweh your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the ^e tribes of the children of Israel.			
e Ex 24 ⁴		6 that this may be a sign ^f among you, that when your children ^a ask in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? 7 ^a then ye shall say unto them, Because the waters of Jordan were ^h cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off.			
f 3 ^{10a}					
g Ex 13 ¹⁴ cp 12 ²⁸					
h 3 ¹³					
				... 7 ^b ⁿ And these stones shall ^b be for a ^c memorial unto the children of Israel for ever. 8 ^a And the children of Israel ^c did so as Joshua commanded.	b 27 c 113 d 189 ^b
		8 ^b And they took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, ⁿ as Yahweh spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel; and they ^c carried them over with them unto the place where they ^a lodged, and laid them down there.			
i Ct 20		9 ⁿ And Joshua ^c set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which			

4^{1b} Cp 3¹⁴. The narrative of the memorial stones is extraordinarily confused. The conflict between ^a and ^h has been already noted cp 3¹⁸. In 1^b ^a there seems to be a preparation for 4. cp 3¹². The narrative form of 1^b resembles that of 3^b; and 'command... saying' 3^a is parallel to 3^b 1¹¹ E. But the plural in the words of Yahweh to Joshua is perplexing? Whom does Yahweh address? (G) reads 'thou.'

3^b The instructions in ^a do not agree with those in ^h; they find their fulfilment in 8^b. The contrast with ^a points to J, and this is confirmed by the occurrence of J's word 'lodge.' Wellhausen conjectured that in its original form this was addressed to the people generally, so that the number of stones was not limited to twelve. The object of the story apparently is to account for the ancient stone-circle known as 'the Gilgal,' which doubtless contained more than twelve stones. The reference to the 'place where the priests' feet stood firm' seems borrowed from ^a, and is unrepresented in (G). (G) 'standing-place of the priests' feet' is a different word from 'stood' 3¹³ 17^a, and occurs only here in Hex. 3^b is continued in ^h which finds a strong J parallel in Ex 13¹⁴. 'Take up' 3^b 8^b (שא) is different from דרים in ^a.

5 (G) 'before me before Yahweh'; but 'before me' can hardly be original.

7^b The stylistic affinities of 7^b 8^a plead strongly for P. If this be admitted, it is clear that P also had an account of the stones. There do not seem to be any traces of it in 1^b-7^a; but cp 3¹² 4²⁰.

8^b Another doubtful passage apparently founded on 8^b: (G) 'as Yahweh commanded Joshua when the children of Israel were clean passed over.' The rest of the verse carries out 8^b, and the record of the transit of the people and the priests is completed in 10^b (where 'hasted' makes decidedly for J) and 11^b.

9 The incongruity of this passage with the adjacent narrative has been already noted 3¹⁸. It expressly states that the stones were set up in the middle of the river and remained there, whereas ^a and ^h both ordain that they shall be taken up out of the river-bed, ^a adding that they shall be deposited on the other side, and ^h implying a similar purpose in the instruction to the twelve men to lift the stones on to their shoulders, obviously to carry them away. The phraseological indications are in favour of D. Steuern, having already assigned 3^b 8^a to D², is obliged to attribute 9 to R^d with the addition of ('other'), a result which does not seem critically satisfactory.

	J	R ¹	E	P ²	
j Cp Deut 10 ⁵ 1 Kings 8 ^{8†}		bare the ark of the covenant stood : and ^{10a} they are there, ^{10a} unto this day. For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until everything was ^{10b} finished that Yahweh commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, ^{10b} according to all that Moses com- manded Joshua.			e 33 ^b
k 3 ^{17b}		^{10b} And the people ^{10b} 'hasted and passed over. ¹¹ ¹¹ And it came to pass, when all the people were ¹¹ 'clean passed over, that the ark of Yahweh passed over, and the priests, ¹¹ in the presence of the people.			f 43
m 23 ¹⁵ 24 22 ⁹ Num 32 ¹ of 12 ¹² 22 ²¹ 21 ¹²		¹² ¹² And the ¹² children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half tribe of ¹² Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them.			
o Num 32 ²⁰ 27				¹³ ¹³ About forty thousand ready ¹³ armed for war passed over before Yahweh unto battle, to the ¹³ plains of Jericho. . .	g 2 ^a
p 3 ⁷		¹⁴ On that day Yahweh ¹⁴ magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel ¹⁴ , and they feared him, as they feared Moses, ¹⁴ all the days of his life.		¹⁵ ¹⁵ And Yahweh spake unto Joshua, saying, ¹⁶ Command the priests that bear the ark of the ¹⁶ 'testimony, that they come up out of Jordan. ¹⁷ Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up out of Jordan. . .	h 13 ^c i 16 ⁱ
q 3 ¹³		¹⁸ And it came to pass, when the ¹⁸ priests that bare the ark of the cove- nant of Yahweh were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the ¹⁸ soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the ¹⁸ 'dry ground, that the ¹⁸ waters of Jordan ¹⁸ returned unto their place, and went ¹⁸ over all its banks, ¹⁸ as aforetime.		¹⁹ And the ¹⁹ people came up out of Jordan on the ¹⁹ 'tenth day of the first month, and	j 18 ³
r 3 ¹⁷ s Ex 14 ^{2†b} t 5 Gen 31 ² 5 Ex 5 ⁷ 14 ^a					

⁴¹⁰ Not in (5); after the preceding clause the words seem superfluous. They may be due to an annotator anxious to vindicate the foresight of Moses in making all necessary arrangements beforehand; or they may have a more general significance for the picture of Joshua's fidelity to Mosaic ordinance cp 11¹⁵.

^{11a} This clause seems the natural connexion between ^{10b} and ^{11b}. At first sight the general mode of expression resembles that of ^{1a}; but there are slight variations, 'all the people' for the rare and grandiose 'all the nation', and the sing ^{11b} רַחֵם. With ^{1a} cp 5⁸ Deut 21⁶. The formula 'it came to pass when' ^{11b} is much more frequent in JE. ¹¹ is therefore regarded as homogeneous J.

^{11b} ^{11b} is here ambiguous, לָמָּח having also the meaning 'before' ³⁶, according to which the ark crossed before the people, leading the way for them. The rendering of EV implies that the ark remained in the river-bed till the people had reached the other side, a conception which also seems to underlie P's narrative.

¹² R¹ is perhaps traceable in ¹², as well as in ¹⁴ 21-24 ⁵¹. At the outset of ¹² the formula resembles that of P² (instead of D's 'Reubenites' &c), and the whole passage (even 'the Manasseh' cp 22⁹) would be quite explicable as the introduction to ¹³ in which P is universally recognized, the only other verbal link with D being the word 'armed' חֲסִים ¹⁴ חֲסִים ¹³ Num 32²⁷. But a very probable correction of the text finds חֲסִים also in Num 32¹⁷, so that it cannot be claimed exclusively for D.

On the other hand there seems a contrast between 'passing over before the children of Israel' cp Deut 31⁸ and 'passing over before Yahweh' cp Num 32²¹.

¹⁵ This passage seems to be introduced from P (cp the margins), but it was noted by Kuen (Hex 104) that the figure is inconsistent with the fighting-strength assigned to the two and a half tribes in Num 26. It might be supposed that some remained behind to protect the women and children, but Num 32²¹ expressly required 'every armed man' of the tribes settling in the East to cross the Jordan. The incongruity is probably due to the secondary character of the later sections of P. Steuern, an addition to D².

¹⁶ Knobel and Schrader early assigned these verses to P, though recent critics (save Dillm) have not followed them. But the 'ark of the testimony' ¹⁶—when there is no suspicion of redaction—affords strong evidence, which other indications confirm. For 'spake' (5 said) saying' cp ¹⁸5^d: 'command' (וָדַר) at the beginning of an instruction or law cp 13 Lev 6⁹ 24² Num 5² 28² 34² 35^{2*}; the tense 'that they come' cp Lev 24² Num 5² 35². Further, the repetition in ¹⁷ 'and Joshua commanded' is much in P's style.

¹⁸ An addition to J's close derived from ³¹¹⁵. The expression 'as aforetime' elsewhere always brings the sentence to an end; in 5 the words 'over all its banks' follow after.

¹⁹ On the use of this term in P² cp *Introd* § 5 2, ante 316.

J
u 5¹⁰
v $\S$ = *brink* 3⁸ 15
cp 15¹

R^d

E

P^a

"encamped in Gilgal, on the east "border
of Jericho.

w 24²⁰

... ²⁰ And those twelve stones, which
they took out of Jordan, did Joshua
set up in Gilgal.

x Deut 11²⁷ $\S$
y Deut 6²⁰
z Deut 8³
a' Ct 31⁷ $\S$ cp
Ex 14¹⁶
b' 210 31⁸
c' 1 Kings 8⁶⁰
d' Deut 28¹⁰

²¹ And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, "When your children shall
ask your fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? ¹² then
ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on a dry
land. ²³ For Yahweh your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before
you, until ye were passed over, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea,
which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: ²⁴ that all the
peoples of the earth may know the hand of Yahweh, that it is mighty; that
they may fear Yahweh your God for ever.

a 10⁵ 24¹²
b 12⁷ 22⁷ $\S$ om
c Cp 21³ Deut
17 11³⁰
d 210
e 210

⁵¹ And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, which were
beyond Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites, which were
by the sea, heard how that Yahweh had dried up the waters of Jordan from
before the children of Israel, until we were passed over, that their heart
melted, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children
of Israel.

f Cp 2110
g Ex 20²⁵ $\S$
h Ex 4²⁵
i Gen 22¹⁵

² At that time Yahweh said unto Joshua, Make thee knives of flint,
and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time. ³ And Joshua
made him knives of flint, and circumcised the children of Israel at the
hill of the foreskins.

j Deut 15² $\S$
k 6⁸ 10²⁴ Deut
214 16
l Deut 23⁵ 24⁹
25¹⁷ $\S$
m Ex 12²⁸
n Deut 27
o 8 31^{7b} $\S$
p Cp 214-126
q Deut 134

⁴ And this is the cause why Joshua did circumcise: all the people that came
forth out of Egypt, that were males, [even] all the men of war, died in the wilder-
ness by the way, after they came forth out of Egypt. ⁵ For all the people that
came out were circumcised: but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as
they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised. ⁶ For the children of Israel
walked forty years in the wilderness, till all the nation, even the men of
war which came forth out of Egypt, were consumed, because they hearkened
not unto the voice of Yahweh: unto whom Yahweh swore that he would not
let them see the land which Yahweh swore unto their fathers that he would
give us, a land flowing with milk and honey. ⁷ And their children, whom
he raised up in their stead, them did Joshua circumcise: for they were
uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the way. ⁸ And
it came to pass, when they had done circumcising all the nation, that they
abode in their places in the camp, till they were whole.

r 31⁷ 41 $\S$
s 4⁹ $\S$

⁹ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the
reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of that place
was called Gilgal, unto this day.

t Gen 30^{28b}
u Gen 22¹⁴ $\S$

v 21⁹
w Num 9²
x Ex 12⁶
y Ex 12¹⁸ Deut
16⁶ ct Ex 12⁶

¹⁰ And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal; and they kept the
passover on the fourteenth day of the
month at even in the plains of Jericho.

⁴²⁰ The source of ²⁰ is doubtful. Are the stones those named
in ⁵⁷? Then the statement probably belongs to E. But if they are
the memorial stones of ^{7b}, the passage should be referred to
P. עָמָל is used of a similar action by Joshua 24²⁰ E: but it is
also a favourite word of P Ex 40² &c.

²¹ The Deuteronomic character of this section is apparent
from the parallels.

⁵¹ M. Another reading is, *they*.

² The account of the circumcision of the people ²⁻⁹ has been
enriched with a Deuteronomic addition by R^d in ⁴⁻⁸, as the
parallels cited in the margins prove. The original narrative is
contained in ^{2, 9}, and seems best referred to J by analogy with
Ex 4²⁵ (which does not at all necessarily imply that J conceived
circumcision to have been universal in Egypt). According to
this story the name of the great stone circle called 'the Gilgal'
is explained as 'rolling.' What was 'rolled' away? 'The
reproach of Egypt.' In connexion with a story of circumcision
the phrase can only imply that Joshua now performed a rite
which the Israelites had neglected in Egypt, so that they
incurred the scorn of their circumcised masters, the Egyptians.
The editor, however, seeks to avoid this interpretation by the
explanation that it was only necessary for the new generation
which had arisen since the Exodus ⁶⁷. The opening formula 'at
that time' (occurring only in this position Deut 10^{8*}) seems due

to R^d, and so probably are the references to previous circum-
cision, to harmonize with ⁵, as though there had been a national
practice in Egypt.

⁵ M. Or, *Gibeath ha-araloth*.

⁴ $\S$'s text in ⁴⁻⁹ varies widely from $\S$. It is possible that
a phrase here and there may be due to R^p, such as the rare
plural 'males' (absent from $\S$ as well as 'all the men of war')
cp 17² Ex 13¹² 10.

⁵ seems unrepresented in $\S$, and as it interrupts the con-
nexion of ⁴ and ⁶ (Steuern), it may be a later insertion; ^{5b} is not
wanted, being a duplicate of ^{7b}. In ⁶, there may be some
secondary expansions.

⁸ $\S$ *lived*, i.e. recovered cp Num 21⁸. 2 Kings 1².

⁹ M. That is, *Rolling*.—'Unto this day' is absent from $\S$ (cp
^{20a} out of all occurrences in Joshua).

¹⁰ $\S$'s record of the first camp in the land of Canaan. $\S$,
however, begins 'And the children of Israel kept the passover,'
as if the first clause were due to editorial junction, the sequence
on ¹¹ not requiring it. The phrases 'on the morrow after the
passover' ¹¹ and 'on the morrow' ¹² are not found in $\S$, which
also transfers 'in the selfsame day' from ^{11b} to the opening of
¹². The peculiarities of language 'even' 'old corn,' and the
mention of 'parched corn' along with unleavened cakes point
to P^a rather than P^e.

	J	R ^d	E	P ^a	
r Num 33 ³					
a' Lev 24 ¹⁴					
l' Ex 16 ⁸⁶					
c' Lev 23 ⁸⁹ Dent 14 ²³ 5					
d' Gen 81 ^{8b}					
e' Gen 33 ¹² Num 22 ^{32*} 5 ^a					
f' Num 22 ²³					
g' Cp 1 Kings 22 ¹⁹ h' 7 ⁶					
i' Cp 12 ^{1b}					
j' Ex 3 ⁵					
k' Gen 45 ²¹					
l' cp Dent 24 ²⁴ 5 ²					
	13 And 'it came to pass, 'when Joshua was by Jericho, that he 'lifted up his eyes and 'looked, and, behold ^d , there stood a man 'over against him with his sword 'drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? 14 And he said, Nay; but [as] 'captain of the 'host of Yahweh am I now come. And Joshua 'fell on his face to the earth ^h , and did 'worship, and said unto him, What saith my 'lord unto his 'servant? 15 And the captain of Yahweh's host said unto Joshua, 'Put off thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ^j . 'And Joshua 'did so.			11 And they did eat of the 'old corn of the land on the 'morrow after the pass-over, unleavened cakes and 'parched corn, in the 'selfsame day. 12 And the 'manna ceased on the morrow, after they had eaten of the 'old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the 'fruit of the 'land of Canaan that year.	g 138 h 4 ^a i 127 ^b j 176 ^a k 56 ^a l 73
	61 'Now Jericho 'was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in.				
	2 'And Yahweh said unto Joshua, 'See, I have 'given into thine hand				

5¹¹ 12 M Or, produce. Or, corn.—5¹.

13 This narrative seems to be the beginning of J's account of the divine commission to Joshua, parallel with that to Moses Ex 3⁵. But in its present form it must have been abbreviated, as the vision leads to nothing. No instructions are given to him; the attempt to establish an immediate connexion with 62 cannot be regarded as successful, though the place of the incident in JE suggests that it was intended to prepare the way for the story of the capture of Jericho. Kuenen, assuming that the phrase 'Yahweh's host' represented a late conception, regarded this as one of the secondary sections of J. But the precise words do not occur elsewhere (cp Ps 103²¹ 148²); while parallels of idea may be found in Gen 32² and 1 Kings 22¹⁹.

14 M Or, prince.—Cp 19¹⁹.

15 This clause is wanting in G.

61 This verse seems to break the connexion between 5¹³ and 62: it bears no clear marks of editorial composition, and is therefore conjecturally ascribed to E.

16 M. G shut the gates and was shut in.

12 The narrative of the fall of Jericho shows clear traces of diversity of sources. The signal for the capture is to be given by a great shout. But in 5^{20b} this depends on the blast of a ram's horn; in 10^{16b} 20a on the orders of Joshua. Similarly Rahab and her kindred are saved twice over 22, and 25 cp 17. The intricacies of the processions, however, defied resolution until Wellhausen provided the key (Comp² 123), pointing out that the present confusion results from the amalgamation of two stories, each relating a sevenfold procession, but conceiving the time-order differently. In the opening verses 2, Joshua is instructed to march round the city once each day for six days cp 11 14; when the march is repeated on the seventh day 15, the people shout at his summons 16b 20a and capture the city 20c. But in 4... a more elaborate picture is presented. The ark is carried round the walls, preceded by seven priests bearing

trumpets of rams' horns, and the troops march in front and rear. The signal is to be given, when the city has been compassed seven times, by a long blast; when the shout rises at the sound, the walls will fall 5^{20b}. In both stories the number seven is firmly lodged; but whereas one distributes the process over seven successive days 14 15a, the other apparently places the seven marches on the same day. The result is that after single circuits on six separate days, seven circuits are finally made on the seventh, or thirteen altogether, which obviously breaks up the symmetry of the narrators' intentions. The additions to the text which seem due to this arrangement in 4 15 are indicated by smaller type. Other modifications seem traceable to the compiler, who anticipates the trumpet-signal for the shout of faith by describing the priests as blowing their horns continuously upon the route 8 12, thus depriving the final blast of its significance. In the depicting the two stories to their respective sources, the linguistic evidences will be found to yield some delicate confirmations. Thus in 8 the description of Joshua points to E, and this is supported by the parallel to the trumpet Ex 19¹³, and the instructions to the priests which resemble those before the passage of the Jordan 3⁸ independently attributed to E. Similarly 'lodged' 11 and 'rose early' 12 15 make for J. The text of G has been in many passages so much abbreviated, that it is of little use for comparison. The translators have apparently sought to evade difficulties by omissions. Steuern, on the other hand, thinks that G represents a more original text, and distributes the story between D² E and R^p. Of the latter, however, no definite traces seem recoverable before the annotations in 23b 24b.

2b R^d may have been at work here cp 299, and the margins. In 3 G reads thou as in the latter clause of the verse. Dillm supposes that 'going about the city once' cp 11 and 'thou shalt thou do six days' are additions designed to emphasize the contrast with 4. But whatever may be the case with the first

J E R^d J E

Jericho, and the king thereof, [and] the ^bmighty men of valour. 3 And ye shall compass the city, ^call the men of war, going about the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days. . . .

...⁴ And seven priests shall bear seven "trumpets of 'rams' horns before the ark: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. ⁵ And it shall be, that "when they make a long blast with the ram's horn [and] when ye hear the "sound of the trumpet, all the people shall "shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down "flat, and the people shall go up every man straight before him". ⁶ And Joshua the "son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, "Take up the 'ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh;

7^a And ^athey said unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city.
7^b and let the ^aarmed men ^bpass on before the ark of Yahweh. 8 And
^ait was so, that when Joshua had spoken unto the people, the seven priests
bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before Yahweh ^apassed on,
and blew with the trumpets : and the ^a'ark of the covenant of Yahweh ^afollowed
them. 9 And the ^aarmed men ^awent before the priests that blew the
trumpets, and the rearward ^awent after the ark, [the priests] blowing with the
trumpets as they went.

¹⁰ And Joshua commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor let your voice be heard, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I *bid you shout; then shall ye shout. ¹¹ So he caused the ark of Yahweh to compass the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and *lodged in the camp.

^{12a} And Joshua ^prose early in the morning, . . .

12^b And the priests ^htook up the ark of Yahweh. 13 And the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the ^jarmed men went before them; and the rearward ^kcame after the ark of Yahweh, [the priests] blowing with the trumpets as they went.

¹⁴ And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into the camp: so they did six days. ¹⁵ And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they ⁷rose early at the ^ddawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: ^aonly on that day they compassed the city seven times.

^{16a} And it came to pass at the seventh time, ⁿwhen the priests blew with the trumpets,

16 And Joshua said unto the people, Shout ; for Yahweh hath given you the city. 17 And the city shall be devoted, [even] it and all that is therein, to Yahweh : only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent.

¹⁸ ^NAnd ye, ^ain any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have ^ddevoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of Israel ^baccursed, and ^etrouble it. ¹⁹ ^NBut all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are ^choly unto Yahweh: they shall come into the ^ftreasury of Yahweh.

clause, the second seems clearly needed to prepare for ¹⁴; the rest of the instructions to Joshua concerning the events of the seventh day (what about the sabbath?) have been removed to make way for **E**, whose narrative has lost its opening.

⁵⁴ M. Or, *Jubilate*, Exmp. 131.
⁵⁵ *Idiom* as in Ex 131¹³, *when the ram's horn soundeth long*. This clause is not in G which reads simply 'when ye blow with the trumpet' (cp 20b²) all the people &'; it seems a duplicate to the following 'when ye hear' which is guaranteed by 20b². The phrase has an antique air, but can hardly be assigned to J which has no place for it, nor to E¹ contrasted with E², as there are no other adequate indications of such a distinction.

7a **M** Another reading is, *he*.—This seems preferable cp ^{16b} 3⁵:
the clause is the sequel of ³.

⁸ This clause is not found in (3) which renders the rest of 8.

by imperatives. The present § punctuation probably disguises an older interpretation, according to which ⁸ contained instructions for the procession instead of narrative. This begins in ^{12b} 'took up' cp 'take up' ⁶.

^{16a} This construction may be translated by 'that,' Driver, *Tenses*³ § 78 (1), and the sequel is then found in ^{20b}.
^{16b} So 5. *RV* connects the clause with the preceding.

17b This clause is lacking in § cp 25b. The preceding may also be editorial.

18a The opening words 'and only' distinctly suggest an addition here. The verse seems a preparation for the story in 7. Bennett and Addis join Dillmann in reading with Ⓢ 'lest ye covet' חָמַדְתֶּם for חָמַדְתִּי in ²¹ and Deut ²⁵.

¹⁹ A further expansion cp ^{24b}, where the 'treasury of the

J E

R^dJ E P³

six men: and they chased them [from] before the gate even unto Shebarim, and smote them at the going down: and the hearts of the people melted, and became as water. ⁶ And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of Yahweh until the evening, he and the elders of Israel; and they put dust upon their heads. ⁷ And Joshua said, "Alas, O Lord Yahweh, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to cause us to perish? would that we had been content and dwelt beyond Jordan!" ⁸ "Oh Lord, what shall I say, after that Israel hath turned their backs before their enemies!" ⁹ For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it, and shall compass us round, and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do for thy great name?" ¹⁰ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, Get thee up; wherefore art thou thus fallen upon thy face? ¹¹ Israel hath sinned; yea, they have even transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: yea, they have even taken of the devoted thing; and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have even put it among their own stuff. ¹² Therefore the children of Israel cannot stand before their enemies, they turn their backs before their enemies, because they are become accursed: "I will not be with you any more, except ye destroy the devoted thing from among you. ¹³ Up, sanctify the people, and say, 'Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, There is a devoted thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the devoted thing from among you. ¹⁴ In the morning therefore ye shall be brought near by your tribes: and it shall be, that the tribe which Yahweh taketh shall come near by families; and the family which Yahweh shall take shall come near by households; and the household which Yahweh shall take shall come near man by man. ¹⁵ And it shall be, that he that is taken with the devoted thing shall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath: because he hath transgressed the covenant of Yahweh, and because he hath wrought folly in Israel. ¹⁶ So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel near by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken: ¹⁷ and he brought near the family of Judah; and he took the family of the Zerahites: and he brought near the family of the Zerahites man by man; and Zabdi was taken: ¹⁸ and he brought near his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken. ¹⁹ And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to Yahweh, the God of Israel, and make confession unto him; and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me. ²⁰ And Achan answered Joshua, and said, Of a truth I have sinned against Yahweh, the God of Israel, and

c 56^bd 89^b

e 3130

f 34^a

g 87

h 218

h 211
i Gen 37³⁴ 44¹³
(clothes = garments)

j 10 514
k (G) om the ark

l of

m Ex 318

n Num 1180

o Gen 15⁸

p Deut 324 936

q Deut 127

r 34

s 1712 Gen 1827

t Ex 221 5

u Gen 4416

v 12 Ex 2327

w 29 24 924 R^d

x Cp Num 1413

y Gen 194 5

z Ct Deut 724

914

10 i Sam 1222

11 Jer 4426 Ezek

263

12 618

13 y Gen 1815

14 z 35

15 a' Ex 228

16 b' op Num 242

17 c' 17. Ex 1011

18 1237 pl 5

19 d' 24 op 124

20 e' Cp 11

21 f' Gen 34¹ Deut

22 21

23 g' 31

24 h' Ct 118

25 i' Is 4212 Pa 662

26 ct i Sam 65

27 Jer 1316 5

28 j' Gen 4718

29 k' Gen 20121

30 l' Cp 138

7⁵ M. Or, the quarries.

⁷ This verse seems to have received some Deuteronomic touches, possibly 'Lord Yahweh,' and more decidedly in the clause concerning the Amorites Cp Deut 157, and ct Canaanites ⁹, though Steuernagel assigns ⁹ also to R^d.

¹¹ The first verb is in the singular: the remaining five follow in pl, introduced by כול. The 'transgression of the covenant' embodies a Deuteronomic idea Cp 2318 Deut 17⁵ Judges 220 2 Kings 1812 Jer 3418: and the clause 'which I commanded them' has the same sort of echo Cp 222 Deut 315²⁹ Judg 220 2 Kings 1713 Jer 114 Mal 4⁴. The third and fourth verbs are unrepresented in (G), and may be yet later additions: the fivefold כול can hardly be original.

124 M. See 618.

^{12b} The change of address here from Joshua to the guilty people, and the use of שׁוּבוּ suggest another hand.

¹³ The peculiar distribution of this title in the Hexateuch has aroused critical suspicion. Prior to Josh it occurs only in Ex 51 2227 Cp 3429; but in Josh it is frequent, 719, 870 918, 1040 42, 1214 83, 1414 2216 24 3 23. Some of these passages show affinity with D (830 1040 1314 1414 24 23), others with P (918, 2216). Dillm accordingly ascribes its employment in Josh to R^d (so Addis here, Hex i 212, but in ii 154 R^p), while Knenon, Hex 342, and Holzinger, Hex 502, assign it regularly to R^p. But it is used in the narrative-books which

follow e.g. Judg 46 53⁵ 1121 23 &c, and in the formula of the text Judg 66 i Sam 1018 2 Sam 127 &c, where there is no need to suspect the activity of either R^d or R^p. It can hardly, therefore, be regarded as the sole property of any single school; its occurrence in the Song of Deborah guarantees its antiquity; and it is consequently not treated here as a sign of editorial revision in the interest either of D or P, though its repeated use is probably due to some later scribal preference.

¹⁴ The passage which follows may owe something to later expansion, but it cannot be said to present any decisive marks of D (Addis, Hex ii 152), save in 15b. D does not inflict burning on human beings Cp Deut 1318. The penalty is named in P^h Lev 2014 218, and is probably a survival of older use. The method of selection indicated in ¹⁴ seems to occur in another case i Sam 1020, ascribed by Budde in Haupt's SBOT to E².

^{17a} M. According to some ancient authorities, families.—(G) curtails 17.

^{17b} M. According to some ancient authorities, by households.

¹⁸ Reproduced from ¹. The word מִשְׁפָּחָה suddenly introduced for 'tribe,' instead of מִשְׁבָּט 14 16, is decisive for P.

^{19a} (G) (G) omit 'my son.' The phrases 'give glory' and 'make confession' seem later in style, and are probably additional.

^{19b} M. Or, give praise.—Cp Ex 1011.

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^a	
1 Num 14 ²⁴	shall	rise up from the ambush, and	⁴ take possession of the city: ⁵ for Yahweh ⁶ your God will ⁷ deliver it into your hand. ^{8a} And it shall be, when ye have ⁹ seized upon the city, that ye shall ¹⁰ set the city on fire.				^o ^{Dr} ^f ^{D5a}
123 Gen 39 ¹²			^{8b} According to the ⁹ word of Yahweh shall ye do: ¹⁰ see, I have commanded you.				^g 99
7 19 5 ^a 27 cp 2a			⁹ And Joshua sent them forth: and they went to the ambushment, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but Joshua ¹⁰ lodged that night among the ¹¹ people.				
c 611.			¹⁰ And Joshua ¹¹ rose up early in the morning, and ¹² mustered the people, and went up, he and the ¹³ elders of Israel, before the people to Ai. ¹⁴ And all the people, [even] ¹⁵ the [men of] war that were with him, ¹⁶ went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and ¹⁷ pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between him and Ai.				
2 1 Sam 13 ¹⁶ 2 Sam 18 ¹ q 7 ⁶			^{12a} And he took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of ¹³ the city.				
r 10 ⁵ 11 ⁵			¹³ <i>So they set the people, even all the host that was on the ¹⁴north side of the city, and their ¹⁵hiers in wait that were on the ¹⁶west of the city; and Joshua ¹⁷went that night into the midst of the vale.</i>				
s Cp 11 t Cp 9 12			¹⁴ ¹⁵ And it came to pass, ¹⁶ when the king of Ai saw it, that they ¹⁷ hasted and rose up early, and the men of the ¹⁸ city ¹⁹ went out against Israel to battle, ²⁰ he and all his people, ²¹ at the time appointed, before the Arabah; but he wist not that there was an ambush against him ²² behind the city.				^h 43
22 Gen 24 ³⁰			¹⁵ And Joshua and ¹⁶ all Israel ¹⁷ made as if they were beaten before them, and ¹⁸ fled by the way of the wilderness. ¹⁹ And all the people that were in ²⁰ the city were ²¹ called together to pursue after them: and they pursued after Joshua, and were ²² drawn away from the city. ²³ And there was not a man ²⁴ left in Ai ²⁵ nor Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and they left the city open, and pursued after Israel.				ⁱ 69
v Num 21 ³³ Deut 23 ² 3 ² 29 ⁷ 1 Sam 4 ¹ 20 Cp 4			²³ ²⁴ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, ²⁵ Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand toward Ai; ²⁶ for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand toward the city. . .				
2 Cp 5 & 20bn y Judg 6 ⁹⁴ 18 ²² 1 Sam 14 ²⁰ †			¹⁹ And the ambush ²⁰ arose ²¹ quickly out of their place, and they ²² ran ²³ as				^j 43 ^c ^k 7 ⁹
z Ex 9 ²² 10 ¹² 21 cp 17 ¹¹							
a' Cp 7							

87 Two marks of D point to expansion here. 'Deliver' = 'give' 35. (3) passes from 7a to 8b.

⁹ This clause is wanting in G. A difficulty arises at this point in connexion with 13b. As the narrative stands, Joshua and the people march up to Ai on the day following the dispatch of the thirty thousand ¹⁰; the second ambush is posted ¹²; and Joshua spends a second night before the attack in 'the midst of the vale.' The thirty thousand, therefore, lie in wait a whole day doing nothing. Part of the difficulty is removed by the recognition of the fact that ¹² is not from the same source as ⁹, and that ¹³ is an editorial attempt to bring ¹² into line with the sequence indicated in 9-9. But where did Joshua sleep? According to ⁹ at Gilgal which he had not himself left, 'in the midst of the people' דרס: according to ¹³ 'in the midst of the vale' דרס. Ewald, therefore, proposed (*Hist* ii 248) to read 'the vale' in ⁹, and this suggestion has been widely adopted. But if so, he had already quitted Gilgal, and his departure in ¹⁰ must be ascribed to a new source. On the other hand the formula in ⁹ 'arose to go up' does not seem to imply as much as the more common sequence 'arose and went up.' It is sufficiently explained by the preparatory dispatch of the men selected for the ambush, the plan being completed by Joshua's own departure next morning. A similar connexion 'lodged' 'rose up early' will be found in 611; and the 'mustering' of the general force has its parallel in 1 Sam 13¹⁶ 2 Sam 18¹ assigned by Budde (in Haupt's *SBOT*) to J. The elders of Israel act with Joshua in 7³ J. In spite, therefore, of Dillm, Kittel, Albers, and Addis, the text adheres to the view of Wellh and Kuen in regarding ¹⁰ as continuous with ⁹; though it should be added that these masters regard ^{8a} as the introduction to ¹².

^{11a} 3 'all the people the war.' Apparently produced by adding נלחמם in forgetfulness of the article in דרס: cp 3¹¹ 14²⁷ 5. Is this an indication that the phrase in 1 'all the people of war' is editorial? (so Dillm).

^{11b} The series 'went up . . drew nigh . . came . . pitched' suggests the possibility of some amalgamation.

^{12a} Cp 18²¹. The text of G is here extremely brief, the 'five

thousand' being omitted, and ¹³ being dropped altogether.

^{12b} M Another reading is, Ai.—דער דער.

^{13a} M Or, *So the people set all etc.*—The verse seems part of the first combination of JEE as it shows no trace of R^d. 'North' cp 11, 'West' 9 12.

^{13b} 3 apparently 'his heel,' an ambiguous phrase designed by R (Dillm) to harmonize the discrepant numbers.

^{13c} M Some MSS read *lodged that night in*.—יין יין.

^{14a} The narrative here presents some signs of composite origin, though the text defies resolution. The verb 'they hasted' has no subject: 'rose up early' is not the natural sequel of 'seeing' and 'making haste': 'men of the city' and 'he and all his people' seem duplicates.

^{14b} Perhaps Ai, as in ¹²; cp 'men of Ai' ²⁰.

^{14c} Apparently a Deuteronomie phrase cp ²⁵6.

^{14d} M Or, *to the place appointed*.—Either rendering involves difficulties, for no specification of time or place has been named. Bennett proposes לך לך ⁷ 'at the going down.' The matter is further complicated by the unexpected mention of the Arabah which seems like another doublet cp ^{14a}N.

^{15a} G omits. Cp 2a². The formula occurs again 21 24 et 14 17

²². G seems to curtail considerably, omitting the last clause.

^{15b} Addis, quoting Kimhi, regards this rendering as lacking grammatical justification, and urges that this belongs to a story in which the Israelites were really beaten, and only recovered themselves 'by the magical effect of Joshua's outstretched spear.' The word is unusual in the sense of defeat in battle (1223), Niph here only).

¹⁶ M as in 12b².

¹⁷ Wanting in G. As the ambush lay between Ai and Beth-el according to both stories, it is not easy to see how the men of Beth-el could have joined in the pursuit. It is hardly likely, therefore, that these words belong to a narrative of joint attack on Ai and Beth-el, of which nothing is said elsewhere. They seem due rather to awkward editorial supplementation.

¹⁸ Probably due to R^d cp 7⁹.

¹⁹ These words result from the incorporation of 18. The am-

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^s
	soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered into the city, and took it; and they ^h asted and ^m set the city on fire. ²⁰ And when the ^b men of Ai looked behind them, they ^s aw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ^c ascended up to heaven, and they had no ^m power to flee this way or that way: ⁿ and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers. ²¹ And when ^d Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ^c ascended, then they turned again, and slew the ^b men of Ai. ²² And the other came forth out of the city ^c against them; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side: and they smote them, ⁿ so that they let none of them remain or escape. ²³ And ^f 'the king of Ai they ^t ook alive, and brought him to Joshua.					1 55
^l 21 ²⁵ 7 ⁴ ct 24 ²⁰						
^c ^h went up Gen 19 ²⁸						
^d Cp 15						
^c Cp 5 14						
^f Cp 14 10 ²³						
^g 10 ²⁰ Deut 31 ²⁴ ⁱ Sam 24 ¹⁶ al ^h 26 ⁵ 11 10 ¹⁶ et 20						
ⁱ 10 ²⁰ Deut 21 ⁵ ^j 10 ²⁸ 19 ⁴⁷ Num 21 ²⁴ cp 35 ¹⁵⁰						
	²⁴ And it came to pass, when Israel had ^v made an end of slaying all the ^h 'inhabitants of Ai in the field, ⁿ in the wilderness wherein they pursued them, and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword, ^v until they were consumed, that ⁿ all Israel returned unto Ai, and ^j smote it with the edge of the sword.					
	²⁵ And all that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve thousand, even all the ^b men of Ai.					
	²⁶ ⁿ And Joshua drew not back his hand, wherewith he stretched out the javelin, until he had ^t devoted all the ^h 'inhabitants of Ai.					
	²⁷ ⁿ Only the cattle and the ^s poil of that city Israel ^t ook for a prey unto themselves, according unto the ^w ord of Yahweh which he commanded Joshua.					
^k Cp Jer 6 ⁸ 10 ²² 49 ²	²⁸ ⁿ And Joshua burnt Ai, and ^k made it an ⁿ 'heap for ever, [even] a desolation, unto this day.					m 33 ^b
^l 10 ²⁶ ^m Deut 16 ⁶ ⁿ 20 ⁴ Judg 9 ⁵⁵ 44	²⁹ And the ^f 'king of Ai he ^v 'hanged on a tree until the eventide: ⁿ and ^m at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the ^w 'entering of the gate of the city, and ^v 'raised thereon a great heap of stones, unto this day.					
^o 7 ²⁶ ^p Deut 27 ⁵ ^q 7 ¹³	³⁰ ⁿ Then Joshua ^p 'built an altar unto Yahweh, the ^v 'God of Israel, in mount					

bush on the west side could hardly have seen Joshua among the Israelites fleeing eastwards towards the Arabah ¹⁴.

^{830a} M. ^h hands.

^{20b} This statement anticipates the narrative of ²¹ which is the obvious sequel of ²⁰. It must therefore be ascribed to another source. (G) omits it. Is it simply editorial, or does it point (in connexion with ^{16b} ²⁴) to a story of flight in E? J prepares for 'flight' ⁵, but says nothing beforehand of the 'wilderness.'

²² G 'until they had left none remaining or escaped.' The formula occurs in 10²⁸ (28) 37 39, 11⁸ Deut 2³⁴ 3³ Num 21³⁵ + cp 2 Kings 10¹¹ and seems to have a Deuteronomic complexion. For the addition 'or escaped' cp Jer 42¹⁷.

^{24a} Another collocation of phrases from different sources; thus 'in the field' || 'in the wilderness (G) mountain'; 'edge of the sword' twice; 'until they were consumed' cp 21^{17b} &c. Cp 10²⁰. (G) again curtails, omitting 'and they were all' &c.

^{24b} (G) Joshua. Cp 10²⁸.

^{26a} G as in ²⁴. T for. The verse is wanting in (G), save that the last words 'all the inhabitants of Ai' appear in place of 'all the men of Ai' ²⁵.

^{26b} So G M. T utterly destroyed.

^{28a} G as in ²⁶. T so. The statement is independent of 10²¹, and may possibly belong to R^d cp Deut 13¹⁶.

^{28b} M. Or, mound, G tel.—Deut 13¹⁶.

²⁹ This verse contains one or two phrases in D's style, and may have assumed its existing form in connexion with the law now embodied in Deut 21²². Cp 10²⁷.

³⁰ This section is clearly connected with Deut 27¹⁻⁸ 12, but the precise nature of the connexion cannot be exactly determined. That passage was believed to embody an early instruction of E. The erection of such an altar would not after all be inconsistent with the fundamental principle of the unity of the sanctuary, as the people had not yet taken possession of their inheritance, and the place which Yahweh would choose for his worship was not yet selected. The original command in E, however, probably pointed to some special sanctuary at Shechem. Does this story similarly rest on E's account of its fulfilment? The corresponding element would then be disengaged as follows:—'Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh in Mount Ebal, an

altar of unhewn stones upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered (G he offered) thereon burnt offerings to Yahweh, and sacrificed peace offerings.' Many critics suppose that such an original nucleus may be thus recovered. Other phenomena, however, rather point in the direction of the derivation of the whole narrative (with modifications) from Deut 27. If the E passage were original, it would probably be found in its actual place in the series of E's traditions. But this could hardly be its present position. It is not obvious how Israel could have performed such a ceremony at the gates of Shechem without having conquered Central Canaan, but of such a conquest no further record remains, and the narrative in 10 shows that it had not yet taken place. (G) places ³⁰⁻³⁵ after 9¹: is this a deliberate transposition, or a sign of the late addition of this passage which found insertion at different points in different texts? The former seems on the whole more probable in view (1) of the indications of accommodation in (G) elsewhere, and (2) of the fact that the narrative makes no reference to Deut 27¹⁴⁻²⁶, presumably because that interpretation of the curse was not then known. The historical difficulty is not overcome by (G)'s arrangement, which locates the scene in face of a great military coalition against the Israelites: other critics have accordingly suggested that it once marked the close of the whole conquest, and followed 11²⁸. Dillm conjectured that JEE once contained a fuller account of the campaign in Middle Canaan, the story of the advance of Joshua from Ai to Shechem having been curtailed cp Kittel, Hist i 289: E then proceeded to relate the fulfilment of the instructions in Deut 27⁵, and on that nucleus the present narrative is based in correspondence with the expanded form in Deut. The text, however, does not actually correspond to Deut 27¹⁻⁸. The writer has apparently wished to simplify the transaction, or has misunderstood the original instruction. The plastered stones Deut 27²⁻⁴ are never mentioned, and the law is apparently inscribed on the unhewn blocks of the altar. It is so difficult to believe that the writer actually meant this, that it seems almost needful to suppose some accidental omission. But the rest of the story also shows considerable departures from its predecessor. The two groups into which the nation is divided, do not stand on the mountains

J E

R¹J E P¹

17 Deut 27⁴
 18 11
 19 2 Kings 14⁶ §
 20 Deut 27⁸
 21 Deut 17¹⁸
 22 Deut 29¹⁰ 31²⁸
 23 Lev 24¹⁶ 22
 24 Cp P 34
 25 Deut 27¹² 11²⁹

a 51
 b Deut 17
 c 14
 d 12⁸ Ex 38⁸
 e 25 51
 f § Hithpa* cp
 20⁶ Deut 30³
 g § mouth
 1 Kings 22¹³
 h 11 101 cp 824 26
 i Ex 21¹⁴
 j Ezech 23⁴³
 k Gen 42²⁵
 l § Put
 m 13 cp Ex 22⁹
 n 14 et 11 111 §
 o 5⁹ 10⁶
 p 7 10²⁴ cp 7⁴
 10⁵
 q Cp 9a
 r 11b 15b 15b et
 15a
 s Cp 16a 22b 62^{5a}
 t § in the
 midst of P 26
 1 Gen 44⁸

22 210
 23 62¹ cp Num
 14¹⁵ Deut 28⁵

17 Ebal,³¹ as Moses the ^uservant of Yahweh commanded the children of Israel, ^uas it is ^uwritten in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of ^uunhewn stones, upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they ^uoffered thereon burnt offerings unto Yahweh, and sacrificed peace offerings. ³² And he wrote there upon ^uthe stones a ^ucopy of the law of Moses, ^uwhich he wrote, in the presence of the children of Israel. ³³ And ^uall Israel, and their ^uelders and ^uofficers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark and on that side before the ^upriests the Levites, which bare the ^uark of the covenant of Yahweh, ^uas well the ^ustranger as the ^uhomeborn; half of them in front of mount ^uGerizim, and half of them in front of mount Ebal; as Moses the ^uservant of Yahweh had ^ucommanded, that they should bless the people of Israel first of all. ³⁴ And afterward he read ^uall the words of the law, ^uthe blessing and the curse, according to all that is ^uwritten in the book of the law. ³⁵ There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the ^uassembly of Israel, and the ^uwomen, and the ^ulittle ones, and the strangers that ^uwere conversant among them.

³¹ And it came to pass, when ^uall the kings which were ^ubeyond Jordan, in the ^uhill country, and in the ^ulowland, and on all the ^ushore of the ^ugreat sea in front of Lebanon, the ^uHittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, ^uheard thereof; ² that they ^ugathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one ^uaccord.

³² And the ^uinhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai...

⁴¹...And they also did work ^uwilily, and went and ^umade as if they had been ambassadors, and took ^uold ^usacks upon their asses, and wine-skins, old and rent and ^ubound up; ⁵ and old shoes and ^uclouted upon their feet, and old ^ugarments upon them; and all the bread of their ^uprovision was dry and was become mouldy.

^{6a} And they went to Joshua unto the camp at ^uGilgal.

^{6b} And said ^uunto him, and to the ^umen of Israel, ^uWe are come from a far country: now therefore make ye a ^ucovenant with us. ⁷ And the ^umen of Israel said unto the ^uHivites, ^uPeradventure ye ^udwell among us; and ^uhow shall we make a ^ucovenant with you?

⁸ And they said unto Joshua, We are thy servants. And Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye? ^{9a} And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come...

^{9b} because of the name of Yahweh ^uthy God; for we have ^uheard the ^ufame of him, and ^uall that he did in Egypt, ¹⁰ and all that he did to the ^utwo kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was at Ashtaroth.

Deut 27¹², but in front of them; and the whole law is solemnly read aloud to them (instead of the recitation of the liturgical curses Deut 27¹⁵⁻²⁸). The change in the position of the people may have some reference to the obscure instruction in Deut 11²², as well as to the wish to provide a situation suitable for the reading of the law: but in view of the close adherence of R¹ in Josh 1 (for example) to prior Deuteronomistic material, it may be doubted whether this section can be ascribed to the earlier stage of the Deuteronomistic redaction, or whether it must not rather be regarded as among the latest and more independent additions of the school. Some indication of this is perhaps to be found in the Levitical phrase 'as well the stranger as the homeborn'³³, though this may easily be isolated as a detached insertion. Kuenen viewed³³ and the reference to 'the blessing and the curse'³⁴ as later insertions, but 'the awkwardness may arise from the effort of a single Deuteronomistic editor to recognize at once Deut 27¹⁻⁸ and 11-13' (Addis, *Hex* ii 153; so Albers, 125). Steuern prints³⁵⁻³⁶ as R³, revised apparently by a final Deuteronomistic editor.

³¹ M ^uwhole.

³² M Or, which he wrote in &c.

^{32a} M See Deut 27²⁻⁴.

³³ M Or, commanded at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel.

³⁴ These words seem to be explanatory of the preceding clause, but as they cannot be so in reality, they must be treated as a later insertion to rectify the apparent omission in ³³ cp Driver 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB⁹* vol i pt ii 1812.

³⁵ M § walked.

⁹^{3a} Various elements are blended in the story of the Gibeonites. By common consent the hand of R¹ may be traced in ^{9b} 10 24. 27^b; and equally plain is the derivation of 17-21 from P with

corresponding touches in 15 27. The narrative that remains has been differently judged: on the one hand Budde and Kittel (i 290) regard it as single (after the text has undergone various restorations): on the other hand, Wellh Kuen Dillm, followed by Addis Albers Bennett and Oettli, find clear traces of duality. Thus in ⁸ the negotiators are called 'inhabitants of Gibeon,' in ⁷ 'Hivites'; in ³ 8a ⁸ 22 Joshua is prominent, while in ⁷ 14 the 'men of Israel' act independently; in ⁶ 'we are come from a far country' is parallel to 'from a very far country thy servants are come'⁹; 'make a covenant'⁸ 11b 15b 15b has a doublet in 'make peace'¹⁵. The linguistic indications collected in the margin are not decisive: but the 'men of Israel' passages seem to belong to J cp 10²⁴ and 'men of Ai'⁷ 4. 820. 25; for 'inhabitants of Gibeon'¹ cp 824 26. E, while the leadership of Joshua and the reference to the camp ^{8a} also make for E. ⁸ was probably followed by an account of their preparations for the visit to the camp cp 11.

^{3b} So § at the beginning of ³ and ⁴. T ³ but when, ⁴ omit and. This expresses a possible logical connexion, but obscures the probability that the narrative is really a compound product.

^{4a} The guile described in ⁴, reappears in 12-14. In 14 the Israelites are represented not by Joshua ⁸ 8a ⁸, but by 'the men' of Israel cp ^{6b} 7, who themselves conduct the negotiations. These passages, therefore, are ascribed to J. This distribution is confirmed by the obvious break between ⁷ and ⁸.

^{4b} M Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, took them provisions. See 12.

^{6b} Probably editorial, resulting from the union of ⁷ and ⁸.

⁷ The unexpected appearance of this name may be due to its previous use in some passage now eliminated in the process of compilation.

J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r	
w ^r 11 ¹¹ et 5 14 ¹⁴ § x Cp 8	11 ^a And our ^e elders and all the ^h inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take ^m provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, ^e We are your servants. 11 ^b ^e Now, therefore, make ye a ^r covenant with us. 12 This our bread we ^r took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and is become mouldy: 13 and these wine-skins, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our ^m garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey. 14 And the ^m men took of their ^r provision, and ^s asked not counsel at the mouth of Yahweh.	... 15 ^c ^e And the ^r princes of the ^e congregation sware unto them.	v 151			
y Cp 43 ⁴³	15 ^a And Joshua made peace with them. ... 15 ^b And ^e made a ^r covenant with them, to ^r let them live.		f 131 g 45			
z Gen 24 ²⁷ § 1s 30 ²	16 ^a And it came to pass at the ^b end of ^h three days, ... 16 ^b ^e after they had made a ^r covenant with them. . . . 16 ^c that they heard that they were their neighbours. 16 ^d and that they ^d dwelt among them.		h 119 ¹			
u 3 ² §	... 17 And the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and ^r Chephirah, and ^r Beeroth, and ^r Kiriath-jearim. 18 And the children of Israel smote them not, because the ^r princes of the ^e congregation had sworn unto them by Yahweh, the ^r God of Israel. And all the congregation ^r murmured against the princes. 19 But all the ^r princes said unto all the ^e congregation, We have sworn unto them by Yahweh, the God of Israel: now therefore we may not touch them. 20 This we will do to them, and let them live; ^r that there be no ^r wrath upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto them. 21 ^e And the ^r princes said unto them, Let them live: so they became hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the ^e congregation; as the princes had spoken unto them.		i 114			
s 18 ²⁶ s 18 ²⁵ s 18 ¹⁴ 28? f 7 ¹³	22 ^a And Joshua ^k called for them, and he ^s spake unto them, saying, ^m Wherefore have ye ^r beguiled us, saying, We are ^r very far from you? ... 22 ^b when ye ^d well among us? 23 Now therefore ye are ^r cursed, and there ^e shall never fail to be of you bondmen, both ^r hewers of wood and drawers of water for the ^r house of my God. 24 And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly ^r told thy servants, how that Yahweh ^r thy God commanded his ^r servant Moses to give you all the land, and to ^r destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore we were sore afraid ^m for our lives because of you, and have		j 178			
q' Gen 25 ²⁶ h' Cp 9 i' Gen 411 j' Cp 624 Ex 23 ¹⁹ 34 ²⁰ k' Cp Deut 17 ⁴ § l' 21. m' 23 ¹¹ Deut 4 ¹⁵ §	9 ¹¹ § as in ^{eb} . T and now. The Hivites' explanations have been withdrawn to make room for E's narrative: at this point they renew in the same words their former request; or possibly R ^d reproduces it as a connecting link. 14 (S the princes cp 15c 18., which Steuern adopts, assigning the verse to P, cp ante p 318 ^d (319). 15b (S they made i.e. the men' 14. The subject may have been changed in harmony with the first clause. 15c At this point R introduces a fragment where the terms of P's organization are unmistakable cp 17-21. It is noticeable that this fragment of P follows the story of J. There is no allusion to Joshua or Eleazar: 'the princes' take the negotiations into their own hands like the 'men of Israel' ^{eb} 7 cp 14, and the congregation murmurs against their leadership as in Num 1; 2 Ex 16 ² against Moses and Aaron.		k 139 l 185 ¹ m 228			
	16b The reference to the Covenant may be simply a supplemental touch of R ^d ; but the apparent doublet in the second part of the verse suggests that J also had a narrative of the discovery. 20 § as in Num 13 ³ . T test wrath be. 21 After 20 it would be natural to find an announcement of the destiny of the Gibeonites. (S accordingly reads 21a 'let them live and become hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the congregation.' (S ^r adds 'and all the congregation did' as the princes had spoken unto them—which is much in P's manner. 23a M § shall not be cut off from you.—Cp 13 ³ Gen 41 ³⁵ §. 23b These words may be an editorial supplement founded on 21, as the change from 'a bondman' § sing to the pl seems to suggest: but they may also be derived from some old proverbial phrase cp Deut 25 ¹¹ . (S 'a bondman nor a hewer of wood for me and my God,' apparently by abbreviation.		n 34 ^a			

9¹¹ § as in ^{eb}. T and now. The Hivites' explanations have been withdrawn to make room for E's narrative: at this point they renew in the same words their former request; or possibly R^d reproduces it as a connecting link.

14 (S the princes cp 15c 18., which Steuern adopts, assigning the verse to P, cp ante p 318^d (319).

15b (S they made i.e. the men' 14. The subject may have been changed in harmony with the first clause.

15c At this point R introduces a fragment where the terms of P's organization are unmistakable cp 17-21. It is noticeable that this fragment of P follows the story of J. There is no allusion to Joshua or Eleazar: 'the princes' take the negotiations into their own hands like the 'men of Israel' ^{eb} 7 cp 14, and the congregation murmurs against their leadership as in Num 1; 2 Ex 16² against Moses and Aaron.

16b The reference to the Covenant may be simply a supplemental touch of R^d; but the apparent doublet in the second part of the verse suggests that J also had a narrative of the discovery. 20 § as in Num 13³. T test wrath be.

21 After 20 it would be natural to find an announcement of the destiny of the Gibeonites. (S accordingly reads 21a 'let them live and become hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the congregation.' (S^r adds 'and all the congregation did' as the princes had spoken unto them—which is much in P's manner.

23a M § shall not be cut off from you.—Cp 13³ Gen 41³⁵ §.

23b These words may be an editorial supplement founded on 21, as the change from 'a bondman' § sing to the pl seems to suggest: but they may also be derived from some old proverbial phrase cp Deut 25¹¹. (S 'a bondman nor a hewer of wood for me and my God,' apparently by abbreviation.

J E

R¹J E P¹

done this thing. ²⁵ And now, ²⁶behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth
²⁷good and right unto thee to do unto us, do.

²⁶ And so did he unto them, and ²⁷delivered them out of the hand of the
 children of Israel, that they slew them not. ²⁷ And Joshua made them
 that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the ²⁸congregation, and for
 the ²⁹altar of Yahweh, ³⁰unto this day, in the ³¹place which he should choose.

^{10^{1a}} ³²Now it came to pass, ³³when ³⁴Adonizadek king of Jerusalem
³⁵heard how Joshua had ³⁶taken Ai, and had ³⁷devoted it; as he had ³⁸done
 to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king;

... ³⁹and how the ⁴⁰inhabitants of Gibeon had ⁴¹made peace with Israel,
 ... ⁴²and were ⁴³among them; ⁴⁴that ⁴⁵they feared greatly, because Gibeon
 was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater
 than Ai, and all the ⁴⁶men thereof were mighty. ⁴⁷Wherefore Adoni-
 zedeck king of Jerusalem sent unto ⁴⁸Hoham king of Hebron, and unto
 Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto
 Debir king of Eglon, saying, ...

... ⁴⁹Come up unto me, and help me, and let us smite Gibeon: for it
 hath ⁵⁰made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel. ⁵¹There-
 fore the five kings of the ⁵²Amorites went up. ...

⁵³ And the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth,
 the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, ⁵⁴gathered themselves together,
⁵⁵they and all their hosts, and ⁵⁶encamped against Gibeon, and made war
 against it. ⁵⁷ And the ⁵⁸men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the ⁵⁹camp
 to Gilgal, saying, ⁶⁰Slack not thy hand from ⁶¹thy servants;

... ⁶²come up to us ⁶³quickly,

... ⁶⁴and save us, ...

⁶⁵ and help us: for all the kings of the ⁶⁶Amorites ⁶⁷that dwell in the hill
 country are ⁶⁸gathered together against us.

⁶⁹ So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he, and ⁷⁰all the people of war
 with him.

⁷¹ And ⁷²all the mighty men of valour. ⁷³ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, ⁷⁴Fear
 them not: for I have ⁷⁵delivered them into thine hands; there shall not a man
 of them ⁷⁶stand before thee.

⁷⁷ And Joshua came upon them ⁷⁸suddenly; ⁷⁹[for] he went up from Gilgal
 all the night.

... ⁸⁰And Yahweh ⁸¹discomfited them before Israel.

n' Deut 6¹⁸ 12²⁸
 o' Gen 32¹ 37²¹
 Ex 21⁹ 38¹⁸9.

2' Lev 17⁶

a 11¹ Gen 29¹³

b 8²¹

c 8²

d 9³ et 6⁸

e 16⁸

f 9⁷

g Cp 7⁴ 8²⁰

h Cp 5b 58

i Gen 29³ 34³⁰

j 49¹ Ex 32²⁸ al

k 11⁴

l 5¹ pitched 811

m 1¹ Ct 1b cp 820

n 9⁸

o 2 Sam 24¹⁶

p 1 Chron 21¹⁵†

q 5¹ in habit-

ants of 1c

r Ct 5b 5 cp

s Gen 41³⁵

t 81

u 1¹⁴

v Deut 3²

w 21⁴⁴ 23⁹ et 1⁵

x 5

y 11⁷ Num 12⁴

z Ex 12²⁴b

o 33^b
 p 87

a 96

b 73

c 43^c

d 52

⁹²³ This phrase, cp Gen 16⁸, and 'thy servants' ²⁴ cp 3⁷73,
 suggest a possible J base for these verses.

²⁷ The words 'unto this day &c' sound extremely abrupt,
 and are in fact incompatible with the first part of the verse, as
 Joshua had nothing to do with the Gibeonites' functions as
 temple-servants in Jerusalem. Steuern adopts the additional
 clause of G, 'so the Gibeonites became hewers of wood and
 drawers of water for the altar of Yahweh' unto this day &c.

^{10^{1a}} The narrative of the battle with the five kings again
 offers difficult problems. Some (e.g. Addis, *Hex i* 210¹) regard it
 as substantially unitary. It has also, however, been frequently
 divided into two parts at ¹⁵; the main story 1¹⁻¹⁵ being then
 assigned to E, with a supplement 16⁻²⁷ derived from J (so Albers,
 Budde, and Kittel, *Hist i* 304⁴ 5). The ascription of 16⁻²⁷ to J
 has much in its favour cp ¹⁶⁸. But if this be accepted, it is plain
 that the story of the fight presupposes a prior narrative of
 a defeat. A careful examination of 1⁻¹¹ seems to reveal traces
 of amalgamation. In 1^b 4^b occur allusions to the peace made
 by the inhabitants of Gibeon cp ⁹⁸, which may be referred
 by the results in g to E. The presence of E elements is further
 confirmed by reference to the kings of the Amorites 'inhabitants'
 of the hill-country ⁶. These are specified as five ^{5a}, but the
 localities immediately named do not correspond to the designa-
 tion, and in 16⁻²⁷ the name Amorite does not occur. It may be
 conjectured, accordingly, that the enumeration in 5^b 2³ is not
 from the same hand as ^{6a}; and this note of distinction is
 emphasized by the different words for 'gathered' in 5^b and 5^b
 (נָסַף and נָסַף). Further doublets may be remarked in 'in-
 habitants of Gibeon' 1^b and 'men of Gibeon' ^{6a} cp 8²⁰ 24, 'save
 us' and 'help us' ⁸, 'discomfited' and 'smote them with a great
 smiting' ¹⁰, 'the ascent of Beth-horon' ¹⁰ and 'the descent' ¹¹.

These last verses indeed seem to contain separate accounts of
 the overthrow of the allies. In one story the king of Jerusalem
 and his four royal comrades are defeated at Gibeon, and pur-
 sued to Makkedah, where they are dragged from their hiding-
 place and executed: in the other, five Amorite kings from the
 hill country are discomfited at Gibeon; during their flight to
 Azekah their troops are overpowered by a great hail-storm, the
 kings presumably perishing in the rout. The combined narra-
 tive has been handled by R¹ 1^b 8 12 25, but the Priestly Redactor
 seems to have left it untouched.

^{1a} G Adoni-bezek cp Judg 1⁵, which Budde prefers, *Richter* 65. . .

^{1a} So G M. T utterly destroyed. Cp 8²⁶ 621; or is it a touch
 of R⁴, like the following clause?

² The plural is somewhat awkward, for who are 'they'? It
 would seem that a portion of J's opening has been curtailed.
 'And because it was greater than Ai' wanting in G.

⁴ The message in ⁴ 'come up to me and help me' finds
 a duplicate in 6^b; and as it is closely connected with indications
 of E 4^b 5a, it is itself assigned to that source.

^{5a} G *Jeboisites*. The curious order of 5^b here 'and gathered
 themselves together and went up, the five kings of the Amorites,
 the king of Jerusalem' &c suggests some conflation of sources.
 The text may be decomposed into the statement that the
 Amorite kings 'went up' cp ⁴, while the supporters of Adoni-
 zedeck assembled and encamped against Gibeon.

^{6c} The words interrupt the sequence 'come up' and 'help' op ⁴:
 'save' is nowhere else used by E, cp Ex 21⁷ 14³⁰ J, Deut 20⁴ 22²⁷
 28 29 31 D, Josh 22²² Ps⁸.

^{9a} 5 as in 10. T *Joshua therefore*.

^{9b} 5 'All the night went he up from Gilgal,' as if an editorial
 explanation of the suddenness of the attack.

	J E	R ^d	J E P ^r
¹⁰ Cp ²⁰ Num ¹²³³ 5	^{10b} And he ¹⁰ slew them with a great slaughter ¹⁰ at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, ¹⁰ and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.		
¹⁰ Ct the ascent ^{10b} cp ⁷ 5	¹¹ And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the ¹⁰ going down of Beth-horon, that Yahweh cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.		
¹⁰ cp Deut ¹²⁰	¹² ¹⁰ Then spake Joshua to Yahweh in the day when Yahweh ¹⁰ delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the ¹⁰ sight of Israel, Sun; ¹⁰ stand thou still upon Gibeon; And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.		e ⁴³ a
¹⁰ Cp Gen ¹⁹ 15 ^a Cp Ex ⁹ 18 ^{24b} ^{10b} 14 ¹⁷ 6	¹³ And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies. Is not this written in the book of ¹⁰ Jashar? And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and ¹⁰ hasted not to go down about a whole day. ¹⁴ And there was ^a no day like that before it or after it, that Yahweh ¹⁰ hearkened unto the voice of a man: for Yahweh ¹⁰ fought for Israel.		f ²⁴⁵ g ² a
¹⁰ Gen ³⁸	¹⁵ ¹⁰ And Joshua returned, and ¹⁰ all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.		h ²¹⁵ b
¹⁰ Gen ²⁹ ^d Gen ³⁹ 4 ⁴¹ 84 ^e Gen ¹⁹ 17 ⁴⁵ 9 ^f Deut ²⁵ 18 ¹	¹⁶ ¹⁰ And these five kings fled, and ¹⁰ hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. ¹⁷ And it was ¹⁰ told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found, hidden in the cave at Makkedah. ¹⁸ And Joshua said, ¹⁰ Roll great stones unto the mouth of the cave, and ¹⁰ set men by it for to keep them: ¹⁹ but ¹⁰ stay not ye; pursue after your enemies, and ¹⁰ smite the hindmost of them; ¹⁰ suffer them not to enter into their cities: for ¹⁰ Yahweh your God hath ¹⁰ delivered them into your hand. ²⁰ And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had ¹⁰ made an end of ¹⁰ slaying them with a very great slaughter, ¹⁰ till they were consumed, and the ¹⁰ remnant which remained of them had entered into the ¹⁰ fenced cities, ²¹ that all the people returned ¹⁰ to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none ¹⁰ moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel. ²² Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring forth those five kings unto me out of the cave. ²³ ¹⁰ And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of the cave, ¹⁰ the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. ²⁴ And it came to pass, when they brought forth those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the ¹⁰ men of Israel, and said unto the ¹⁰ chiefs of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them.		i ² a
¹⁰ 19 ¹⁵ ct ¹⁴ 12 5	²⁵ ¹⁰ And Joshua ¹⁰ said unto them, ¹⁰ Fear not, nor be dismayed; ¹⁰ we be ¹⁰ strong and of good courage: for thus shall Yahweh ¹⁰ do to all your enemies ¹⁰ against whom ye fight.		j ⁴⁴ c k ¹⁰⁶ a
¹⁰ Cp ⁸ 5 ^j 9 ⁶ ^k 5 ¹ Judg ¹¹ 6	²⁶ And ¹⁰ afterward Joshua ¹⁰ smote them, and put them to death ¹⁰ , and		
¹⁰ Cp ⁸ 1 ^m 18 ⁹ ⁿ Cp ⁴²³ 9 ^{6b} ^o 11 ¹⁷			

¹⁰10^b This clause with its second יָדָם 'and he slew them' seems to indicate another hand, and may be an editorial touch founded on the story of the fight to Azekah ¹¹. In ¹⁶. the fugitives make for Makkedah and still onwards ¹³. On ¹¹, sequel of ^{10a}, cp ^{18a}. The citation from the Book of Jashar and the prose story in ^{16b} appear to belong to another cycle of traditions, unrelated to the story of the great hailstorm ¹¹. The present form of ¹² is generally admitted to owe something to R^d. For the style of opening with ¹⁰ and impf cp ⁸³⁰ 22¹ R^d, but also Ex ¹⁵1 Num ²¹17 J. Kittel, *Hist* i 302³, proposes to render 'spake Joshua of Yahweh,' in praise of Yahweh, the song not being addressed to him but to the sun and moon. ^{12b} M 5 be silent.

¹³ M Or, The Upright. See 2 Sam ¹18.—Cp *Intro* II 1e, i 19. This clause is wanting in (5).

¹⁴ The opening of ¹⁴ shows no parallel with D, but the phrase 'hearken to the voice' is common to D and JE ²⁵8^a and ²⁸44^b; and while J uses the expression 'fight' of Yahweh Ex ¹⁴25, it is frequent in D cp below ⁴² 23³ ¹⁰ Deut ¹30 ³²² 20⁴. The hand of R^d, therefore, may have been at work here.

¹⁵ This verse is identical with ⁴³ and may have been inserted here by accidental anticipation. (5) does not contain it. Other

critics regard it as marking a close of a section: thus Dillm connects it with ¹³–¹⁴ due to R^d in its present form, while Albers and Kittel attach it to ¹¹–¹².

¹⁶ In ¹⁶–²⁷ numerous parallels occur with other passages independently assigned to J. Cp especially ²¹ 'none whetted his tongue' Ex ¹⁷1, 'men of Israel' ²⁴ 9^{6b}, and the account of the execution of the kings ²⁶, || ⁸²⁹.

¹⁹ Probably an addition of R^d. For 'suffer' = 'give' cp Deut ¹⁸14 and ¹⁸18. In the last clause the evidence is clearer.

²⁰ 5 pl, ct ²⁸. sg. Pl only in Jer ³¹2 Obad ¹⁴ Joel ²22 Job ²⁷15. The verb 'remain' occurs nowhere else. 'Fenced cities' only in ¹⁹35 ²³, Num ³²17 ⁸⁶ P. The construction is peculiar, so that the text is doubtful.

^{21a} Not in (5). Nothing has been said of an encampment at Makkedah. The word is probably due to a scribe's accidental association with 'returned to the camp' ¹⁰ 43.

^{21b} M 5 whetted.—Cp J Ex ¹⁷4.

²³ (5) does not contain 'and they did so.' Possibly supplemental.

²⁵ 5 = with: יָדָם for יָדָם as often in Jer Kings &c. Cp ¹⁴12.

²⁶ The adverb stands in an unusual place in 5, and is unre-

J E

R^dJ E P^aP^a 820

¹⁷hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening. ²⁷ And it came to pass at the time of the ¹⁷going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave, ²⁸*until this very day.*

q' 30 32 35 37 39
Deut 13¹⁵ 20¹³
cp JE150
r' 30 37 39 62
s' 30 33 37 39, 322
t' 30 35 39 62 104
u' 31 34 36 38 45
724

²⁸ And Joshua took Makkedah on that day, and ^asmote it with the edge of the sword, and the ¹⁷king thereof; he ^adevoted them and all the ^asouls that were therein, he ^aleft none remaining: and he ^adid to the king of Makkedah as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

²⁹ And Joshua passed from Makkedah, ^aand ^aall Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: ³⁰ and Yahweh ^adelivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he ^asmote it with the edge of the sword, and all the ^asouls that were therein: he left none remaining in it; and he did unto the king thereof as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

³¹ And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it: ³² And Yahweh delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, and he took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the ^asouls that were therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.

P^a 104

³³ Then Horam king of Gezer came up to ^ahelp Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.

³⁴ And Joshua passed from Lachish, and all Israel with him, unto Eglon; and they encamped against it, and fought against it; ³⁵ and they took it on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the ^asouls that were therein he ^adevoted that day, according to all that he had done to Lachish.

³⁶ And Joshua went up ^afrom Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it: ³⁷ and they took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, ^aand the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the ^asouls that were therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon; but he ^adevoted it, and all the ^asouls that were therein.

³⁸ And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it: ³⁹ and he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and ^adevoted all the ^asouls that were therein; he left none remaining: as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to the king thereof; ^aas he had done also to Libnah, and to the king thereof.

10' 11¹⁶ 128

⁴⁰ So Joshua smote: ^aall the land, the hill country, and the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he ^adevoted ^aall that breathed, as Yahweh, the ^aGod of Israel, commanded.

2' 11¹⁴ Deut20¹⁶3' 7¹³2' 5 = land 11¹⁶

⁴¹ And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the ^acountry of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. ⁴² And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, ^afought for Israel. ⁴³ ^aAnd Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

a 10¹b 10³

¹¹ ^aAnd it came to pass, ^awhen Jabin king of Hazor heard thereof, that he ^asent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph,

presented in ③. Is the following phrase original? Cp 11¹⁷ and the narrative in 8²⁰. ²⁷ also shows parallels with D as in 8²⁰.

10²⁷ The formula 'this self-same day' is elsewhere peculiar to P cp 5¹¹ and 13⁸. Other signs of P^a may be seen in 20^b and probably in 28 30 35 37 39.

28^a The generalized summary of the conquest of Southern Canaan appears to owe its present form and position to R^d. What earlier material may lie beneath it cannot now be determined. But it is probable that it is founded on older detail. The capture of Makkedah ²⁸ is the natural sequel of the previous story; and the aid brought by the king of Gezer to Lachish ³³ breaks the monotonous uniformity of the record. But in ³⁷ the king of Hebron, already executed at Makkedah, perishes a second time. Is this accidental oversight, or does it represent a different tradition? On the other hand, while Hebron, Lachish and Eglon are mentioned, nothing is said of Jerusalem and Jarmuth. On the whole it does not seem possible to sift out the data which R^d may have derived from prior sources: and the passage is therefore ascribed entire to the Deuteronic redaction. On touches by R^p cp 28³⁸. For another account of the capture of Hebron and Debir cp 14¹³⁻¹⁹, 28^b 35 37 39 40. So M 5. 'T utterly destroyed.'

28^c The use of the term 'soul' for 'person' is a recognized

characteristic of P cp 14⁶. Its appearance here and in 30 32 35 37 39 seems to be due to R^p. In ⁴⁰ the Deuteronic formula 'all that breathed' has been left standing, ③ πάν ἐννέον. This formula remains in ③ in 28 30 35 37 39, in place of the usual rendering for 'soul' viz ψυχῇ. ③ therefore translated from a text which still retained 'all that breathed' in each passage.

30 A similar construction in 32, 37ab 39 Deut 12¹⁶ 15¹⁶, Cp Driver 'Joshua' in Smith's DB² vol i pt ii 1815⁸, and Notes on Samuel i Sam 5¹⁰.

37 ③ omits, Ct on the one hand 28^a, and on the other 14¹⁴ where Hebron is in the possession of the three sons of Anak.

39 Absent from ③. ⁴¹ And Joshua smote them' ③ om.

43 Absent like 38 from ③. Some critics have assigned the verse to JE. But its form seems clearly derived from R^d cp 29 31 34 36 38.

11¹ The account of the overthrow of the confederation led by Jabin king of Hazor at the waters of Merom, seems due to the hand which recorded the similar disaster to the kings allied with Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem 10¹ 3 &c: see in particular the parallels to 11¹⁴ 7. It is therefore assigned to J, and further parallels in 4⁶ confirm the ascription. But it has been expanded by R^d, whose additions may be seen in 2, 10, ..., possibly in 6, and more clearly in 8.

* As ③ omits 'and the king thereof' in 28 and 37, Steuernagel conjectures that similar omissions in the MT of 32 35 are due to corresponding imperfect attempts to bring the different narratives into accord.

J E

R^dJ E P^rc Cp 9¹d Cp 5¹ Deut
11³⁰e Judg 3⁸f 10^{5b}
g 17¹⁴ Gen 50²⁰
Num 21⁶h Gen 22¹⁷ 32¹²
41^{49*}i Cp Deut 11⁰
10²² 28⁶²j 7¹
k S = fear not 81
10⁸l Deut 7¹⁰ Sm Ex 9^{18*}n 10¹²o Gen 49⁶p 81 10⁷q 10³r 10^{10b}s 10^{8b}t Ex 17¹⁰ Su 14¹⁵ 15¹⁵ Deut

20 12 20*

v 10²⁴w 10⁴⁰ cp 28^{en}x 10⁴⁰ Deut 20¹⁷

y 11

z Deut 13⁸ 41^{2*}

a' 82 27

b' Deut 7²⁴c' 10⁴⁰d' 10⁴¹e' 12⁷ 13⁵

f' S = many

days 22⁸ 23¹Deut 14⁶ 2120¹⁹g' 10⁴ Sh' 23⁴ Deut 12²⁹i' 10³⁰j' 10²⁸k' 15³⁰l' 13³

m' S = all the 16

² and to the kings that were on the north, in the ³hill country, and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the lowland, and in ⁴the heights of Dor on the west, ⁵ to the ⁶Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the hill country, and the ⁷Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpah.

⁸ And they went out, ⁹they and all their hosts with them, ¹⁰much people, even as the ¹¹sand that is upon the sea shore in ¹²multitude, with horses and chariots very many. ¹³ And all these kings met together; and they came and pitched together at the ¹⁴waters of Merom, to fight with Israel.

¹⁵ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, ¹⁶Be not afraid ¹⁷because of them: for ¹⁸to-morrow at this time ¹⁹will I ²⁰deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt ²¹hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire. ²² So Joshua came, and ²³all the people of war with him, against them by the ²⁴waters of Merom ²⁵suddenly, and fell upon them. ²⁶ And Yahweh ²⁷delivered them into the hand of Israel, and they ²⁸smote them, and ²⁹chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward; and they smote them, until they ³⁰left them none remaining. ³¹ And Joshua did unto them ³²as Yahweh bade him: he ³³houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.

³⁴ And Joshua turned back ³⁵at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor ³⁶beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms. ³⁷ And they smote all the ³⁸souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, ³⁹devoting them: there was none left that ⁴⁰breathed: and he burnt Hazor with fire. ⁴¹ And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of the sword, and ⁴²devoted them; ⁴³as Moses the ⁴⁴servant of Yahweh commanded. ⁴⁵ But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burnt none of them, ⁴⁶save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn. ⁴⁷ And all the ⁴⁸spoil of these cities, ⁴⁹and the cattle, the children of Israel ⁵⁰took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, ⁵¹until they had ⁵²destroyed them, neither left they any that ⁵³breathed. ⁵⁴ As Yahweh commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua: and so did Joshua; ⁵⁵he left nothing undone of all that Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁵⁶ So Joshua took ⁵⁷all that land, the hill country, and all the South, and all the ⁵⁸land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; ⁵⁹ from ⁶⁰mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto ⁶¹Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon unto mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and put them to death. ⁶² Joshua made war ⁶³a long time with all those kings. ⁶⁴ There was not a city ⁶⁵that ⁶⁶made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: they took all in battle. ⁶⁷ For it was of Yahweh to ⁶⁸harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might ⁶⁹devote them, that they ⁷⁰might have no favour, but that he might ⁷¹destroy them, ⁷²as Yahweh commanded Moses.

⁷³ And Joshua came ⁷⁴at that time, and ⁷⁵cut off the ⁷⁶Anakim from the hill country, from ⁷⁷Hebron, from ⁷⁸Debir, from ⁷⁹Anab, and from all the hill country of Judah, and from all the hill country of Israel: Joshua ⁸⁰devoted them with their cities. ⁸¹ There was none of the ⁸²Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel: only in ⁸³Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, did some remain.

⁸⁴ So Joshua took ⁸⁵the whole land, according to all that Yahweh ⁸⁶spake unto

a 52

b 110

c 84

d 89

e 34*

f 4

g 91

11² M Or, Naphoth Dor.

¹⁰ A summary of the northern conquest corresponding to 10²⁸⁻⁴² in the South. It has been surmised that in 10¹² R^d has incorporated some older material. On the other hand 13 reads like a subsequent qualification. Its connexion with D is obvious enough; as it is not clear that it is of really later origin than the context, it is not marked by distinction in type. Its characteristics are sufficiently explained if more ancient data lie beneath 10¹².

11 12 So M S. T utterly destroying, utterly destroyed.

14 Wanting in S.

15 M S he removed nothing.

17 M Or, the bare mountain.—Cp 12⁷.

19 S that Israel did not take, omitting save ... Gibeon; this clause may be a later gloss.

20a M S make strong.—Dillm, NDJ 677, cites the phrase in proof of the affinities of R^d with the earlier P: it is not D's usual phrase cp Deut 2³⁰ 7^{en}; but as it is also used by JE cp Ex 4²¹, the comparison has little value.

20b So M S. T utterly destroy.

20c M Or, might not sue for favour.—Cp Exr 5⁸. S 'favour' cp 1 Kings 8²⁸ 32. = 'supplication.' Cp ante p 314 § 4 37.

20d This formula, found here only in R^d compared with more than thirty occurrences in P 189^o, may be due to RP. R^d uses a different phrase cp 23.

21a The continuity of 21-23 with 18-20 has been often doubted. Linguistically, it plainly belongs to the school of D. But in relating the capture of Hebron and Debir 10³⁶ 38, no mention was made of the Anakim. Moreover in 14¹² where the hand of R^d is clear, the reduction of the Anakim in Hebron is attributed to Caleb cp 15¹³⁻¹⁹. Further in 23 the conquest is stated to be complete, and the division of the land begins. But in 13⁶ the arrangement of the inheritances has still to be effected. It seems better therefore to regard this as the supplemental assertion of another writer in the same Deuteronomistic school.

21b So M S. T utterly destroy.

23 S as in 16. The entire conquest is here summed up, in preparation for the distribution cp 12⁷.

J E

R^dJ E P^s

n¹ 12⁷ 1210^a cp
Ezek 4829
c¹ 1418^a

Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel ¹¹according to their divisions ¹²by their tribes. And the land ¹³had rest from war.

h¹ 112^b

a 115
b Deut 3⁸
c Deut 4⁹
d Deut 3²
e Deut 2³⁶
f Deut 3¹⁶
g Deut 3¹²
h 112
i 1320 Num 33¹⁹
j Deut 3¹¹
k 5 in Deut 14
l Deut 3¹⁰
m Deut 3¹⁴
n 11

12¹ ¹Now these are the kings of the land, whom the children of Israel smote, and ²possessed their land ³beyond Jordan ⁴toward the sunrise, ⁵from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon, and ⁶all the Arabah eastward: ⁷2 Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from ⁸Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and ⁹[the city that is in] the ¹⁰middle of the valley, and half ¹¹Gilead, even unto the river Jabbok, the border of the children of Ammon; ¹²and the Arabah unto the sea of ¹³Chinneroth, eastward, and unto the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, eastward, the way to ¹⁴Beth-jeshimoth; and on the south, under the ¹⁵slopes of Pisgah: ¹⁶4 and the border of Og king of Bashan, of the remnant of the Rephaim, who dwelt at ¹⁷Ashtaroth and at Edrei, ¹⁸and ruled in mount Hermon, and in ¹⁹Salecah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the ²⁰Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. ²¹5 Moses the ²²servant of Yahweh and the children of Israel smote them: and Moses the servant of Yahweh gave it for a ²³possession unto the ²⁴Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half ²⁵tribe of Manasseh.

a 88
b 21^ac 8^ad 88^a
e 112c Deut 3¹².

p 117

7 And these are the kings of the ¹land whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward, from ²Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto ³mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; and Joshua gave it unto the ⁴tribes of Israel for a ⁵possession according to their ⁶divisions: ⁷8 in the ⁸hill country, and in the lowland, and in the Arabah, and in the ⁹slopes, and in the wilderness, and in the South; the ¹⁰Hittite, the Amorite, and the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: ¹¹9 the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Beth-el, one; ¹²10 the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one; ¹³11 the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one; ¹⁴12 the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one; ¹⁵13 the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; ¹⁶14 the king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; ¹⁷15 the king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; ¹⁸16 the king of Makkeedah, one; the king of Beth-el, one; ¹⁹17 the king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one; ²⁰18 the king of Aphek, one; the king of ²¹Lassharon, one; ²²19 the king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one; ²³20 the king of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one; ²⁴21 the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; ²⁵22 the king of Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; ²⁶23 the king of Dor in ²⁷the height of Dor, one; the king of ²⁸Goiim in Gilgal, one; ²⁹24 the king of Tirzah, one: all the kings thirty and one.

q 1123

r 1116

s 91

1 144a

a 231 Gen 1811

b Gen 151

c 5 to possess it

cp 588^a

d 1817 2210 Ezek

478 Joel 44⁴e Judg 3³ 1 Sam

616

f 1041

g Deut 223

13¹ ¹Now Joshua was ²old and well stricken in years^c, and Yahweh said unto him, Thou art old and well stricken in years, and there remaineth yet ³very much land to be ⁴possessed.

² This is the land that yet remaineth: all the ³regions of the Philistines, and all the Geshurites; ⁴ from ⁵the Shihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the border of Ekron northward, [which] is counted to the Canaanites: the ⁶five lords of the Philistines; the ⁷Gazites, and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; ⁸ 4 ⁹also the ¹⁰Avvim, on the south: all the

12¹ R^d here inserts a list of the kings conquered by Joshua east and west of the Jordan. The summary in 1-6 is founded on the narrative in Deut 2-3, ⁵ being apparently later than Deut 3¹⁴. The source of the list in 7-24 is unknown. The enumeration at first follows the account of Joshua's campaigns 6-11, but it further specifies a number of kings who are not mentioned in other similar surveys; e.g. those of ¹³ Geder, ¹⁴ Hormah, Arad, ¹⁵ Adullam, ¹⁶ Bethel, ¹⁷ Tappuah, Hepher, ¹⁸ Aphek of the Sharon (5, ²¹ Taanach, Megiddo, ²² Kadesh, Jokneam, ²⁴ Tirzah. For Dor ²³ cp 112³; ⁴ 'Goiim in Gilgal' cp 238b.

² M See Deut 236.
^{7a} (5) Amorites cp 10^{8a} 6b. In 24¹² (5) corrects to twelve. If that reading be accepted E's figure was afterwards expanded by R^d.

¹⁸ 5 'king over the Sharon' (or plain). The proposition ⁷ shows that this is not the name of a city cp 22³. The comparison of (5) points to the original reading (Wellh Holl Dillm) 'the king of Aphek in Sharon, one.' The number of kings is thus reduced to thirty. (5) drops another out of 12.

^{23a} M Or, Naphath-dor.

^{23b} M Or, nations.—Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Bennett, Stenier follow (5) in reading 'the nations in Galilee.'

13¹ The second half of Joshua relates the allotment of the newly conquered land, chiefly on the basis of P. But at the outset 13¹⁻⁷ a difficulty occurs. The implication of 1 is

that the conquest is as yet far from complete. This verse cannot therefore belong to the expansions of R^d which are founded on the view that the whole land was subdued by Joshua: it must be derived from an older source, and literary parallels point to J. But in 2-6 R^d explains the previous statement in a quite different sense as applying to remote outlying regions in the south and north. Yet again in 7 these distant patches are to be distributed among the nine and a half tribes which settle west of the Jordan. Plainly 2-6 is not really related to 1 and 7, for the land to be divided in 7 is not that described in 2-6. Kuenen accordingly (Hex 135) suggested that 1 was originally connected with 18², and referred to the land which had still to be conquered when Judah and Joseph (Judges 12-22.) had secured their positions. In some fragments still preserved in Joshua and generally ascribed to J cp 138, various places are enumerated which the Israelites failed to reduce, but they are quite different from those named in 2-6. R^d in transferring 1 and 7 from their context failed to bring them into harmony with the situation as he conceived it, though he probably raised the number of seven tribes up to nine and a half.

⁸ M Commonly called, the brook of Egypt. See Num 34⁴.—It may, however, be doubted whether the significance of this name elsewhere, in 23³ Jer 21⁸ 1 Chron 13⁶4, permits this identification. Cp Dillm in loc.

⁴ M Or, also the Avvim: from the south, all etc.

J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^a
A Deut 17 ¹	land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that belongeth to the Zidonians, unto Aphek, to the border of the Amorites: ⁵ and the ⁶ land of the Gebalites, and all Lebanon, ⁷ toward the sunrise, from ⁸ Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the ⁹ entering in of Hamath: ¹⁰ all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto ¹¹ Misrephoth-maim, even all the Zidonians; them will I ¹² drive out from before the children of Israel: ¹³ only ¹⁴ allot thou it unto Israel for an ¹⁵ inheritance, ¹⁶ as I have commanded thee.				a 39 ^b b 84
† 11 ¹⁵ ‡ 13 ¹⁷ § Num 13 ²¹ 34 ^{8a} ¶ 11 ¹⁸ ‡ 23 ⁴ Ezek 45 ¹ 47 ²⁸ † 16 ¹ o Ex 23 ¹⁵ Deut 12 ²¹	¹⁷ Now therefore divide ¹⁸ this land for an inheritance unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh.				
p Deut 3 ¹² q 11 ¹ r 12 ²	¹⁹ With ²⁰ him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses ²¹ gave them, ²² beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the ²³ servant of Yahweh gave them; ²⁴ from ²⁵ 'Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the ²⁶ plain of Medeba unto Dibon; ²⁷ and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which ²⁸ 'reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon; ²⁹ and Gilead, and the border of the ³⁰ Geshurites and Maacathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salecah; ³¹ all the ³² kingdom of Og in Bashan, which ³³ 'reigned in ³⁴ 'Ashtaroth and in Edrei (the same was left of the remnant of the Rephaim); for these did Moses smite, and drave them out.				c 21 ^a
s Cp 12 21	... ³⁵ And the children of Israel drave not out the Geshurites, nor the Maacathites: but Geshur and Maacath ³⁶ 'dwelt ³⁷ in the midst of Israel, ³⁸ unto this day.				d 26 e 142 ^b f 112 g 91
t 12 ⁵	³⁹ Only unto the ⁴⁰ tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; ⁴¹ the offerings of Yahweh, the ⁴² God of Israel, made by fire are his inheritance, ⁴³ as he spake unto him.				
u 12 ⁴					
v 15 ⁶³ 16 ¹⁰					
w 7 ¹⁸					
x ⁵ =princes † 13 ¹ y Num 31 ⁸ z Mic 5 ⁴ Ezek 32 ³⁰ Ps 83 ¹¹ (Dan 11 ⁸)†	¹⁵ And Moses gave unto the ¹⁶ tribe of the children of Reuben ¹⁷ according to their families. ¹⁸ And their border was from ¹⁹ 'Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the ²⁰ plain by Medeba; ²¹ Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the ²² plain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon; ²³ and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath; ²⁴ and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth-shahar in the mount of the valley; ²⁵ and Beth-peor, and the ²⁶ slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; ²⁷ and all the cities of the ²⁸ plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, ²⁹ which ³⁰ 'reigned in Heshbon, ³¹ whom Moses smote with the ³² chiefs of Midian, ³³ 'Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the ³⁴ princes of Sihon, that dwell in the land. ³⁵ Balaam also the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel ³⁶ slay with the sword among the rest of their slain. ³⁷ And the border of the children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border [thereof]. ³⁸ This was the inheritance of the children of Reuben ³⁹ according to their families, the cities and the ⁴⁰ villages thereof.				h 165 i 65 ^b
a' Gen 25 ¹⁸	²⁴ And Moses gave unto the ²⁵ tribe of Gad, unto the children of Gad, ²⁶ according to their families. ²⁷ And their border was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, unto Aroer that is ²⁸ before Rabbah; ²⁹ and from Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh, and				j 188 ^b k 64

13⁵ The ungrammatical text seems corrupt, cp Dillm and Steuern.

⁷ 'This land' obviously means the land of Canaan in the broad sense, not the separate and distant localities named in 2-6. The verses, therefore, are discontinuous. But as J does not recognize the division of the tribe of Manasseh, and apparently sees the Manassite colonization of Gilead at a later date cp Num 32²⁹; the numerical reference must be an addition.

⁸ Another breach of continuity, for according to ⁷ 'him' denotes the Western branch of Manasseh, and according to ⁸ the Eastern. On the evidence of mutilation of the text afforded by (G) cp Dillm.

⁹ M Or, table land.

¹² הַמִּדְבָּר; a peculiar form cp 21 27 30^a. Ct Deut 3⁴ 10 18 21. So הַמִּדְבָּר as in 16¹⁰. T nevertheless. This passage, clearly cognate with 15⁶³ 16¹⁰ 17¹² Judg 1²¹ 27¹, belongs to a group of fragments of an early account of the settlement, portions of which seem to have been preserved in Judg 1. This group is universally assigned to J cp *Introd ante* p 307. The later writer of 11 included the territory of the Geshurites and Maacathites in the settlement of the Trans-jordanic tribes, though in 12⁵ Deut 3¹⁴ it is expressly said to have formed the Israelite boundary.

¹⁴ 15 as it stands is really ungrammatical: (G) does not contain 'the fire-offerings' (apparently imported from Deut 18¹), and

simply reads 'Yahweh the God of Israel is his inheritance' cp 33 and Deut 18² 10⁹.

¹⁵ At this point another description of the territory allotted to the Trans-jordanic tribes is introduced. Its fresh term for 'tribe,' its recurring formulae 15 23, 28, 31^a, and its sequel in 14¹⁻⁵, all connect it unmistakably with P. Notice the 'children of Reuben' 15, 'children of Gad' 24, for the 'Reubenites and Gadites' of 8. (G) introduces the section 15-32 by a formal title 'And this is the division which Moses divided to the children of Israel in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho' cp 32, which has been accepted as original by Hollenberg, Kuenen, Dillm, Bennett, Addis, Steuern., Oettli (on the other hand) suspecting it to be derived from 32. It is true that the term *καταμερίσμός* does not occur again, (G) having different renderings in 14¹ 19⁵¹; but as *καταμερίσμός* is used in Lev 25⁴⁶ Num 32¹⁸ 34⁹ Deut 10³ (7r; Pi Hiph Hithpa) (G) may represent a formula like that in 19⁵¹, 'these are the inheritances which Moses distributed for inheritance.'

¹⁶ 17 21 M Or, table land.—(G) does not contain 'by Medeba.'

²⁰ M Or, springs.—The only occurrence in P cp 28.

^{21a} Absent from (G).

^{21b} A later annotator has here converted the Midianite kings of Num 31⁸ into dependent allies of Sihon, and thus united the campaigns of Num 21²¹⁻³¹ and 31.

J E

P'

Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of 'Debir; ²⁷ and in the valley, Beth-haram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, 'Jordan and the border [thereof], unto the uttermost part of the sea of Chinnereth beyond Jordan eastward. ²⁸ 'This is the inheritance of the children of Gad, 'according to their families, the cities and the 'villages thereof.

²⁹ 'And Moses gave [inheritance] unto the half tribe of Manasseh: and it was for the half 'tribe of the children of Manasseh 'according to their families. ³⁰ And their border was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all 'the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities: ³¹ and half Gilead, and half Ashtaroth, and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, were for the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, even for the half of the children of Machir 'according to their families.

³² 'These are the inheritances which Moses ^v distributed in the 'plains of Moab, 'beyond the Jordan at Jericho, eastward. ³³ 'But unto the 'tribe of Levi Moses gave none inheritance: Yahweh, the God of Israel, is their inheritance, as he spake unto them.

¹⁴ 'And 'these are the inheritances which the children of Israel took in the 'land of Canaan, which 'Eleazar the priest, and 'Joshua the son of Nun, and the 'heads of the fathers' [houses] of the 'tribes of the children of Israel 'distributed unto them, ² by the lot of their inheritance, as Yahweh 'commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine 'tribes, and for the half tribe. ³ 'For Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and the half tribe 'beyond Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance 'among them. ⁴ 'For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: and they gave no portion unto the Levites in the land, save 'cities to dwell in, with the 'suburbs thereof for their 'cattle and for their 'substance. ⁵ 'As Yahweh commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.

⁶ 'Then the children of Judah drew nigh unto Joshua in 'Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the 'Kenizzite said unto him, 'Thou knowest the thing

l 188^a
m 2^aa 188^a
b 4^a
c 12^b
d 84^a
e 165
f 180^ag 2^b

h 22

i 78

j 189^o

U' 14¹ 19⁶¹ Num
34²⁰ 3⁴
c' Num 34¹⁵ 2^b

a Num 34¹⁷b 13³²c Num 35²d Gen 31¹⁸ 34²³
36⁶e 104³f Cp 15¹⁷ Num32¹² et Num13⁶g Gen 30²⁶ Ex32²² Num 20¹⁴13²⁶ M Or, *Lidebir*.27 M Or, *having Jordan for a border*.

²⁹ Difficulties again present themselves in ²⁹⁻³¹. The opening statement 'and Moses gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh' is obviously incomplete; moreover 'tribe' is D's word שבט ¹⁴ in contrast to P's בני in the next clause. (3) however reads as in ¹⁸ 24 'and Moses gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh according to their families, which has the merit of conformity. In ³¹ 'half Gilead' is assigned to Eastern Manasseh, though in ²⁰ all the cities of Gilead have been given to Gad. The introduction of the 'children of Machir' ³¹ is unexpected. According to P Num 26²⁹. Manasseh contained but one group of families, descended from Manasseh's only son Machir. If Manasseh was divided, therefore, half the children of Machir would be on each side of the Jordan: hence the somewhat clumsy insertion in ^{31b} which (3) makes still clumsier. Cp Num 32²⁹ Deut 31⁵. The whole passage is probably the result of an effort to harmonize various data, and may be a late insertion (so Bennett).

30 M See Num 32⁴¹.

³³ A sequel added by a later hand reproducing ¹⁴ in its original form: not found in (3).

¹⁴ At this point the compiler introduces P's description of the distribution of the land of Canaan among the nine and a half tribes. It is natural to infer from the opening and close of the narrative ¹⁴ 1-6 and ¹⁰ 61 that the whole distribution was made by the same persons at the same time and place, viz before the tent of meeting in Shiloh. Such a simultaneous division also appears to be contemplated in Num 34¹³⁻²⁹, where ten 'princes' (instead of 'heads of fathers' houses') are appointed to assist Eleazar and Joshua. But in the present arrangement Judah Ephraim and Western Manasseh receive their lots first, apparently in Gilgal ¹⁴ 6, and not till ¹⁸ 1 does the whole congregation assemble at Shiloh, where the lots are drawn for the remaining seven tribes. But the analysis shows that ¹⁸ 1 does not belong to its present sequel ²⁻¹⁰; the gathering of the entire nation at Shiloh implies that all the western tribes are engaged in a common act; and the dislocation of the division into two

groups spoils the symmetry of P's whole process. Dillmann therefore (followed cautiously by Driver) concedes Wellhausen's plea that ¹⁴ 1-6 was originally preceded by ¹⁸ 1 which stood as the introduction to P's account of the settlement. The reason for its transposition is not hard to divine. The older traditions represented the children of Judah and the house of Joseph as taking up their positions first by conquest. In combining these with the system of distribution by lot P's ideal scheme is broken in two, and his Shiloh scene is transferred to the place which it occupied in the story of JJE after Judah Ephraim and Western Manasseh have already obtained their portions.

(3) omits ³² down to 'beyond Jordan' which follow ², probably accidentally. The verse has a supplemental air and may be additional cp ⁴.

⁴⁸ In ⁴ some critics find the hand of the annotator, anxious to explain how the tribes can be reckoned as twelve without including Levi, and consequently emphasizing the dual character of the house of Joseph.

⁴⁹ M Or, *pasture lands*.—¹⁵⁶. This passage is obviously not continuous with ¹⁻⁶; the scene is in Gilgal instead of Shiloh cp ¹²; Joshua acts alone instead of taking the second place after Eleazar; and Caleb does not as in P Num 13⁶ belong to Judah; he is not an Israelite at all, but a Kenizzite. The address of Caleb to Joshua is plainly founded on the narrative in Num 13-14, but the P elements of that story are ignored; from ⁷ it is clear that Caleb acted alone without any aid from Joshua cp Num 13³⁰ et Num 14⁶. The phraseology shows points of contact with both J^a or RJ^a ('wholly followed' ⁸, 'from the time that' ¹⁰ 36) and E (² 'Moses the man of God' 'concerning' ⁶, 'brought word again' ⁷). But the whole representation has been recast under the influence of Deut 12⁹. (cp 'spy out' ⁷, 'made the heart of the people melt' 'Yahweh my God' ⁸, 'thy foot hath trodden' ⁹, 'Anakim' 'great and fenced' 'drive them out' ¹²). The story, however, assumes that Hebron is not yet captured ¹⁰ 36, nor the Anakim expelled ¹² 1. Another version is found in ¹⁵ 18. In ⁶ an editorial attempt has been made to harmonize Caleb's language with P by inserting 'and concerning thee.'

J E R^a J E P'

h Dent 33¹
i 1
j Dent 19
k Dent 24
l Num 12^{26b}
m Dent 22
n 14 Num 14²⁴
o 8
p Cp Dent 24

q Dent 28⁶

r Dent 28
s 10²⁵ 5 cp
t 13⁶

u 11¹⁰
v 12²⁸

a 14²

b 2 5 21 7815
Num 34³ 5
c 2-4 cp Num
34³⁻⁵

d 1812. Num
34³

e 11 1214 17 10¹³
Is 44^{19a}
f 1815 46n 711
cp 1881

g Num 34⁶

that Yahweh spake unto Moses the ^hman of God ^kconcerning me and concerning thee in Kadesh-barnea. ⁷ Forty years old was I when Moses the ^lservant of Yahweh sent me from ^jKadesh-barnea to ^kspy out the land; and I ^lbrought him word again as it was in mine heart. ⁸ Nevertheless my brethren that went up with me ^mmade the heart of the people melt; but I ⁿwholly followed Yahweh ^{my} God. ⁹ And Moses sware on that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy ^ofoot hath trodden shall be an inheritance to thee and to thy children for ever, because thou hast ^pwholly followed Yahweh my God. ¹⁰ And now, behold, Yahweh hath kept me alive, ^qas he spake, these ^rforty and five years, from the time that Yahweh spake this word unto Moses, while Israel walked in the wilderness: and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old. ¹¹ As ^syet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, and to ^tgo out and to come in. ¹² Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof Yahweh spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the ^uAnakim were there, and ^vcities great and fenced: it may be that Yahweh will be ^wwith me, and I shall ^xdrive them out, ^yas Yahweh spake. ¹³ And Joshua blessed him; and he gave Hebron unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. ¹⁴ Therefore Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, ^{unto} this day; because that he ^zwholly followed Yahweh, the ^{aa}God of Israel. ¹⁵ Now the name of Hebron ^{before}time was ^{ab}Kiriath-arba; [which Arba was] the greatest man among the ^{ac}Anakim. And the ^{ad}land had rest from war.

15¹ ^{ae}And the ^{af}lot for the ^{ag}tribe of the children of Judah ^{ah}according to their families was unto the border of Edom, even to the ^{ai}wilderness of Zin southward, at the ^{aj}uttermost part of the south. ² ^{ak}And their south border was from the ^{al}uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the ^{am}bay that looked southward: ³ and it went out southward of the ascent of Akkrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and went up by the south of Kadesh-barnea, and passed along by Hebron, and went up to Addar, and ^{an}turned about to Karka: ⁴ and it passed along to Azmon, and went out at the brook of Egypt; and the ^{ao}goings out of the border were at the sea: ^{ap}this shall be your south border. ⁵ And the east border was the Salt Sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And the border of the north ^{aq}quarter was from the ^{ar}bay of the sea at the ^{as}end of Jordan: ⁶ and the border went up to Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben: ⁷ and the border went up to Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is ^{at}over against the ascent of Adummim, which is on the south side of the river: and the border passed along to the waters of En-shemesh, and the ^{au}goings out thereof were at En-rogel: ⁸ and the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the ^{av}side of the ^{aw}Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward: ⁹ and the border was ^{ax}drawn from the top of the mountain unto the ^{ay}fountain of the waters of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah (the same is Kiriath-jearim): ¹⁰ and the border ^{az}turned about from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim on the north (the same is Chesalon), and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed along by Timnah: ¹¹ and the border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and the border was ^{ba}drawn to Shikkeron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out at Jabneel; and the ^{bb}goings out of the border were at the sea. ¹² And the west border was to the ^{bc}great sea, and the border [thereof]. ¹³ This is the border of the children of Judah round about ^{bd}according to their families.

14¹⁵ M That is, the city of Arba.—Ct 15¹³. The subsequent identification of Arba may be due to a later annotator.

15¹ With the exception of 15-19 (cp 138) the description of Judah's lot 1-13 20-42 is readily identified with P, showing characteristic affinities in substance and phrase, as the Margins prove. Some additions are noted in 28-29 and 40-47.

2 6 M 5 tongue.—For the line between Judah and Benjamin

5-9 cp the description in the reverse direction 18¹⁴⁻¹⁹.

4 A trace of the direct speech apparently preserved by accident in the transformation of Num 34 into narrative. Cp 34^{5b} 5b.

8a M 5 shoulder.—10. 1812. 16 18. Num 34¹¹.

8b 1816 28 ct 10¹. Cp Judg 19¹⁰, and Moore in loc.

J E R^d J E P'h 14⁴
i Gen 23²
j Judg 1²⁰
k Num 13²²h 19²²
i 19⁴

¹³ ^hAnd unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he ^hgave a portion ^hamong the children of Judah, ^haccording to the commandment of Yahweh to Joshua, even ^hKiriath-arba, [which Arba was] the father of Anak (the ^hsame is Hebron). ¹⁴ And Caleb ^hdrove out thence the three sons of Anak, ^hSheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi, ^hthe children of Anak. ¹⁵ And he went up thence against the inhabitants of Debir: ^hnow the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-sepher. ¹⁶ And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. ¹⁷ And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. ¹⁸ And it came to pass, when she came [unto him], that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she ^hlighted down from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou? ¹⁹ And she said, Give me a ^h'blessing; for that thou hast ^hset me in the land of the South, give me also ^h'springs of water'. And he gave her the ^h'upper springs and the nether springs.

l Judg 1¹⁴ 4²¹†m Judg 1¹⁶†
n 16†

²⁰ ^hThis is the inheritance of the ^h'tribe of the children of Judah' according to their families.

²¹ And the ^h'uttermost cities of the ^h'tribe of the children of Judah toward the border of Edom in the South were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur; ²² and Kinah, and Dimonah, and Adadah; ²³ and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan; ²⁴ Ziph, and Telem, and Bealoth; ²⁵ and Hazor-hadattah, and Keriioth-hezron (the same is Hazor); ²⁶ Amam, ^hand Shema, and Moladah; ²⁷ and Hazargaddah, and Heshmon, and Beth-pelet; ²⁸ and Hazar-shual, and Beer-sheba, and ^h'Biziothiah'; ²⁹ Baalah, and Iim, and Ezem; ³⁰ and Eltolad, and Chesil, and Hormah; ³¹ and Ziklag, and Madmannah, and Sansannah; ³² and Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and ^hAin, and Rimmon: all the cities are twenty and nine, ^h'with their villages.

o Cp 36 41 44 51
64 67 59. 62
1828 196. 62

³³ In the lowland, Eshtaol, and Zorah, and Ashnah; ³⁴ and Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam; ³⁵ Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah; ³⁶ and Shaaraim, and ^h'Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim; fourteen cities with their villages.

³⁷ Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdal-gad; ³⁸ and Dilan, and Mizpeh, and Joktheel; ³⁹ Lachish, and Bozkath, and Eglon; ⁴⁰ and Cabbon, and ^h'Lahmam, and Chithlish; ⁴¹ and Gederath, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, and Makkedah; sixteen cities with their villages.

⁴² Libnah, and Ether, and Ashan; ⁴³ and Iphtah, and Ashnah, and Nezib; ⁴⁴ and Keilah, and Achzib, and Mareshah; nine cities with their villages.

¹⁵^{13a} An introduction by a late writer in the manner of the Priestly compiler to incorporate an older fragment concerning Caleb's settlement in South Judah. This fragment reappears in Judg 1¹⁰, where it is believed to belong to J's account of the conquest of 14⁵⁻¹⁵. Addis, following Meyer (ZATW i 140) and Budde (Richter und Sam 47) restores ¹³ in accordance with Judg ²⁰ 10 thus: 'And to Caleb the son of Kenaz a portion was given among the children of Israel, as Moses had spoken, namely Hebron. Then Caleb went up against the Canaanites who dwelt in Hebron—now the name of Hebron in former times was Kiriath-arba.' According to R^d's view of the conquest Hebron and Debir had already been captured, and all their inhabitants had been devoted 10²⁸⁻³⁹. Similarly in 11²¹ the Anakim had been exterminated. It is evident therefore that this passage belongs to another group of narratives. As the three sons of Anak are only named elsewhere in Num 13²², already assigned on independent grounds to J, further confirmation is obtained for the ascription of 14¹⁹ to that source.

^{13b} M. That is, the city of Arba.—Ct 14¹⁵.
¹⁴ Not in G or Judg 1¹⁰: perhaps introduced from Num 13²² (cp Steuern).

¹⁵ Perhaps an annotation of R^d, cp 'beforetime' 11²⁰ 14¹⁵. On the other hand Moore allots the parallel passage in Judg 1¹¹ to J.

^{19a} M. Or, present.—Cp Gen 33¹¹.

^{19b} M. Or, given me the land of the South.

²⁸ A difficulty arises in this list because it contains thirty-six cities, whereas according to ³² it should not name more than twenty-nine. The solution has been found by Kayser and Hollenberg. In 28 (G) reads 'her daughters' בנותיה for 'Biziothiah' בִּזְיוֹתִיָּה. But this is not one of P's expressions, and therefore suggests some manipulation of the text. Now the term occurs in a list in Nehemiah 11²⁶, enumerating 'Jeshua and Moladah and Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual and Beer-sheba and her daughters.' These names, therefore (Jeshua being probably represented by Shema), are supposed to have been introduced into the text by a later scribe: and six of the superfluous seven are thus identified. Beer-sheba, Moladah, and Hazar-shual are reckoned in 10² to Simeon.—Steuern, however, thinks some of the names in Neh 11²⁶, introduced from this passage, and obtains the reduced number by comparing the varying omissions in different codices of G.

²⁸ G and her daughters: see preceding note.

³² Both here and 10⁷ G represents Ain Rimmon by one word. So also does Neh 11²⁹ treat it as a single name, En-rimmon (Rimmon's Well). If this emendation be adopted, the proper number of cities is then obtained cp 26¹¹.

³⁶ Not in G. There is again a discrepancy, fourteen cities are reckoned and fifteen are named. G treats Gederothaim as a common noun οἱ Γεδροθαι αὐτῶν, and makes up the fourteen by inserting 'Membra' between Adullam and Socoh.

⁴⁰ M. Or, Lahmas.

J E

P^a

⁴⁵ Ekron, with her ⁴⁶ towns and her villages: ⁴⁶ from Ekron even unto the sea, all that were by the side of Ashdod, with their villages.

⁴⁷ Ashdod, her towns and her villages; Gaza, her towns and her villages; unto the brook of Egypt, and the great sea, and the border [thereof].

⁴⁸ And in the hill country, Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh; ⁴⁹ and Dannah, and Kiriath-sannah (the same is Debir); ⁵⁰ and Anab, and Eshtemoah, and Anim; ⁵¹ and Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages.

⁵² Arab, and Dumah, and Eshan; ⁵³ and Janim, and Beth-tappuah, and Aphekah; ⁵⁴ and Humtah, and Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron), and Zior; nine cities with their villages.

⁵⁵ Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Jutah; ⁵⁶ and Jezreel, and Jokdeam, and Zanoah; ⁵⁷ Kain, Gibeah, and Timnah; ten cities with their villages.

⁵⁸ Halhul, Beth-zur, and Gedor; ⁵⁹ and Maarath, and Beth-anoth, and Eltekon; six cities with their villagesⁿ.

⁶⁰ Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), and Rabbah; two cities with their villages.

⁶¹ In the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah; ⁶² and Nibshan, and the City of Salt, and En-gedi; six cities with their villages.

P Cp 18²⁸q 13¹³a Cp Judg 13
b 1-3 ct 5-8c 2 Sam 15⁸²d 18¹³14⁴ 17¹

... ⁶³ And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of ² Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not ⁴ drive them out: but the Jebusites ⁴ dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, ⁹ unto this day.

¹⁶ ¹ And the ⁴ lot for the children of Joseph went out from the ⁴ Jordan at Jericho, at the waters of Jericho on the east, even the wilderness, going up from Jericho through the hill country to Beth-el; ² and it went out from ² Beth-el to Luz, and passed along unto the border of the ⁴ Archites to Ataroth; ³ and it went down westward to the border of the Japhletites, unto the border of Beth-horon the ⁴ nether, even unto Gezer: ⁵ and the goings out thereof were at the sea.

⁴ ¹ And the children of Joseph, ⁶ Manasseh and Ephraim, ⁴ took their inheritance. ⁵ And the border of the children of Ephraim ⁴ according to their

a 96
b 65^b

15^{45a} The difference of form in these verses suggests a difference of source, which is confirmed by the fact that in 19⁴⁸ Ekron is allotted to Dan. On the other hand, the writer seems acquainted with P's formulae, 'the brook of Egypt' ⁴⁷ cp ⁴, the sea for a border ⁴⁷ cp ¹². The verses must be attributed, therefore, to the editorial process. Why Ashkelon is omitted cp Judg 1¹⁸, and Gath, is not apparent.

^{45b} M. G daughters.—Cp 17¹¹ Num 21²⁵ 32. The unpunctuated G text reads 'and the sea was the boundary for a boundary' (cp Num 34^{24b}), i.e. all along. Addis adopts Kautsch's emendation 'and the boundary was the great sea all along.'

⁵⁹ (G) here adds a group of eleven cities with their villages beginning with Tekoa and Ephrathah (that is Bethlehem), in the hill country. This list is unanimously recognized as genuine, for otherwise an important district would be unaccountably ignored.

⁶³ This verse is not homogeneous with P, either in matter or form; for (1) P locates Jerusalem in Benjamin and not in Judah 18²⁸, and (2) he does not use the formulae 'drive out' 'dwelt with' 'unto this day.' It resembles the group of fragments named in 13¹⁸ⁿ, its position here being due to the Compiler.

¹⁶ The account of the settlement of the house of Joseph in 16-17 is plainly composite, but its constituents are very curiously combined. After the elaborate survey of the inheritance of Judah at the hand of P, it is natural to look for a similar delineation of the lots of Ephraim and Manasseh. Elements of P are to be found by common consent in 16⁴⁻⁸ and 17¹⁻¹⁰, but the scale of description is much more contracted, and no lists of cities are appended resembling that in 15²⁰⁻⁶² cp 18²¹⁻¹⁹. &c. If P ever contained such enumerations they have been removed by the Compiler, who has not here as in other cases 18¹¹⁻¹⁹ adopted large and continuous sections from this source. When the remaining passages are examined, some of them such as 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹³ seem at once assignable to the group indicated in

13¹⁸ⁿ. What is the source of the rest? In many small matters P reveals its dependence on J just as D does on E; and it may be regarded as probable that if some of the material which cannot be ascribed to P be identified with J, the rest also may be attributed to that source. Thus in 16¹⁻³ the detail of the border of Ephraim is quite different from that in 5-7 cp 17¹⁻⁹. The Editor has preserved two independent versions side by side. As the passage immediately preceding 15⁶³ belongs to J as well as the next fragment distinguishable from P in 16¹⁰, it is natural to regard 1-3 as an extract from the same source. Names similar in form to the Archite and Japhletite will be found in J Gen 16¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 15¹⁹⁻²¹. It is in harmony with another passage assigned to J 17¹⁴⁻¹⁸ that the 'house of Joseph' has only one lot cp 18⁶, whereas P distinguishes Ephraim and Manasseh, describing each separately 5-8 17¹⁻¹⁰. (In 5 Manasseh is named first as the firstborn 14⁴ ct Gen 48⁸). Steuern, however, assigns 1-3 to P as the statement of the common south boundary of both tribes: the opening of 1 he restores thus 'And the lot came out for the children of Joseph [cp 19¹ 17²⁴ 32 40]. Their border began from the Jordan' &c. This ascription leads him to expel incongruous matter in 5, as later repetition.

² (G) joins 'to Luz' with 'to Bethel,' thus identifying them as usual cp 18¹³ Judg 1²³ Gen 28¹⁹ 35⁸.

³ This seems to be the origin of P's formula cp 8 15⁴, where, however, the term 'goings out' is applied to the boundary, not as here to the 'lot.'

⁴ At this point R incorporates a passage from P who designates the children of Joseph 'Manasseh and Ephraim' (instead of Ephraim and Manasseh Gen 48²⁰), strictly recognizing the primogeniture of Manasseh cp 17¹. The description of Manasseh's lot, therefore, might be expected first. R, however, has assimilated the order to that of his older source, and has taken out the Ephraim section of P that it may stand next to the corresponding section in J.

J R^a E

P

i 167

m Judg 127

m 13¹³o 7⁷ Gen 127

p Judg 128

q 16¹⁰r 15 17 114
s Ex 716t § in this
sense †
u 16¹

v 114 Judg 119

a 10⁵¹ 21² 22⁰

b Num 322

2-10 L41.

Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea was his border; and they reached to Asher on the north, and to Issachar on the east.

¹¹ And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher ^mBeth-shean and her towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, even the three ⁿheights. ¹² Yet the children of Manasseh could not ⁿdrive out the inhabitants of those cities; but the Canaanites would dwell in that land. ¹³ And ⁿit came to pass, ⁿwhen the children of Israel were ^pwaxed strong, that they put the Canaanites to ⁿtaskwork, and did not utterly drive them out.

¹⁴ And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot and one ⁿpart for an inheritance, seeing I am a ⁿgreat people, forasmuch as ⁿhitherto Yahweh hath ⁿblessed me? ¹⁵ And Joshua said unto them, If thou be a ⁿgreat people, get thee up to the forest, and ⁿcut down for thyself there ⁿin the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim; since the ⁿhill country of Ephraim is too ⁿnarrow for thee. ¹⁶ And the children of Joseph said, The hill country ⁿis not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have ⁿchariots of iron, both they who are in ^mBeth-shean and her towns, and they who are in the valley of Jezreel. ¹⁷ And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, ⁿeven to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou art a ⁿgreat people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only: ¹⁸ but the hill country shall be thine; for though it is a forest, thou shalt ⁿcut it down, and ⁿthe goings out thereof shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have ⁿchariots of iron, and though they be strong.

¹⁸ And the whole ⁿcongregation of the children of Israel ⁿassembled themselves together at Shiloh, and ⁿset up the tent of meeting there: and the land was ⁿsubdued before them.

² And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which

¹⁷^{11a} Another of the passages cognate with 13¹³. The linguistic indications make for J. On the text cp Dillm, Bennett, and Steuern.

^{11b} M § daughters.

^{11c} This clause is absent from the parallel passage Judg 128, and is also absent from G (together with the Taanach clause). It seems to be due to the previous mention of Dor, Endor being 'about twenty-five miles east of Dor' (Bennett).

^{11d} M See 11² 12²³.

¹⁴ The source of 14-18 has been much discussed, and the literary question is here especially closely involved with the historical. At the outset it is clear that the Joseph-tribes are regarded as still undivided ('why hast thou given me') and as having only one lot. In ¹⁷ they are designated as the 'house of Joseph', and Dillm accordingly proposed to read 'house' for 'sons' in ^{14a}. From this Budde (ZATW vii 122-), and Richter and Sam 32-4) argued that the passage originally represented a stage in the tribal history when Ephraim and Manasseh were still united, and no Manassite clans had yet occupied Gilead. Pointing out that in ¹⁵ 'the forest' is discriminated from Ephraim's territory, and that in ¹⁸ 'a hill country' (§ does not contain 'the') is promised them, Budde suggested that the name Gilead had originally stood there, and this is accepted by Kittel, Hist i 265. In that case it would seem most natural to regard the passage as one document. But Kittel, while inserting Gilead in ¹⁵ and ¹⁸, follows Dillm in attributing ¹⁴. to E and ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ to J, finding a new beginning in ¹⁶; and he affirms that 'such peculiarities of form as prove J's authorship are only to be found in ¹⁸. . . Hist i 266f. But the divine blessing in ¹⁴ is paralleled only in J cp ¹⁰; the term 'great people' ¹⁴ cp Ex ⁷ 16 J. In ¹⁵ the vbs 'cut down' is too narrow' are unique instances of their respective meanings, the second occurring in another sense 10¹³

('hasted') J cp Gen 10¹⁵ Ex 5^{13a}. There seems no need, therefore, to refuse the whole passage to J, though it is difficult to decide how much is now due to editorial handwork cp Budde's textual corrections in Richt-Sam 36. The fivefold § in ¹⁸ can hardly be original; and if the view of Budde and Kittel be correct (it is adopted by Addis and Bennett) ^{18b} must be an addition on the transfer of the passage to its present connexion, for the occupation of Gilead would not enable the Eastern settlers to drive out the Canaanites from the Vale of Jezreel. Budde further proposes to insert here Num 32³⁹ 41. cp 32^{39a}. With the exception of various glosses attributed to R^p, Steuern gives 11-18 to J.

^{14b} M § line.

¹⁵ Wanting in G; probably a late gloss, cp Moore, Judges (ICC) 17. For 'Perizzite' cp Gen 13⁷, 'Rephaim' ¹⁵ 5.

¹⁶ M § is not found for us.—Cp Num 11²².

¹⁷ Again a possible editorial annotation: the names are not found in G.

¹⁸ The entry of this word (fem pl) after the masc sing vb seems to break the grammatical order: it is absent from G, and is specially characteristic of P cp ¹⁸ 7. The real subject is 'the forest.'

¹⁸ On the original place of this verse cp 14¹⁸.

² The description of the method by which the inheritances of the remaining tribes were settled by lot at Shiloh under Joshua's supervision, does not cohere with ¹ and ¹¹. . . The representation of P 14¹⁰ 51 puts Eleazar in the front and Joshua in the second place; here Joshua acts with independent initiative; ^{10a} and ^{10b} cannot proceed from the same writer. Noldeke assigned the passage to D, but though the style of R^d may be traced in ⁸ (7¹⁰), the relief in which these passages stand out from their context (at least in ⁷) shows that they are not really essential to the piece. It is natural therefore to look for.

J

R^d

J

E

P^r

c 5 Qal 14⁶ 22⁸
 d Ex 16²⁸ Num
 14¹¹
 e 5 Hithpa
 Prov 18⁹ 24¹⁰
 f Deut 12⁸
 g 5 om
 h Gen 13¹⁷
 i 5 write
 j Cp 19⁶
 k 5 Hithpa†
 l 17¹⁷
 m 8 10 5†
 n Deut 10⁹
 o 11 129^b
 p 12²-6 13⁸-12
 q Cp 2^b
 r 1¹

e 10¹³ Deut 17¹⁸
 31²⁴ 5 Ct Ex
 17¹⁴
 f 11²³

u 10¹⁰ Lev 16⁹
 5
 v 21²⁰ 40
 w 16⁴

had not yet ^cdivided their inheritance. ³ And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, ^dHow long are ye ^eslack to ^fgo in to possess the ^gland, which Yahweh, the ^hGod of your fathers, hath given you? ⁴ ⁱAppoint for you three men for each tribe: ^jand I will send them^j, and they shall ^karise, and walk through the land^h, and ^ldescribe it, ^maccording to their inheritance; and they shall come unto me. ⁵ And they shall ⁿdivide it into seven portions: Judah shall abide in his border on the south, and the ^ohouse of Joseph shall abide in their border on the north. ⁶ And ye shall describe the land into seven portions, and bring [the description] hither to me: and I will ^pcast lots for you here before Yahweh our God. ⁷ For the Levites have no ^qportion among you; for the ^rpriesthood of Yahweh is their inheritance: and Gad and Reuben and the half ^stribe of Manasseh have ^treceived their inheritance ^ubeyond Jordan eastward, which Moses the ^vservant of Yahweh gave them. ⁸ And the men arose, and went: and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, and I will ^wcast lots for you here before Yahweh in Shiloh. ⁹ And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven portions ^xin a book, and they ^ycame to Joshua ^zunto the camp at Shiloh. ¹⁰ And Joshua ^{aa}cast lots for them in Shiloh before Yahweh: ^{ab}and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel ^{ac}according to their divisions⁹.

d 53
 e 569^c
 f 119

g 112

11 ^{ad}And the lot of the ^{ae}tribe of the children of Benjamin ^{af}came up ^{ag}according to their families: ^{ah}and the border of ^{ai}their lot went out between the children of Judah and the ^{aj}children of Joseph. ^{ak}And their border on

h 165
 i 65^b

the authorship in some antecedent of R^d. This can hardly be J, for the conception of a deputation of twenty-one persons travelling through the country and recording its natural features and its conquered cities does not fit its picture of slow progress amid many obstacles. Nor does it really seem more congruous with the scantier traces of E's view (cp *Introd* 3 2 ante p 308. It obviously rests upon a theory of the subjugation of the people which was so complete as to permit the perambulation of the land by a small group of tribal representatives apparently without escort. This might be the view of a generalizing editor of the older documents: and the passage is accordingly attributed in its earlier form to R^d (with Kuenen and Bennett). There are, however, some slight incongruities as between ^{aa} and ^{ab}; and certain notable peculiarities of language, which point in the direction of the vocabulary of R^d. Such are ⁴ 'according to' ^{ai}לפי, ⁷ 'priesthood' (never in Deut) and 'beyond Jordan' ^uכעבר ירדן (for which D writes ^uעבר ירדן or ^uעבר ה'ר). There are traces elsewhere of revision by a late hand of this school: has this passage been touched in the same way? The older style is seen in ^{arise and walk}⁴, 'house of Joseph'⁶: in other respects the phrasological parallels are mostly with R^d and D.

18⁹ 5, with another punctuation, 'they brought it to Joshua,' omitting the remaining words. The sanctuary is located in other passages at Shiloh, e.g. 18¹ P cp 1 Sam 13⁸ &c, but not the camp (save in the late story Judg 21¹²). Dillm regarded Shiloh as probably harmonistic, and attributed to the same influence the occurrences in ⁸ (separated by the whole clause from the opening 'and here I will &c') and ¹⁰. So likewise Steuern.

11^a The sequel to the allotment of the seven portions at the sanctuary by Joshua ^{10a} would naturally be found in a description of the several inheritances. Such a description is indeed provided 18¹¹-19⁵¹. But it is soon apparent that the greater portion of this survey (to state it in the lowest terms) is from the hand of P. The word for 'tribe'²⁷ at once changes from ^{בט} to P's ^{בט} cp 19¹ 23, 31 39, 48 51, with other recurring P formulae, 18¹¹ 20, 28 19¹ 8 10 16, 23, 31, 39, 48 51 (for additional evidence see the margins). But this general ascription is not inconsistent with the incorporation of detail from other and older sources. An ancient fragment of this kind is at once recognized in 19⁴⁷. That an earlier statement lies at the base of ⁴⁹, is guaranteed by 18³⁰. Dillm (whose results are nearly all adopted by Addis, *Hex* i 330-1) finds traces of JE in a large number of passages, including the whole or part of 19¹ 8⁸ 9-10 13 17 24 25 26 27 28 30 32 35-38 40 41 47 49-50. The criteria for this discrimination are not definitely stated; it will be noticed, how-

ever, that there is some inequality in the superscriptions. In 18¹¹ 19¹⁰ the lot 'comes up'; in 19¹⁷ 24 32 40 it 'comes out.' But both uses are found in P; 'came up' Lev 16⁹ (RV 'fell'), 'came out' Josh 21⁴. Though uniformity might have been expected, this does not seem a reason for dividing the text. But further, some of the superscriptions are simple 18^{11a} 19¹⁰ 24 40, others are curiously duplicated, 19¹ 'for Simeon, for the tribe &c,' 17¹ 'for Issachar, for the children of Issachar &c,' 32 'for the children of Naphtali' bis (RV in each case inserts 'even'). This duplication, however, is not quite fairly represented in the English order. In 17¹ 5 runs 'for Issachar came out the fourth lot, for the children of Issachar according to their families'; and similarly 32. The last case seems to present no difficulty at all, except the inversion of the order. It is not, however, the manner of P to designate the tribes as single persons. The occurrence of the names Simeon and Issachar, therefore, by themselves, awakens suspicion. It may be due to the incorporation of older material imperfectly welded with P. If these names, then, be from another source, why not much more? There seems no reason why, except the impossibility of distinguishing it. P must have had some kind of scheme on which to base his tribal arrangements. The lists of cities were probably not his own compositions. But in the setting of the present enumeration the materials and the framework seem no longer capable of separation. A question arises, however, about the numerals 19¹ 10 &c. These are now related to the arrangements for the seven tribes 18²-10. But P 14¹ regarded all the Western tribes as receiving their inheritances by lot. If 18¹¹-19⁵¹ belongs to this scheme, the numerals must have been introduced by the Compiler, for in P's order (where Judah and Joseph 16⁴ stood first) Simeon 19² would have been fourth. The existing sequence produced by the incorporation of 18²-10 must therefore be redactional. Dillm, on the other hand, attributes it to JE.—The text is often defective, but where it does not bear on the literary history problems of textual criticism lie outside the scope of this work. 5 appears to curtail much, especially in the superscriptions.

11^b 5 adds 'first,' to correspond with 19¹ &c. On the originality of this enumeration see 11^an.

11^c This clause is sometimes attributed to JE on the ground of tautology with 11^a; but even if 'went (came) out' describes the issue of the lot from the urn (Dillm), the material fact of situation between the children of Judah and those of Joseph is new. 'Children of Joseph' cannot be claimed for JE on the strength of 16¹, when P has it 16⁴.

JR^d EP^a

the north ^aquarter was from Jordan; and the border went up to the ^aside of Jericho on the north, and went up through the hill country westward; and the ^jgoings out thereof were at the wilderness of ^bBeth-aven. ¹³ And the border passed along from thence to Luz, to the ^aside of Luz (the same is ^bBeth-el), southward; and the border went down to ^aAtaroth-addar, by the mountain that lieth on the south of Beth-horon the nether. ¹⁴ And the border was ^bdrawn and turned about on the west quarter southward, from the mountain that lieth before Beth-horon southward; and the ^jgoings out thereof were at ^cKiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), a city of the children of Judah: this was the west quarter. ¹⁵ And the south quarter was from the uttermost part of Kiriath-jearim, and the border went out westward, and went out to the fountain of the waters of ^dNephtoi: ¹⁶ and the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the ^evalley of the son of Hinnom, which is in the vale of Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of the ^fJebusite southward, and went down to ^gEn-rogel; ¹⁷ and it was ^bdrawn on the north, and went out at ^hEn-shemesh, and went out to Geliloth, which is ⁱover against the ^jascent of Adummim; and it went down to the ^kstone of Bohan the son of Reuben; ¹⁸ and it passed along to the side ^lover against the Arabah northward, and went down ^munto the Arabah: ¹⁹ and the border passed along to the side of ⁿBeth-hoglah northward: and the ^jgoings out of the border were at the north ^obay of the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan: this was the south border. ²⁰ And Jordan was the border of it on the east ^pquarter. ²¹ This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, ^qby the borders thereof round about, ^raccording to their families. ²² Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin ^saccording to their families were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and Emek-keziz; ²³ and Beth-arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el; ²⁴ and Avvim, and Parah, and Ophrah; ²⁵ and Chephar-ammoni, and Ophni, and Geba; twelve cities ^twith their villages; ²⁶ Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth; ²⁷ and Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Moza; ²⁸ and Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah; ²⁹ and Zelah, Eleph, and the ^uJebusite (the same is Jerusalem), Gibeath, [and] Kiriath; fourteen cities ^vwith their villages. ³⁰ This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin ^waccording to their families.

¹⁹ And the ^xsecond lot came out for Simeon, [even] for the ^ytribe of the children of Simeon ^zaccording to their families: and their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah. ² And they had for their inheritance ^aBeer-sheba, or Sheba, and Moladah; ³ and Hazar-shual, and Balah, and Ezem; ⁴ and Eltolad, and Bethul, and Hormah; ⁵ and Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susah; ⁶ and Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuh; ⁷ thirteen cities with their villages: ⁸ and Ain, Rimmon, and Ether, and Ashan, ⁹four cities with their villages: ¹⁰ and all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South. ¹¹ This is the inheritance of the ^btribe of the children of Simeon ^caccording to their families. ¹² Out of the ^dpart of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon: for the portion of the children of Judah was ^etoo much for them: therefore the children of Simeon ^fhad inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.

18¹² 18 M ^g shoulder.—Cp 15⁸.18 ^g curtails here and in 19.17 ^g omits.18 M ^g tongue.

19² With this list cp 15²⁶⁻³². It is exposed to the difficulty that thirteen cities are reckoned in the first group ⁶, but fourteen are named. This is disguised in ² by the rendering 'or' for ^g 'and' (^g reads καὶ Σαμάρ as in 15²⁶), but the error may possibly lie in some accidental repetition. Other divergences are due in Dillmann's view partly to copyists' errors on one side or other, partly to possible variations in the names of the cities, and partly to more extensive employment of JEE by R.

⁷ In 15³² Ain and Rimmon seem to form a compound name 'Rimmon's Well': similarly ^g here. Another name, therefore, is needed to make up the four; ^g supplies Θαλαῶ cp 1 Chron

4³² Tochen.

⁸ This statement is not in P's form, who has already noted the villages in his usual mode. It is perhaps incorporated by R, but perhaps also by the Priestly Compiler himself. Cp 8³³.

⁹ Some of the phraseology of this verse is said to recall older sources eg 'line' cp 17¹⁴, but it also appears in P 17⁶. R is denied by Dillm to P in the sense of 'too much,' but occurs in Num 16³ 7. The conclusion is almost certainly P's; for R without object cp 9⁶, and for R with 'inheritance' see 16⁹ 17^{4ab} 6 10¹ cp 17⁹ 21⁴ 22. There is therefore no reason of style for refusing the verse to P; and it enhances the explanation in 1 with a new fact. It may, however, be an editorial supplement cp 16⁹.

^{9b} M ^g line.

JR¹EP¹

¹⁰ And the *third* lot ^dcame up for the children of Zebulun ^baccording to their families: and the ^cborder of their inheritance^e was unto Sarid: ¹¹ and their border went up westward, even to Maralah, and ^freached to Dabbesheth; and it reached to the brook that is ^gbefore Jokneam; ¹² and it turned from Sarid ^heastward toward the sunrising unto the border of Chisloth-tabor; and it went out to Daberath, and went up to Japhia; ¹³ and from thence it passed along eastward to Gath-hepher, to Ethkazin; and it went out at Rimmon which ⁱstretcheth unto Neah; ¹⁴ and the border ^jturned about it on the north to Hannathon: and the ^kgoings out thereof were at the valley of Iphtah-el; ¹⁵ and Kattath, and Nahalal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and Beth-lehem: ^ltwelve cities with their villages. ¹⁶ This is the inheritance of the children of Zebulun ^baccording to their families, these cities with their villages.

¹⁷ The *fourth* lot came out ^afor Issachar, [even] for the children of Issachar ^baccording to their families. ¹⁸ And their border was unto Jezreel, and Chesulloth and Shunem; ¹⁹ and Hapharaim, and Shion, and Anaharath; ²⁰ and Rabbith, and Kishion, and Ebez; ²¹ and Remeth, and Engannim, and En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez; ²² and the border ^creached to Tabor, and Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh; and the ^dgoings out of their border were at Jordan: ^esixteen cities with their villages. ²³ This is the inheritance of the ^ftribe of the children of Issachar ^baccording to their families, the cities with their villages.

²⁴ And the *fifth* lot came out for the ^atribe of the children of Asher ^baccording to their families. ²⁵ And ^ctheir border was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph; ²⁶ and Allammelech, and Amad, and Mishal; and it ^dreached to Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath; ²⁷ and it ^eturned toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and ^freached to Zebulun, and to the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel; and it went out to Cabul on the left hand, ²⁸ and Ebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and Kanah, even unto great Zidon; ²⁹ and the border ^gturned to Ramah, and to ^hthe fenced city of Tyre; and the border turned to Hosah; and the ⁱgoings out thereof were at the sea ^jby the region of Achzib: ³⁰ Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob: ^ktwenty and two cities with their villages. ³¹ This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher ^baccording to their families, these cities with their villages.

³² The *sixth* lot came out ^afor the children of Naphtali, [even] for the children of Naphtali, according to their families. ³³ And their border was from Heleph, from the ^boak in Zaanannim, and Adaminekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakkum; and the goings out thereof were at Jordan: ³⁴ and the border ^cturned westward to Aznoth-tabor, and went out from thence to Hukkok; and it ^dreached to Zebulun on the south, and reached to Asher on the west, and to Judah at Jordan toward the sunrising. ³⁵ And the ^efenced cities were Ziddin, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth; ³⁶ and Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor; ³⁷ and Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor; ³⁸ and Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh; ³⁹ nineteen cities with their villages. ⁴⁰ This is the inheritance of the ^ftribe of the children of Naphtali ^baccording to their families, the cities with their villages.

⁴⁰ The *seventh* lot came out for the ^atribe of the children of Dan ^baccording to

19¹⁵ Another incongruity, only five cities out of twelve being named. Where are the seven? Dillm supposes that at the time of the editorial compilation many of the northern cities were in ruins, and E troubled himself little about their fate. An accidental omission seems a less cumbersome hypothesis (the junction of ¹⁴ and ¹⁵ being very imperfect) cp 15⁵⁸. On the other hand G omits the summary, as in 22³⁰ 33; are these later additions?

²⁵ The description in 26-30 is curiously confused, the cities being enumerated in the process of tracing the border, and the enumeration being again inconsistent with the concluding number. These peculiarities doubtless point either to awkward-

ness of compilation, or to subsequent corruption of the text: but they do not seem available for analytical purposes.

^{29a} M Or, the city of Mibear Zor, that is, the fortress of Tyre.—Cp 35.

^{29b} M Or, from Hebel to Achzib.

³³ M Or, oak (or terebinth) of Bezaanannim.

³⁵ The introduction of this term into the list is unexpected, and has been thought to point to the incorporation of material from another source. Its use is rare cp 10³⁰ Num 32¹⁷ 36⁴. But it does not seem possible to decide categorically in favour of E (Dillm). J Num 13²⁸ and D (which often rests upon E) 128³⁵ &c Josh 14¹², use a different form.

JR⁴¹ EP⁴²

their families. ⁴¹ And the border of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Irshemesh; ⁴² and Shaalabbin, and Aijalon, and Ithlah; ⁴³ and Elon, and Timnah, and Ekron; ⁴⁴ and Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath; ⁴⁵ and Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon; ⁴⁶ and Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border over against Joppa.

⁴⁷ And the border of the children of Dan went out beyond them: for the children of Dan went up and fought against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.

⁴³ This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families, these cities with their villages. ⁴⁹ So they made an end of distributing the land for inheritance by the borders thereof; and the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun in the midst of them, according to the commandment of Yahweh they gave him the city which he asked, even Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

⁵¹ These are the inheritances, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed for inheritance by lot in Shiloh before Yahweh, at the door of the tent of meeting. So they made an end of dividing the land.

²⁰ And Yahweh spake unto Joshua, saying, ² Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Assign you the cities of refuge, whereof I spake unto you by the hand of Moses: ³ that the manslayer that killeth any person unwittingly and unawares may flee thither: and they shall be unto you for a refuge from the avenger of blood. ⁴ And he shall flee unto one of those cities, and shall stand at the entering of the gate of the city, and declare his cause in the ears of the elders of that city; and they shall take him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that he may dwell among them.

⁵ And if the avenger of blood pursue after him, then they shall not deliver up the manslayer into his hand; because he smote his neighbour unawares, and hated him not beforetime. ⁶ And he shall dwell in that city, until he stand before the congregation for judgement, until the death of the high priest that shall be in those days: then shall the manslayer return, and come unto his own city, and unto his own house, unto the city from whence he fled.

⁷ And they set apart Kedesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, and Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba (the same is

¹⁹ The description of Dan's lot seems to have been curtailed. The boundary is not traced, and the usual enumeration of cities and villages is lacking.

⁴⁶ M. *Japho*.

^{47a} This verse obviously interrupts the sequence of ⁴⁶ which renders in continuity. On the other hand, (3) follows with a statement partly identical with Judg 1:34, to which ⁴⁷ is then attached. On the text cp Dillm and Budde RS 28.; the latter restores the original thus 88 (cp Addis)—But the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the hill country, for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley, and they made their territory too narrow for them. So the children of Dan went up and fought against Leshem and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it and dwelt therein, and called Leshem Dan, after the name of Dan their father. But the Amorites [originally Canaanites cp Budde, RS 16., and Moore, Judges (ICC) 53] contrived to dwell in Mount Heres and Aijalon and Shalabim; yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary.' Cp Kittel, Hist i 270.

^{47b} M. Or, from them: and etc.

^{47c} M. In Judg 18:26 Laish.—Wellh proposes Leshâm, a lengthened form cp Ait and Etam, Ain and Enam, De Gentibus et Fam Jud 37.

^{48a} The statement that Timnath-serah was given to Joshua evidently rests on a source kindred with 24:30 i.e. E. But it may be doubted whether ⁴³ is correctly assigned by many critics straight to E. The passage in its present form shows too many parallels with P to refer the whole of it to that collection. Unlike ⁴⁷ which has been thrust into its place by R, this is a case where the Priestly Compiler has done his own editing.

^{49b} Probably to be read as Piel ⁵¹.

²⁰ The account of the allotment of the cities of refuge presents some rather complicated phenomena. The opening ², clearly depends on Num 35:10., though the juxtaposition of the word 'unawares' (Deut 19:4 42) beside E's formula 'unwittingly' excites surprise. But ⁴, and in part ⁶ are full of the phrases of D, derived not only from the Deuteronomic version of the same law Deut 19, but from other parts of the Deuteronomic code, e.g. ⁴ 'take,' ⁶ 'deliver up,' ⁶ 'that shall be in those days,' Has R⁴, then, dealt with P as he has so often dealt with JE? That would of course imply that R⁴, at any rate, is later than E. For this view, however, no adequate evidence is forthcoming (cp *Intro* ante p 317), and such expansion of P by E⁴ has no sufficient analogy elsewhere. The clue to the explanation is found in (3), where precisely those passages which show the Deuteronomic tincture are lacking, viz ⁵ 'unawares,' ⁴, and ⁶ except the words 'until he stand before the congregation for judgement.' As there seems no reason why (3) should deliberately select the Deuteronomic elements for omission, it appears more natural to regard them as late additions to the text by a scribe who desired to incorporate references to D. But these additions were not always made with understanding; the time-determination ⁶ 'until the death of the high priest' is not identical with that in the preceding clause. The juxtaposition of the two seems caused by a confusion of Num 35:24 and 26.

^{3a} M. Or, through error.—P¹⁸⁸.

^{3b} Deut 19:42. (3) omits cp 18.

⁴ M. *gather*.—Cp Deut 22:2 (3 = bring).

⁶ Num 35:12 shows that this clause belongs to S.

^{7a} M. *sanctified*.—P^{86d}.

^{7b} M. *3* Galil.

JR⁴EP^s

o 21¹³
p 21⁹⁶ Dent 4⁴⁸
q 21⁹⁸
r 21²⁷
s 5[†]

a 19⁶¹

b 18¹
c Num 35¹⁻⁸

d 19¹ 17 24 32 40
e Num 31⁷..

f 20 22 34 40 17²g 20⁷

h 4 cp 15⁴²..
19⁶..
i 18³⁴..
j Jer 11
k Cp 1 Chron 6⁸⁰
l Cp 26 33 40..
m 145^b

⁸ And ¹beyond the Jordan ^{at} at Jericho eastward, they assigned ²Bezer in the wilderness in the ³plain out of the ⁴tribe of Reuben, and ⁵Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and ⁶Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh. ⁹ These were the ¹⁰appointed cities for all the children of Israel, and for the ¹¹stranger that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth any ¹²person ¹³unwittingly might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the ¹⁴avenger of blood, ¹⁵until he stood before the ¹⁶congregation.

¹⁷ Then came near the ¹⁸heads of fathers' [houses] of the Levites unto ¹⁹Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of fathers' [houses] of the ²⁰tribes of the children of Israel: ²¹ and they ²²spake unto them at ²³Shiloh in the ²⁴land of Canaan, saying, Yahweh ²⁵commanded by the hand of Moses to give us ²⁶cities to dwell in, with the ²⁷suburbs thereof for our cattle. ²⁸ And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance ²⁹according to the commandment of Yahweh, these cities with their suburbs.

³⁰ And the ³¹lot came out for the ³²families of the ³³Kohathites: and the ³⁴children of Aaron ³⁵the priest, which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of the Simeonites, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.

³⁶ And the ³⁷rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.

³⁸ And the children of ³⁹Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

⁴⁰ The children of ⁴¹Merari according to their families had out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.

⁴² And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as Yahweh ⁴³commanded by the hand of Moses. ⁴⁴ And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities ⁴⁵which are [here] mentioned by name: ⁴⁶ and they were for the children of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children of Levi: for theirs was the first lot. ⁴⁷ And they gave them ⁴⁸Kiriath-arba, [which Arba was] the father of ⁴⁹Anak, (the same is Hebron,) in the hill country of Judah, with the suburbs thereof round about it. ⁵⁰ But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his ⁵¹possession.

⁵² And unto the ⁵³children of Aaron ⁵⁴the priest they gave Hebron with her suburbs, the ⁵⁵city of refuge for the manslayer, and Libnah with her suburbs; ⁵⁶ and Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs; ⁵⁷ and Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs; ⁵⁸ and ⁵⁹Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, [and] Beth-shemesh with her suburbs; ⁶⁰ nine cities ⁶¹out of those ⁶²two tribes. ⁶³ And out of the tribe of Benjamin, ⁶⁴Gibeon with her suburbs, ⁶⁵Geba with her suburbs; ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷Anathoth with her suburbs, and ⁶⁸Almon with her suburbs; ⁶⁹ four cities. ⁷⁰ All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their suburbs.

⁷¹ And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites, even the ⁷²rest

20^{8a} These words are not appropriate here; (S) does not contain them; and they seem due rather to a copyist's reminiscence of passages like 13³² || Num 34¹⁵.

21¹ The allotment of the Levitical cities carries out the arrangements prepared in Num 35¹⁻⁸, and belongs therefore to P^s.

4 (S) 'the priests' cp 19 and 130⁴.
9 The awkwardness of this phrase leads Steuernagel to suspect a corruption of the text; he conjectures 'with their suburbs.'

11a The double record of the gift of Hebron, 11, and 13, awakens suspicion, and the contents of 11 show that the passage is an attempt to reconcile the view of Hebron as a priestly city with the tradition which ascribed its capture and occupation to Caleb 15¹³.. In the older records Caleb held

too firm a place to be dislodged: he is here accordingly permitted to retain the city-lands and its dependent villages 12, though the 'pasture lands' and the city itself are handed over to the priests. The precise determination of the editorial words is uncertain; Dillm and Addis allot 'and they gave them' 11 to P cp 21, and claim the opening words of 13 (to 'gave') for E. With 13, however, cp 27 34; it seems simpler, therefore, with Bennett to limit the interpolation to 11.. The final word נאחזק is not usual in this phrase in P, which commonly employs 'to give as an inheritance' בנחלה cp 96^c.

11b M. S. Anok.
10a (S) 'Ara, 1 Chron 6⁴⁴ Ashan, cp 15⁴² 19', generally adopted.
16b Probably a remark of R; tribe = שבט instead of מטה 19 20 23 &c. Cp 22⁹. Num 32³⁸ 36³.

13 Wanting in (S).

JR^dEP^am 20⁷n Ct 16¹⁰o 19⁴²⁻⁴⁵p Ct 17¹¹q 20⁸r 19¹⁸..s 19²⁵..t 20⁷ 19³⁵..u 19¹¹..v 20⁸w 13¹⁸x 13²⁵..

of the children of Kohath, they had the cities of their lot out of the tribe of Ephraim. ²¹ And they gave them ^mShechem with her suburbs ⁿin the hill country of Ephraim, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and ^oGezer with her suburbs; ²² and Kibzaim with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs; four cities. ²³ And out of the tribe of ^pDan, Elteke with her suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs; ²⁴ Aijalon with her suburbs, Gath-rimmon with her suburbs; four cities. ²⁵ And out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ^qTaanach with her suburbs, and ^rGath-rimmon with her suburbs; two cities. ²⁶ ^tAll the cities of the families of the ^urest of the children of Kohath were ten with their suburbs.

²⁷ And unto the children of Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out of the half tribe of Manasseh [they gave] ^vGolan in Bashan with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer; and ^wBe-eshterah with her suburbs; two cities. ²⁸ And out of the tribe of ^xIssachar, Kishion with her suburbs, Daberath with her suburbs; ²⁹ Jarmuth with her suburbs, Engannim with her suburbs; four cities. ³⁰ And out of the tribe of ^yAsher, Mishal with her suburbs, Abdon with her suburbs; ³¹ Helkath with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs; four cities. ³² And out of the tribe of Naphtali, ^zKedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Hammoth-dor with her suburbs, and Kartan with her suburbs; three cities.

³³ ^tAll the cities of the Gershonites according to their families were thirteen cities with their suburbs.

³⁴ And unto the families of the children of Merari, the ^urest of the Levites, out of the tribe of ^vZebulun, Jokneam with her suburbs, and Kartah with her suburbs, ³⁵ ^wDimnah with her suburbs, Nahalah with her suburbs; four cities. ³⁶ ^xAnd out of the tribe of Reuben, ^yBezer with her suburbs, and ^zJahaz with her suburbs, ³⁷ Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs; four cities. ³⁸ And out of the tribe of Gad, ^aRamoth in Gilead with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and ^bMahanaim with her suburbs; ³⁹ Heshbon with her suburbs, Jazer with her suburbs; four cities in all. ⁴⁰ ^tAll [these were] the cities of the children of Merari according to their families, even the ^urest of the families of the Levites; and their lot was twelve cities. ⁴¹ ^tAll the cities of the Levites in the midst of the ^upossession of the children of Israel were forty and eight cities with their suburbs. ⁴² These cities were every one with their suburbs round about them: thus it was with all these cities.

⁴³ ^uSo Yahweh gave unto Israel all the land which he ^vswore to give unto their fathers; and they ^wpossessed it, and dwelt therein. ⁴⁴ And Yahweh ^xgave them rest round about, according to all that he ^yswore unto their fathers; and there ^zstood not a man of all their enemies before them; Yahweh ^adelivered all their enemies into their hand. ⁴⁵ There ^bfailed not aught of any good thing which Yahweh had spoken unto the ^chouse of Israel; ^dall came to pass^d.

²² ¹Then Joshua called the ²Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half ³tribe of Manasseh, and said unto them, ⁴Ye have ⁵kept all that Moses the ⁶servant of Yahweh commanded you, and have ⁷hearkened unto my voice in all that I commanded you: ⁸ye have not left your brethren these ⁹many days ¹⁰unto this day, but have ¹¹kept the charge of the commandment of Yahweh ¹²your God. ¹³And now Yahweh ¹⁴your God hath ¹⁵given rest unto your brethren, as he ¹⁶spoke unto them: therefore now ¹⁷turn ye, and get you unto your ¹⁸h¹⁹ tents, unto the land of ²⁰your possession, which Moses the ²¹servant of Yahweh ²²gave you ²³beyond Jordan. ²⁴¹Only take ² diligent ³ heed to do the ⁴ commandment and the law, which Moses the ⁵ servant of Yahweh commanded you, to ⁶ love Yahweh ⁷ your God, and to ⁸ walk in all his ways, and to ⁹ keep his commandments, and to

j 107^ak 88^c

l 98

m 52

a 82^cb 33^bc 7^a

d 91

e 21

f 84

g 82^ah 29¹i 74^bj 115^ay 10⁸z 5 fell 23¹⁴a 2 Kings 10¹⁰b 23¹⁴ac 12⁸

d 11

e Cp 58^af 12¹⁸g Deut 12¹h 21⁴⁴i Deut 17⁷j 8 8 Deut 16⁷k 13⁸ Deut 31²l Deut 24 4⁹ 15m 24⁸

²¹ ²¹ Wanting in G.

²⁵ Apparently repeated accidentally from ²⁴. G Iε8aθδ, i Chron 6⁵⁰ Bileam, which suggests the reading Ibleam 17¹¹.

²⁷ i Chron 6⁷¹ Ashtaroth cp 13²¹. T perhaps an abbreviation of ²⁷ צר.

³³ Wanting in G: i Chron 6⁷⁷ Rimmono, cp 'Rimmon' 19¹³.

³⁶ M Verses ³⁶. are not in the Massoretic text, but are found in very many MSS and in the ancient versions. See also i Chron 6⁷⁶.

⁴³ The sequel according to R^d of 18^{10b}.

⁴⁵ G children of Israel. For 'house of Israel' cp 21^{1b}.

²² The dismissal of the Reubenites and Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh 1-6 depends on 12-15. Its Deuteronomic affinities are indicated by the margins, but either editor or copyist has touched the words 'tribe' 1 165 at 21²², 'possession' 4 127^b at 28²⁴, while the unique phrase 'kept the charge of the commandment' seems to rest on a combination of P's 'keep the charge' 23⁹, and D's frequent references to the 'commandment of Yahweh' 29¹.

J

R^a

E

P^a

^acleave unto him, and to ^serve him with ^mall your heart and with all your soul. ⁶ So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away: and they went unto their ^tents.

^{7a} ^Now to the one half ^tribe of Manasseh Moses had given [inheritance] in Bashan: but unto the other half gave Joshua among their brethren beyond Jordan westward.

^{7b} ^Moreover when Joshua sent them away unto their tents, he blessed them, ⁸ and spake unto them, saying, Return with much ^hearth unto your tents, and with very much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment: divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren.

2 Chron 11.
Ezr 68⁷⁶
Eccl 51⁶²†

1 Ct 1 cp 1315¹⁴
m 19⁶¹

n Cp 137

o Cp 222^b
p Num 169 cp 120
q 18, 23 Num 14⁹
Gen 14¹⁴
r Num 256¹⁸
s Num 169
t (p Num 25⁸
r125

u Num 250^{*}
v 28, cp 116
w 71

z Ps 50† et
Deut 1017 §

⁹ ^NAnd the ^hchildren of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half ^tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of ^mShiloh, which is in the land of ^oCanaan, to go unto the land of Gilead, to the land of their ^possession, wherof they were ^possessed, ^according to the commandment of Yahweh by the ^hand of Moses. ¹⁰ And when they came unto the ^region about Jordan, that is in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half ^tribe of Manasseh ^built there an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to. ¹¹ And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half ^tribe of Manasseh have built an altar in the forefront of the land of Canaan, in the region about Jordan, on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel. ¹² And when the children of Israel heard of it, the whole ^congregation of the children of Israel ^gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up against them to ^war.

¹³ And the children of Israel sent unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half ^tribe of Manasseh, into the land of Gilead, ^phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest; ¹⁴ and with him ten ^wprinces, one prince of a ^fathers' house for each of the ^tribes of Israel; and they were every one of them ^head of their fathers' houses among the ^thousands of Israel. ¹⁵ And they came unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half ^tribe of Manasseh, unto the land of Gilead, and they ^spake with them, saying, ¹⁶ Thus saith the whole ^congregation of Yahweh, What ^trespas is this that ye have committed against the ^god of Israel, to turn away this day from following Yahweh, in that ye have ^built you an altar, to ^rebel this day against Yahweh? ¹⁷ Is the iniquity of ^peor too ^little for us, from which we have not ^cleansed ourselves unto this day, although there came a ^plague upon the congregation of Yahweh, ¹⁸ that ye must turn away this day from following Yahweh? and it will be, seeing ye ^rebel to-day against Yahweh, that to-morrow he will be ^wroth with the whole congregation of Israel. ¹⁹ Howbeit, if the land of your ^possession be ^unclean, then pass ye over unto the land of the possession of Yahweh, wherein Yahweh's ^dwelling ^udwellth, and ^take possession ^eamong us: but ^rebel not against Yahweh, nor rebel against us, in building you an altar ^besides the ^altar of Yahweh our God. ²⁰ Did not ^achan the son of Zerah ^vcommit a trespass in the devoted thing, and ^wrauth fell upon all the congregation of Israel? and that man ^perished ⁿot alone in his iniquity.

²¹ Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half ^tribe of Manasseh answered, and spake unto the ^heads of the ^thousands of Israel, ²² ^hYahweh, the ^god of gods, Yahweh, the God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in

k 27
l 23^c
m 59
n 112

o 4
p 127
q 19^c
r 180^b

s 45^a
t 24^a
u 92^b

v 12^a
w 131
x 66
y 165
z 84

a' 185^a
b' 164

c' 42

d' 178

e' 167

f' 54

g' 22

h' 51

^v 22^a 'Now' = § and. Apparently a supplemental note explaining ^u, and preparing the way for the next section ⁹⁻²⁴, Cp 12⁶ 13⁸.

^{7b} Apparently an addition to ¹⁻⁶ introduced by the frequent connecting-link of such supplements 'moreover,' = 'and also' cp Ex 3^b. § 2, however, omit the opening words of ⁸, and convert the rest into narrative 'and with much wealth did they return' &c. Some critics have preferred this reading, and suppose the passage to rest on an older basis. The compiler then altered the statement into a command, as an introduction to the recital in ⁹⁻²⁴. But the long enumeration of the tribal riches lacks the simplicity of earlier style, and the late word for 'wealth' is surprising.

⁹ The narrative in ⁹⁻²⁴ offers many perplexities. Its language, as the references show, is almost a cento of P's phrases; its story assumes P's institutions, the congregation, the heads of fathers' houses, and the Dwelling; and it makes homiletic references to specifically P forms of previous incidents ¹⁷ ²⁰. Further, it is noteworthy that ^phinehas the priest ³⁰, who has already succeeded Eleazar, acts without Joshua: the secular power has no longer a military head. These characteristics suggest its place in the later group designated as Ps, where it forms a sequel to Num 32. But though among the most recent additions to P in its present form, it may be founded on some earlier account which it has superseded, cp Judg 20, Driver LOT⁶ 168. The opening verses seem designed to explain the rumour ¹¹ with which the original story may have begun. (The first words of ¹¹ and ¹² are alike in §, and in ¹² they are omitted by § 2.) Traces of such a narrative have been found in the seemingly incongruous geographical elements combined in ¹¹, where Dillm and Oettli translate 'el māl (RV 'in the forefront') over against, and 'el 'ebher (RV 'on the side that

pertaineth') 'on the other side of,' § *iv rāp nēpar*. This interpretation would place the altar on the east side of the Jordan, while ¹⁰ undoubtedly located it on the west. The prepositions in this combination are not common, but their use in P shows that they chiefly express the situation of something on the surface or front or edge of an object to which it is attached ('el māl Ex 26⁹ 28²⁵ 37 39¹⁸ Lev 8⁹ Num 8³ P, cp Ex 34³ Josh 8³³ 91^{*}; 'el 'ebher Ex 25³⁷ 28²⁶ 39¹⁹ P, cp Deut 30¹³). In this view the rendering of RV is justified (cp W A Wright, *Journ of Philol* xiii 117-); the altar stood close to the river frontier, but on the western side, and there seems no ground of geographical discrepancy for distributing the present narrative between two or more sources. In other respects the literary usage of the story (like other portions of P) displays a wider vocabulary than is usual with P, approximating more to JE and D, cp 'build an altar' ¹⁰, 'altar of Yahweh our God' ¹⁹, 'now' (enclitic *wa*) ²⁰. Most curious, perhaps, is the repeated intrusion of the 'half tribe of Manasseh' ⁹⁻¹¹ 13 15 21 (cp 30, 'children of Manasseh'). From ²⁵ 32 84 it may be inferred that the original story did not mention them: the addition employs the terminology of D, עַבְדֵי יְהוָה 14 165, and the name Manasseh with the article, Deut 31⁸ 29⁸ Josh 11¹² 41² &c. For similar indications of manipulation of a P section by the addition of material from D cp 20¹⁸.

¹⁰ § *h*iloth cp 13² 1817 Ezek 47⁸ Joel 3^{4†}. But § reads 'Gilgal' in ¹⁰ and 'Gilead' in ¹¹; § *tumulos* in both. Perhaps some element of an older story may linger in these readings, which suggest that it was partly designed to explain the origin of some ancient monument.

¹⁹ So § cp Ex 25⁹. T *tabernacle*.

²² M Or, God, even God, Yahweh, § *El Elohim Yahweh*.—Cp Ps 501†.

JR^dEP^s

3^d Cp 1st 18
2^d Cp 1st 110

a^d Cp 1 Sam 20¹⁶
b^d Jer 49²³ Ezek
41²⁸ 1218. Prov
12²⁸ 4
c^d Cp 4th 21
d^d Cp 1 Sam 18²⁹
5^d 1
e^d Cp 12¹⁸ 86a

f^d Num 15⁸

g^d Ex 25⁹

h^d Gen 18²⁵

i^d 9²⁶

j^d 14⁷

a 22³
b 22⁴
c Deut 12¹⁰
d 13¹

e Gen 18¹¹ 1 Sam
12² 5 Cp 26³

f Deut 20²
g 21¹
h 13⁶

i Deut 7²⁰
j 11²¹ Deut 12²⁹
k 14¹

l Deut 6¹⁹
m 11⁶ Deut
32²⁰ al

n 5^d = strong
106^b

o Ex 23¹⁸
p Cp Jer 5⁷
Deut 6¹³

q 10⁸
r Cp Deut 32⁸⁰

s Deut 7³
t Gen 15¹³
u Is 8¹⁴

v 5^d = mare Ex
23³³

w 5^d 1
x Num 33⁵⁵
y 1 Kings 2²

rebellion, or if in trespass against Yahweh, (save thou us not this day),²³ that we have built us an altar to turn away from following Yahweh; or if to offer thereon burnt offering or meal offering, or if to offer sacrifices of peace offerings thereon, let Yahweh himself require it;²⁴ and if we have not [rather] out of careflessness done this, [and] of purpose, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with Yahweh, the God of Israel? for Yahweh hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no portion in Yahweh: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing Yahweh.²⁵ Therefore we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice: but it shall be a witness between us and you, and between our generations after us, that we may do the service of Yahweh before him with our burnt offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no portion in Yahweh.²⁶ Therefore said we, It shall be, when they so say to us or to our generations in time to come, that we shall say, Behold the pattern of the altar of Yahweh, which our fathers made, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and you.²⁷ God forbid that we should rebel against Yahweh, and turn away this day from following Yahweh, to build an altar for burnt offering, for meal offering, or for sacrifice, besides the altar of Yahweh our God that is before his Dwelling.

And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation, even the heads of the thousands of Israel which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spake, it pleased them well.

And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the children of Manasseh, This day we know that Yahweh is in the midst of us, because ye have not committed this trespass against Yahweh: now have ye delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of Yahweh. And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and brought them word again. And the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and spake no more of going up against them to war, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and the children of Gad dwelt. And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar [Ed]: For, [said they], it is a witness between us that Yahweh is God.

And it came to pass after many days, when Yahweh had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, and Joshua was old and well stricken in years; that Joshua called for all Israel, for their elders and for their heads, and for their judges and for their officers, and said unto them, I am old and well stricken in years: and ye have seen all that Yahweh your God hath done unto all these nations because of you; for Yahweh your God, he it is that hath fought for you. Behold, I have allotted unto you these nations that remain, to be an inheritance for your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have cut off, even unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun. And Yahweh your God, he shall thrust them out from before you, and drive them from out of your sight; and ye shall possess their land, as Yahweh your God spake unto you. Therefore be ye very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye turn not aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left; that ye come not among these nations, these that remain among you; neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear [by them], neither serve them, nor bow down yourselves unto them: but ye cleave unto Yahweh your God, as ye have done unto this day. For Yahweh hath driven out from before you great nations and strong; but as for you, no man hath stood before you unto this day. One man of you shall chase a thousand: for Yahweh your God, he it is that fighteth for you, as he spake unto you. Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, that ye love Yahweh your God. Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even these that remain among you, and make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you: know for a certainty that Yahweh your God will no more drive these nations from out of your sight; but they shall be a snare and a trap unto you, and a scourge in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which Yahweh your God hath given you. And, behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know in all your hearts and in all your souls, that

²² 26 5 = make or do (5 adds 'thus'), as though originally followed by some object which was intended to serve as the monument, but was editorially suppressed in favour of the altar (so Dillm). Others join the vb as an auxiliary to 'build' (so RV Steiner cp Ges-Kautzsch § 114 m).

²³ 23 Probably a gloss; wanting in (5), the words are needless and are not attached to the name in ³⁰.

²⁴ M That is, Witness.—In (5) the name is given by Joshua;

but in both texts the actual name has disappeared. 5 and several 5 MSS supply Ed. Most modern critics accept the conjecture 'Gilead' cp Gen 31⁴⁷.

²³ 1 A Deuteronomistic exhortation, after the manner of the homilies in D. In 8 10 15 are parallels with Deut 28 29 31 32, which suggest a late date for this discourse.

⁷ 7 Nor cause to swear, not in (5).

¹⁰ M Or, hath chased.

J E

R^dJ E P^sz 21⁴⁵

a' Dent 29⁸⁷
b' Cp Dent 28⁸³
c' 71¹ Dent 17²

d' Dent 11³⁷a Num 11¹⁶b 23²

c Num 11¹⁶
Dent 31¹⁴

d 71³

e Gen 64

f Gen 11²⁶

g Cp 204

h Ct Gen 32³ 36⁸

i Cp Dent 26

j Cp 88^a

k 5 = smite Ex

82 123 27 cp

32³⁵l Cp Ex 14⁹.l Ex 14¹⁰m 5 + cp Ex 10²²n Cp 44^do Cp Dent 14⁶Num 20¹⁵p Num 21²¹.

q 11 cp 52

r Num 21²⁴s Num 22².t Ct Num 22¹² 5u Cp Dent 23⁶v Ex 23²⁸

not one thing hath ^afailed of all the good things which Yahweh your God spake concerning you; ^aall are come to pass unto you, not one thing hath failed thereof. ¹⁵ And it shall come to pass, that as all the good things are come upon you of which Yahweh your God spake unto you, so shall Yahweh ^abring upon you all the evil things, until he have ^adestroyed you ^bfrom off this ^agood land which Yahweh your God hath given you. ¹⁶ When ye ^ctransgress the covenant of Yahweh your God, which he commanded you, and go and ^bserve other gods, and ^bbow down yourselves to them^a; then shall the ^aanger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and ye shall ^aperish ^dquickly from off the ^agood land which he hath given unto you.

²⁴ ¹ And Joshua ^agathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and ^bcalled for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers; and they ^cpresented themselves before God. ² And Joshua said unto all the people, ^dThus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel^a, Your fathers dwelt ^eof old time beyond the ^aRiver, ^f[even] ^fTerah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: ^aand they served other gods. ³ And I took your father Abraham from beyond the ^aRiver, and led him throughout all the land ^aof Canaan, and ^amultiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac. ⁴ And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and I gave unto Esau ^amount Seir, ^{to} possess it; and Jacob and his children went down into Egypt^a. ⁵ And I sent Moses and Aaron, and I ^aplagued Egypt, ^aaccording to that which I did in the midst thereof: and afterward I brought you out. ⁶ ^aAnd I brought your fathers out of Egypt: and ye came unto the sea; and the Egyptians ^apursued after your fathers with chariots and with horsemen ^aunto the Red Sea. ⁷ And when ^athey ^acried out unto Yahweh, he put ^adarkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them, and covered them; and your ^aeyes saw what I did in Egypt: and ye dwelt in the wilderness ^amany days. ⁸ And I brought you into the ^aland of the Amorites, which dwelt beyond Jordan; ^aand they fought with you: and I ^agave them into your hand, and ye ^apossessed their land; ^aand I destroyed them from before you. ⁹ Then ^aBalak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose ^aand fought against Israel; and he sent and called Balaam ^athe son of Beor to ^acurse you: ¹⁰ ^abut I ^awould not hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand. ¹¹ And ye went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the ^amen of Jericho fought against you, ^athe Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Girgashite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; and I ^adelivered them into your hand. ¹² And I sent the ^ahornet before

z 34^a

a 115

b 107

23¹⁶ (5) concludes here, connecting 16^a with 15.

24¹ The account of the national assembly at Shechem and the final address of Joshua are attributed to E with practical unanimity among modern critics. In contrast with the representations of P Joshua acts alone, instead of taking the second place after Eleazar: the scene is laid at Shechem in the centre of Ephraim: and some of the homiletic references to the ancestral traditions depend on E cp 14²⁰, 'Amorites' 15¹⁸, while further phraseological parallels will be found in 12¹⁹ 25²⁹. In the sequel the burial of Joseph's bones ⁸² carries out the plan of Gen 50²⁵ Ex 13¹⁹. But Joshua's exhortation belongs to the late type of prophetic passages in JEE, and supplies an interesting illustration of the approach of the more advanced style (cf 27) to the religious language of a great prophetic collection such as D; one or two phrases, such as 'forsake Yahweh' 16, 'incline your heart' 23, only find parallels in the later literature. Numerous additions (some of them absent from (5)) seem due to editorial activity, 1. 4 6, 8 11 13 17, 28 31. Some of the allusions, eg to the idolatries of Israel in Egypt 14 or Balak's attack on Israel 9, apparently rest on elements of tradition no longer preserved. It may be noticed that the person occasionally changes in the narration, eg 3-5 'I,' 7 'he,' 8-13 'I,' (5) has the third person in 6-12.

24 The introduction of Terah at the end of the clause, explanatory of 'your fathers,' seems a scribal gloss.

2b The language shows the style of D (whether by anticipation or sequence), though cp 14²²; in Gen 35²⁴ the phraseology is different.

3 Lacking in (5).

4 (5) adds expansively 'and there they became a great and

numerous and mighty nation, and the Egyptians evil entreated them,' but omits 6^a 'and I sent Moses and Aaron.'

5 (5) ^aby the signs which. So Dillm and Oetli (with reserve) and Addis. Bennett following Ex 3²⁰ (where (5) however has θαυμασιος) reads בנסיאות 'by the wonders.'

6^a An awkward addition after 'brought you out,' probably due to a corrector more distinctly conscious of the later view that the generation which marched out of Egypt died in the wilderness cp Dent 24¹⁴. (5) joins 5b and 6^a 'and afterwards he brought our fathers out of Egypt,' with a characteristic confusion of persons.

6b Perhaps a marginal gloss, Steuern.

7 (5) 'we': the address in 6^a suggests 'you.'

8 (5) omits this clause. Cp Num 21²³.

8b Probably an addition of R^d as the word 'destroyed' indicates 23⁴.

12 This clause does not correspond to anything in JEE, and the introduction of the name Israel seems to betray an annotator's hand (cp Steuern).

12b The description is lacking in (5).

10 Hollenberg (*Stud und Krit* 1874 437) regarded 9 as dependent on Dent 23⁵. The parallel seems, however, rather explicable by D's use of E. (5), however, has 'But Yahweh thy God would not destroy thee.'

11 An obvious intrusion into the account of the capture of Jericho, as it can hardly be supposed that representatives of the 'seven nations' were all assembled in the city. Cp Ex 3^{8N}. The allusion to the 'lords' i.e. citizens of Jericho is not supported by any extant passage of E. Cp Judg 9² 8 E (Moore in Haupt's *SBOT*) 1 Sam 23¹¹. J (Budde *ibid*).

J E

R¹J E P¹w Gen 48²²z Deut 6¹⁰.y Gen 35²z Gen 21¹¹ 5a' Gen 18²⁵b' Deut 20² 31¹⁶c' Deut 62² 7¹⁰20³d' Cp 243^a

e' 5 = kept Gen

28²⁰ Ex 23²⁰f' cp Ex 23²³.31¹⁴ 18g' Gen 50¹⁷ Ex23²¹ 34⁷h' Gen 35² Deut31¹⁶i' Ex 32¹⁰ 33⁵j' Prov 2² cp1 Kings 11² 4k' 7¹⁸

l' 5 = made Ex

15²⁵m' Gen 35⁴n' Ct 19¹o' Gen 21⁸⁰ op31⁴⁰.p' Num 24⁴

you, which "drave them out from before you, [even] the "two kings of the "Amorites; not "with thy sword, nor with thy bow.

¹² And I gave you a land whereon thou hadst not laboured, and "cities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of "vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat.

¹⁴ Now therefore "fear Yahweh, and serve him in "sincerity and in truth: and "put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the "River, and in Egypt; and serve ye Yahweh. ¹⁵ And if it "seem evil

unto you to serve Yahweh, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were beyond the "River, or the gods of the "Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve Yahweh. ¹⁶ And the people answered and said, "God forbid that we should b' forsake Yahweh, to serve other

gods; ¹⁷ for Yahweh our God, he it is that "brought us "and our fathers up out of the land of Egypt, from the house of "bondage, "and that did those great "signs in our "sight, and c' preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and

among all the peoples through the midst of whom we passed: ¹⁸ and Yahweh f' drave out from before us "all the peoples, even the Amorites which dwelt in the land: [therefore] we also will serve Yahweh; for

he is our God. ¹⁹ And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve Yahweh; for he is an "holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not o' forgive your transgression nor your sins. ²⁰ If ye b' forsake Yahweh,

and serve h' strange gods, then he will turn and do you evil, and e' consume you, after that he hath done you good. ²¹ And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve Yahweh. ²² And Joshua said

unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you Yahweh, to serve him. "And they said, We are witnesses. ²³ Now therefore put away, [said he], the h' strange gods which are among

you, and j' incline your heart unto Yahweh, the "God of Israel. ²⁴ And the people said unto Joshua, Yahweh our God will we serve, and unto his voice will we hearken. ²⁵ So Joshua made a covenant with the

people that day, and l' set them a statute and an ordinance^d in Shechem.

²⁶ "And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God; and he took a great stone, and set it up there under the m' oak that was "by the "sanctuary of Yahweh. ²⁷ And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a o' witness against us; for it hath heard all the p' words of Yahweh which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness against

24¹² Elsewhere only of Sihon and Og 23^a, and here, therefore, quite inappropriate. (G) twelve, a reading widely accepted, 'two' being probably an awkward correction in view of the later lists 12⁷. &c. But the appositional form of the clause suggests that it may be a later editorial note. On the other hand, the whole verse seems made up of fragments, and can hardly be original in its present form. Ex 23²⁸ shows that the phrase 'drave them' really refers to the peoples enumerated in 1¹; its introduction here may have suggested their insertion to justify it. To what, then, do the words 'not with thy sword' &c belong? They find a parallel in El's language Gen 48²², but they lack connexion here, and seem introduced by way of editorial reminiscence.

^{14a} For 5 cp 1 Sam 12²⁴ E (Budde in Haupt's SBOT).

^{14b} Cp 5 Judg 9¹⁶ 18 E (Moore in Haupt's SBOT).

^{14c} Perhaps a correction (Steuern); not in E.

^{17b} M. 5 bondmen.—The use of this phrase by D cp 26^r makes it probable that this is an addition, probably (as G does not contain it) by a late copyist.

^{17c} Another clause absent from G and strongly marked by D's phraseology cp 21¹⁰.

¹⁸ 5 all the peoples and: G the Amorites and all the peoples. The diversity of order seems to indicate that the reference to 'the peoples' is (like their enumeration in 1¹) due to later insertion, the words finding different location in different copies. E only recognizes Amorites.

¹⁹ On the pl adj here cp Introñ XII 3 i 115. Elsewhere in OT literature cp 'living God' Deut 5³ 1 Sam 17²⁶ 38 Jer 10¹⁰

23²⁶+, On the other hand, 'jealous' is sing cp Nah 1² + (and, slightly different, Ex 34¹⁴).

²² This clause is wanting in G, and seems additional. It interrupts Joshua's address, and is needless in view of 24.

^{26a} The origin of the clause ascribing a written record to Joshua has been much debated. Kuenen (Hex § 8¹⁶ p 156) attributed it to E (cp Elohim 1) with 'reference to some other book of law than the one we know.' But it may be doubted if the statement was really part of the original story. If a solemn account had been preserved in a sacred book, what need was there for the testimony of the stone? The record would be a much better witness, for though the stone might have 'heard the words,' it was powerless to reproduce or confirm them. This incident seems to belong to a more primitive order of conceptions, with which the writing is not homogeneous. In spite of Hollenberg's dissent, Dillm agrees with Nöldeke in assigning the clause to R¹ (for 'book of the law' cp 27¹⁰), and supposes that the interpolator included the homily of 23 with the address and covenant of 24. Wellh (Comp³ 135) regards the addition as probably later still, but gives no reasons. The nearest parallels of language occur in Neh 8¹⁸ 10²⁵, ct 'law of Moses' Josh 8³¹, 23^a. Bennett allots the words to R¹. It may be doubted whether the interpolator meant to include more in 'these words' than the Covenant with its associated 'statute and ordinance.' Holzinger, Hex 179, Staerk, Deut 106 ff, Steuern, Josh 242, think this may have been the original place of the Judgement-book Ex 21¹., cp Ex 20^{22a}. ^{26b} M. Or, in.

J E	R ^a	J E P ^a
	you, lest ye deny your God. ²⁸ So Joshua sent the people away, every man unto his inheritance.	
q' 1 ¹ 7' Gen 50 ²⁶ et 8' 93 8' 19 ⁵⁰	²⁹ And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Yahweh, died, being an hundred and ten years old.	e 95
	³⁰ And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash.	
4' Cp 113 14' Cp 168 4' Deut 117 10' Cp 112 2' Gen 50 ²⁶ 3' Ex 13 ¹⁹	³¹ And Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, and had known all the work of Yahweh, that he had wrought for Israel.	f 72 ^b
	³² And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of money: and they became the inheritance of the children of Joseph. ³³ And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim.	

²⁴²⁸ With ²⁸⁻³¹ cp Judg 2⁸⁻⁹. Moore, *Judges (ICC)* 4 and 65, supposes the passage in *Judges* to be the original, which was reproduced here 'perhaps in connexion with the division into books.'

^{32a} This passage seems plainly to belong to E, but it can hardly be in its natural place. The house of Joseph would not have waited to bury their ancestor till after the funeral of Joshua, when they had been settled round Shechem for years.

^{32b} M. See Gen 33¹⁹.

^{32c} The awkwardness of this clause and its absence from G throw suspicion on it. The plural subject must include Shechem and the land, but this combination is unexpected: an addition to G runs 'and he gave it to Joseph for an inherit-

ance,' cp G¹ which is preferred by Kuen and Dillm. Steuerm proposes 'and it became the inheritance of Joseph.'

^{33a} This statement was ascribed by some of the older critics to P. But the description of Eleazar lacks the distinctive term 'the priest' cp 12^b. Moreover, 'Gibeah of Phinehas' is not included among the cities of the Aaronite inheritance 21¹⁰⁻¹⁸. There seems no reason for separating the verse from its context cp ³⁰. Eleazar was recognized in E cp Deut 10⁶; and it was not unnatural to supplement the obituary notice of Joshua by that of another famous man of his time. For additions concerning the ark and the first apostasy of Israel see G.

^{33b} M. Or, *Gibeah of Phinehas*.

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



DATE DUE

--	--	--

THE KING'S LIBRARY



3000031317

